THE

LIFE AND TIMES

LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH.

BY G. P. R. JAMES, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF

"RICHARD CŒUR DE LION," "EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE," "LIFE OF HENRY IV.,"
"MEMOIRS OF GREAT COMMANDERS," &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
GEORGE BELL & SONS, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
1890.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

CHAPTER X.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Louis XIV.—Some Particulars concerning the Character and Situation of Anne of Austria—Adventures of La Porte—Reconciliation of the King and Queen—Conduct of the Courtiers on the Birth of a Dauphin—Birth of a second Son—Conspiracies against Richelieu—His Death—Intrigues which followed—The King's Will—Lingering Illness and Death of Louis XIII.—Sketch of Society in France previous to his Death.

Could the astrologer, Morin, who was concealed in the chamber of Anne of Austria at the moment when she was giving birth to Louis XIV., have really foretold the fate of the child who was at that instant ushered into being, how strange, how overpowering would have been the vision of the future which his eye beheld! How astounding would it have been to have looked forward upon the change which that one man's life wrought upon the state of society in Europe: to have beheld in one glance the rise, the triumph, and the fall of one destined to influence throughout existence, not alone a kingdom, but a world: to have gathered into one view aggressions, and conquests, and victories; opposition, resistance, defeat; the springing up, the cultivation, the wide-spreading extent of arts and sciences; the formation of a new system of policy; the conception, the progress and result of many vast and noble, and of many ambitious and iniquitous designs; the fundamental change of manners and habits, the complete revolution of all customary thoughts; and the foundation of that state which was destined to succeed the feudal system, whose ruins were not yet swept away: to have foreseen the birth, advancement, and decline of a new and extraordinary epoch in the world's history. Such would have been the vision presented to the eye of him who could have beheld at the birth of Louis XIV. the events which that commencing life was to embrace within its sphere.

Looking back upon that epoch as now we do from a very far-distant point, we lose the extraordinary contrast with the preceding time which it would have presented to the eye of

any one who, standing between the two periods, could have viewed both together. But if the past is dim and obscure to us, doubtless the future was still more dark and confused to all who tried to scan it at the birth of the son of Louis XIII. No record has descended to the present day of the exact prediction which the astrologer then made regarding the future monarch; and it is probable that his errors in the endeavour to pry into the inscrutable future were so soon discovered, that even the superstition of the day yielded to shame, and failed to transmit to us a prophecy of which time soon wrought the refutation. Certain it is that the early years of the life of Louis and the early years of his reign offered no data whatsoever from which to prognosticate his after fortunes; and the extraordinary series of events which raised him to the height which he ultimately attained, might well escape even that keen political foresight which is the only prophetic power now recognised in the present race of men.

Although I do not propose in any part of this work to dwell long upon battles, sieges, or intrigues, I shall pass over those military and political events which took place during that early period of the life of Louis XIV. which precedes his father's death, even more slightly than I may be called upon to do in regard to the similar occurrences of an after period. I must pause, however, upon various anecdotes connected with that portion of the young monarch's existence, in order to show, both the state of society at the time, and the circumstances and situation in which that education began, whereby the various peculiarities of the character of Louis XIV. were modelled or evolved.

Louis XIV. was born on the 5th of September, 1638; and various extraordinary circumstances rendered his birth remarkable, as well as the times in which it took place. Notwithstanding the great changes that were daily brought about by the progress of the human mind, the age was an age of superstition scarcely less dark than that which preceded the Reformation; and the belief in judicial astrology was as potent as ever. Connected with it was a reliance on all those pretended sciences which affect to interpret the future from the accidents of the day; and we find a thousand instances of extraordinary credulity recorded of persons whose mind and station ought to have elevated them above all vulgar prejudices.

No one appears to have placed more implicit confidence in

the dreams of astrology than Anne of Austria herself, the mother of the after monarch; and a curious instance is related by La Porte of the importance which she attached to any accident which might be considered as an omen. In the course of a journey to Fontainebleau, which she performed in a litter borne by mules, one of the animals fell; but instead of expressing or experiencing any alarm from the accident which had occurred to the frail and dangerous vehicle in which she was borne, her sole apprehension seemed to be, what might be prognosticated by the fall of the mule, and she instantly despatched a messenger to Paris in order to consult an Italian astrologer of the name of Nerli. This person was attached to the household of Madame de Combalet;* and it must be remarked, that such an appendage as an Italian charlatan, to calculate nativities and prognosticate the coming events, was at that time common in the houses of the high French nobility, while the domestic fool or jester had become rare. No little importance was attached, even by the ministers of the crown, to the announcements made by these diviners; and in one instance, the possession of the king's horoscope was employed as a serious charge against one of the monarch's physicians, who in vain endeavoured to justify himself by asserting that it was a part of every physician's duty to possess a document of such importance in reference to the health and welfare of his patient.

Alchymy, practised through so many ages, and scoffed at by scientific philosophers of all epochs, was nevertheless still followed with avidity, and looked upon with reverence; and even Richelieu himself,—the keen-sighted, the reasoning, the penetrating Richelieu,—not only united with the king in giving credence to the assertion of a quack who declared he could make gold, but showed the full extent of his credulity, by the cruel virulence he displayed on finding himself deceived. The unhappy charlatan, named Dubois, who had thus dared to trifle with the expectations of the sanguinary minister, was instantly thrown into one of the dungeons of the Bastile, from which he was only drawn for private execution.

* Marie de Vignerot, niece of Cardinal de Richelieu, married to Monsieur de Combalet, and afterwards created Duchess of Aiguillon. In the patent which raises Aiguillon to a duchy in her favour, is the most extraordinary clause perhaps that ever was inserted in such an instrument, giving remainder to any person she chose to name. The words are, "Pour en jouir par ladite dame, ses héritiers et successeurs, tant mâles que femelles, tels qu'elle voudra choisir."

We can little wonder, then, that when Anne of Austria, after having been married for more than twenty-two years without bearing children, found herself likely to give an heir to the French throne, she should look forward to the birth of her child with that degree of anxiety most likely to excite her imagination, and call into play all the superstitious feelings of her nature. The whole nation experienced in some degree similar sensations; and it is probable that there were few people in France who looked with any degree of contempt or reprehension upon the concealment of the astrologer in the queen's cabinet, or refused to give some share of belief to his predictions in regard to the future monarch.

Anne of Austria, indeed, was in every respect peculiarly situated; and had the birth of Louis XIV. produced such changes in her favour as she had a right to expect, she might well have added to his name the epithet of "*Dieu-donné*," which the people did not fail to attach to him. From the time of her marriage, when she entered France a mere child, she had lived a life of little else than misery, the victim of political intrigues, the object of persecution to an ambitious and tyrannical minister, and a slave to the caprices of a weak and moody king. The year, however, which preceded the birth of Louis XIV. had been marked by circumstances of peculiar pain.

That the queen had imprudently carried on a forbidden correspondence with her relations in Spain, there can be no doubt; and it is also certain that she had held various communications with other powers at that time actually hostile to France; and however innocent might be the nature of this intercourse, it naturally exposed her to the just indignation of the king and of his minister. She thus by her conduct, regarded under its best point of view, justified that persecution which had begun in injustice. But it must not be concealed that there is every reason to believe, from the confession of La Porte, her most faithful attendant, that her communication with foreign powers was by no means devoid of political intrigue, and was directed to objects directly opposed to the purposes and views of Richelieu. Thus, in conjunction with the Duchess of Chevreuse, she endeavoured to keep the Duke of Lorraine in a state of hostility towards France; and when he at length was persuaded by the cardinal prime minister to disband his army, and for a time resign himself to his fate, she took a curious method of reproaching him for his folly. She caused a cap to be made

(then called a *tababare*) of green velvet, cut with yellow, laced with gold, and surmounted by a bunch of green and yellow plumes, which might well pass for a highly ornamented fool's cap. This she sent post-haste to the Duke of Lorraine at Nancy, by one of her confidential attendants, through whose means she had previously carried on some correspondence with him, and who was also the bearer of a letter on the present occasion. As soon as the duke saw him, he recognised an attendant of the Queen of France, and took him into his cabinet, where he received the letter of that princess. While he read, the officer, according to his instructions, stuck the plume in the cap, and then presented it to him in the name of the queen. The duke immediately put it on his head, and advanced to a mirror, the figure reflected from which immediately showed him the meaning of the present he had received. He took the queen's raillery in good part, however, and laughed so heartily at the sight as to astonish all those without by the merriment which the French messenger had occasioned at a moment when so little cause existed for any joyful feelings.

La Porte, the messenger to whom the execution of this burlesque reproach had been entrusted, was also the person through whose instrumentality a great part of the queen's correspondence was carried on with Spain and the Low Countries. He in general forwarded the letters and received the answers; and as the queen was too closely watched to put the correspondence in cipher herself, or to decipher the answers she received, that task was likewise allotted to La Porte.

The principal agent out of France employed in facilitating the queen's intercourse with her family and friends was the Marquis de Mirabel, the Spanish ambassador in the Low Countries; and a letter from Anne of Austria to him having been intercepted by Richelieu, afforded that famous minister some intimation of the extent and nature of the queen's correspondence with the enemies of the state. Suspicion immediately fell upon La Porte; and the queen having been unexpectedly ordered to join the king at Chantilly, left her faithful attendant behind in Paris, to conclude those arrangements which she had not time to finish herself previous to her departure. In his hands she left a letter to be conveyed to the Duchess of Chevreuse, whose intrigues had by this time exiled her from the court. This letter was to be conveyed by a gentleman of the name of Thibaudière. But it would seem that he had been engaged by Richelieu to betray La Porte,

and upon being offered the letter,—which, amongst other matters, informed Madame de Chevreuse that the bearer would give her further intelligence,—he begged the queen's attendant to keep it till the next day, saying that he was afraid of losing it. La Porte consented, and was in consequence drawn into a series of misfortunes, which I shall relate as nearly as possible in his own words, as his account affords a picture of the state of society at the time which is to be met with in no other writer.

After quitting Thibaudière, he proceeded to the house of Guitaut, captain of the guards, who was ill, and with whom he remained for several hours. It was still light, however, when he left him; and at the junction of the Rue des Vieux Augustins with the Rue Coquillière he saw a carriage standing, with a coachman dressed in grey. He took no notice, however, and was passing on; but just between the corner of the street and the carriage, he was seized from behind by some one who placed his hands over his eyes and pushed him on towards the coach. Before he could make any resistance, he was grasped by several other hands, which placed him in the carriage: the doors, which were, as was then common, without glass, were closed, and he was thus carried away in darkness, without knowing by whom he had been arrested. At length the carriage stopped; some gates through which it had passed were shut, the doors of the carriage were opened, and La Porte found himself in the court of the Bastile, with five of the king's musketeers in the carriage, and fifteen or sixteen others round about him. On getting out of the vehicle his person was searched, and the letter of the queen taken from him; after which he was led over the drawbridge, and passed between two ranks of musketeers, with matches lighted, and every other ceremony which could impress him with the belief that the crimes with which he was charged were of the darkest character. He was kept in the guard-house of the garrison for half an hour, while a dungeon was prepared for him, which they took care to let him know had been last inhabited by the unfortunate Dubois, who, a few days previous, had been led to execution for deceiving the king and his minister by a promise of producing gold. He was then conducted to the well-known tower in which such prisoners were placed as the implacable Richelieu destined for speedy death, and was thrust into a dungeon closed with three doors, one within, one without, and one half-way through

the thick wall. The room was lighted, if lighted it could be called, by a window, or rather loophole, pierced through the thick masonry, and which, though four feet wide in the interior of the dungeon, did not afford an aperture of more than three inches in diameter on the outside. This also was closed by three iron gratings, so as to cut off all means of communication either by voice or signal with those without. A table and a wretched bed composed all the furniture the dungeon contained, except a bed of straw for one of the soldiers, who was placed to keep guard over the prisoner even in that miserable abode.

After a scanty supper, the unhappy La Porte lay down upon his bed, and endeavoured to find forgetfulness in sleep. But scarcely had he closed his eyes, when he heard the report of a musket, which alarmed the soldier more than himself, as the prisoner was not aware whether the occurrence might be ordinary or not. It was followed, however, by a loud call to arms; and after the musketeer had in vain tormented himself and his companion with noisy conjectures regarding the cause of the alarm, they heard the door of the dungeon open from without, and a stranger was thrust in upon them in the dark. This proved to be a young man of the name of Herce, in regard to whom La Porte makes use of a singular expression, which may serve to show for what purposes the state prisons of France were at that time frequently employed. "He was," says the queen's attendant, "a relation of the chancellor, and a young man whom his mother kept in prison in order to *ripen him.*" From the extraordinary hothouse thus selected by maternal love, Monsieur de Herce had endeavoured to make his escape with two other gentlemen kept in prison upon scarcely more reasonable grounds. Having what was then called "the liberties of the Bastile," that is to say, not being kept in close confinement, they had contrived to communicate with their friends without, and had horses prepared to carry them away: they had next attached a thick rope to one of the towers close to the Porte St. Antoine,* and contrived to have the other end made fast to that gate itself. Upon the rope ran three strong rings, from each of which hung a lesser rope furnished with a stout cross-bar of wood at the end; and, seated upon these bars, to which they were to tie themselves with their scarfs, they proposed to glide down the larger rope, at the risk of being dashed violently against

* One of the gates of Paris, close to the Bastile.

the Porte St. Antoine: that danger, however, was lessened by the thick rope not being stretched very tight. Everything had been prepared during the darkness of a cloudy night, and the three prisoners were about to make their aërial exit from the place of their involuntary abode, when the moon maliciously broke through the clouds, and discovered the rope to one of the sentinels, who instantly fired his musket and spread the alarm.

Notwithstanding the narrowness of his apartment, La Porte seems to have been glad of his new companion's society. But he was not long allowed to remain unmolested, and to habituate himself in tranquillity to the monotonous life of a prisoner. Scarcely had he dined on the following day, when a sergeant appeared to inform him that he must go down stairs. La Porte, not a little terrified, demanded for what purpose? but he could obtain no reply; and at the bottom of the stairs he found six soldiers, who surrounded him so as to prevent him from holding communication with any one as he passed. He was then led across the court, through a number of prisoners who had the liberties of the Bastile, and who ranged themselves in line to see him pass. Some shrugged their shoulders and gave him looks of compassion, which, like the compassion of the world in general, only went far enough to aggravate the evil, persuading him that he was destined to speedy execution. Amongst the rest whom he beheld, however, was the celebrated Chevalier de St. Jars, one of the firmest and most resolute men of his day, who, recognising in the prisoner an attached attendant of the queen, placed his finger on his lips, as if to enjoin him to maintain with regard to his mistress's secrets the same determined silence which he himself would have shown under similar circumstances.

La Porte was now led to the apartments of the governor, where he found the well-known La Potterie,* who began to examine him in regard to the letter which had been found upon his person, asking him who had been destined to be the bearer thereof. Not suspecting the treachery of Thibaudière, and knowing that there was no absolute prohibition of the correspondence between the queen and Madame de Chevreuse, La Porte replied that he intended to have sent it by the post. La Potterie, however, argued from various expressions in the letter, that the prisoner was either to have carried it himself, or to have transmitted it by some person known to Madame

* Maître des Requêtes.

de Chevreuse: but finding that he could not make him waver in his answer, the judge produced a number of other letters which La Porte had received from Madame de Chevreuse, and which now served to show him that his apartments had been entered, and his papers seized.

Although several passages in these letters were written in cipher, especially the names of persons mentioned, the matter they contained was of no great importance. One thing, however, caused the most mortal terror to poor La Porte, which was the apprehension that those who had been sent to examine his apartments might have discovered a hole in the corner of a window, covered by a piece of the plaster, so neatly cut away as scarcely to leave the separation perceptible, and behind which were concealed all the most important papers he possessed—the letters to and from Spain, and the key to the cipher in which they were written. It is very clear, from La Porte's own account, that this receptacle contained sufficient matter to have brought his head to the block without further trouble, and to have proved the destruction of the queen.

Such considerations terrified him, as well they might; but he gained courage shortly after, when La Potterie proceeded to examine him on various points which he would naturally have treated in a very different way, had he been possessed of the stores of information which that repository would have afforded. He soon saw that though Richelieu perhaps might possess some vague information, he had not yet arrived at any certainty; and he determined, in consequence, to persevere in denying everything that he was not forced to acknowledge. The examination continued during two hours, at the end of which time La Potterie, finding that he could draw nothing from the prisoner, caused him to sign his deposition, and ordered him to be taken back to his dungeon.

Twice after this examination La Potterie returned to the Bastile, in order to interrogate the prisoner, leaving a day's interval between each visit; so that poor La Porte compares the mental torture to which he was subjected to the fits of an intermittent fever. On his third visit the magistrate endeavoured to draw from the prisoner some information in regard to the correspondence which the queen was supposed to carry on through some of the sisters of the Val de Grace, in which convent she had a room and an oratory appropriated to herself; but La Porte maintained the same general denial of all knowledge of the subject. His interrogator ended, however, by tell-

ing him that a letter from the queen to the Marquis de Mirabel had been intercepted and shown to her, and that she had not only avowed the correspondence, but acknowledged that M. La Porte was the secret agent through whom it was carried on.

With such agreeable tidings La Potterie left him; and it may easily be supposed that his alarm was not small when he reflected upon the nature of many of the letters to the Spanish ambassador in Flanders, and upon the character of the queen herself, by no means feeling sure that she might not have confessed the whole. "In truth," he says, "that princess had the best intentions at bottom; but if those who had influence with her held firm to their purpose, she soon gave way and came over to their opinion." With such a person he could of course feel no great security, and the very name of the Marquis de Mirabel was sufficient to cause him mortal apprehension. He was left for some time to meditate over his situation; but at length, just as he was going to bed at night, the doors of his dungeon suddenly opened, and a sergeant, with his followers, presented himself, and bade the prisoner descend to the court.

A conviction that they were about to put him to death instantly seized upon La Porte, who knew well that it was not uncommon to lead a prisoner to execution under cover of the darkness; and he besought the sergeant to tell him for what purpose he was called down at such an hour. The answer was anything but satisfactory. In the court he found a carriage and a body of archers of the police, and doubted no longer that he was going to death. In this state he was carried along past all the ordinary places of execution in Paris, trembling at St. Paul's corner, his heart sinking at the cemetery of St. John and at the Place de Grève, and only feeling at all reassured when the coach drove by the famous Croix du Trahoir and approached the house of the chancellor. Having been joined by that minister, he was conducted to the building which is now known by the name of the Palais Royal, but which was then the ordinary dwelling of Richelieu; and he there underwent a fresh examination, conducted by the stern prelate himself with that keen sagacity and eager determination which characterised all his actions. Finding, however, that La Porte could neither be embarrassed nor deceived, he adopted another system, and endeavoured to lure him to a confession by magnificent promises of reward,

assuring him at the same time that he was betraying no trust, as the queen herself had made a full confession.

No turn that the most wily art could give, no menace that the most absolute power could have executed, no promise that the most unlimited means could have fulfilled, was neglected by Richelieu to entangle the prisoner, or to drive or induce him to betray his mistress. It was all in vain, however; and at length the cardinal demanded the same questions which had been before asked by La Potterie, both in regard to the letter that had been found upon his person and to who was the person that ought to have borne it to Madame de Chevreuse. To these La Porte replied as before, that he had intended to send the letter by the post, and he strongly asserted the veracity of the statement. Richelieu, however, burst forth vehemently, exclaiming, "You are a liar!—you would have given it to Thibaudière. You wished to give it him in the court of the Louvre; he begged of you to keep it till the next day, for fear of losing it: and after that, you expect me to believe you! As in a thing of no consequence you do not speak the truth, I ought not certainly to believe you in others. Now, then, what say you to that?" *

Though thunderstruck with this blow, La Porte followed the wisest plan that he could adopt, and, seeing that concealment in this instance was vain, acknowledged the fact; on which Richelieu reprimanded him for his want of truth, and asked him why he had had recourse to such petty art. The prisoner replied ingenuously, that he had been afraid of ruining the fortunes of a gentleman, his friend, for a thing of no importance; to which the cardinal answered with a sneer, that he was wonderfully considerate. Richelieu then commanded him to write to the queen, denying that he had aided in the correspondence which she had avowed; but La Porte replied, that he dared not address his mistress in such terms. "Good, now! we shall see him as respectful as faithful!" exclaimed Richelieu. "You shall have time to think over it! You must return to the Bastile, however."

La Porte had the impudence, of which impudence he does not seem to have been conscious, to put the cardinal in mind that he had promised him not to send him back to the Bastile if he told the truth. "That is true," replied Richelieu; "but you have not told the truth, and therefore back you must go."

* These are recorded as the cardinal's exact words.

Several more questions, however, were asked by the chancellor; but that officer was cut short by Richelieu, who exclaimed, "There is nothing to be hoped for from him by gentle means, after the business of Thibaudière!" He was then made to sign his deposition, and conducted back to prison. Though irritated, Richelieu did not fail to appreciate and admire the firmness and fidelity of the queen's attendant; and he is said to have exclaimed, with that most bitter of all the many regrets which must cross the path of tyranny, "that he wished he had one person so devotedly attached to him."

After this, La Porte was forced to write a letter to the queen; and an answer was produced, apparently signed by Anne of Austria, commanding him to tell the whole truth upon the points on which he might be examined. Still, however, the faithful servant held firm, doubting perhaps whether the letter was authentic, but convinced that, if it were, it had been obtained from the princess by force. He was then forced to write another epistle to his mistress, who during the whole of this time was in agony lest her attendant should be either induced to confess facts which she herself had not avowed, or, by refusing to acknowledge conduct which she had admitted, should draw upon himself the horrid infliction of the rack. In this difficulty she had recourse to the beautiful and amiable Madame de Hautefort, whose deep attachment to Anne of Austria had caused her to reject the criminal affection of the king, not only with the calm determination of a virtuous mind, but with an appearance of disgust which soon turned the monarch's love to enmity. She undertook at once the dangerous and difficult task of conveying to La Porte, in a dungeon of the Bastile, correct information in regard to what the queen had really confessed, and what she had denied.

At that period the Bastile was furnished with a grate similar to that of a convent, and through this the prisoners who had the liberties of the Bastile were permitted to speak with their friends. By means of this grate Madame de Hautefort, disguised in the dress of a *femme de chambre*, contrived to communicate with the Chevalier de Jars, and he again found a way of conveying the tidings with which she furnished him to La Porte. No slight ingenuity, indeed, was required to accomplish the latter undertaking; and the only method that could be found was, to open a communication with the prisoners in the tower above. A stone was broken in the pavement of the terrace at the top of the tower, a hole bored into

the room in which were confined some inferior prisoners from Bordeaux; these prisoners, again, were easily induced to pierce the flooring of their room to that below; and the Baron de Tenence and another prisoner, who occupied that chamber, made a third hole down into the dungeon of La Porte. All aided eagerly in these transactions; for, as La Porte himself says, "it is impossible to conceive the charities of fellow-prisoners one for another;" and a regular system of communication was soon established between the Chevalier de Jars and the queen's attendant. The moment that the soldier who kept guard over him was gone, notice was given to those above; a string descended through the apertures that had been made, bearing the notes of the Chevalier de Jars, and carrying back the answers of La Porte; in order to write which, he had been obliged to compose a sort of ink of burnt straw, and oil saved from the salad of his supper. Means were afterwards taken, however, to convey to him pens, ink, and paper; and he soon communicated to the queen the joyful intelligence that he had in no degree betrayed her, and obtained in return such information as put his life and liberty out of danger.

All this had been accomplished just in time, for the next person who was sent to interrogate him was the infamous Lafeymas, one of the most debased and sanguinary tools of Richelieu's tyranny, who did everything that was possible to cajole the unfortunate prisoner, to terrify or to entrap him. He now embraced him; he now harangued him; he now promised him the highest honours and rewards; he now endeavoured to persuade him that a full confession would be for the queen's interests; he now exhorted him to perform the noblest action in the world, and assured him that by speaking one word he would be the cause of a reconciliation between the king and queen. All this was accompanied by kisses and embraces, till at length, finding that La Porte was not a baby to be won by such sweet things, he suddenly changed his tone, saying that he saw the prisoner was determined upon his own destruction, and, drawing forth a paper, showed him his condemnation to the question ordinary and extraordinary. He then made him go down into the chamber of the rack, where all the instruments of torture were displayed before him; and Lafeymas and the sergeant took pains to point out to him the planks, the cordage, the wedges, &c., dilating upon the method of their application and the agony which they caused.

La Porte, of course, experienced the sensations which such a sight was naturally calculated to produce; but he was prepared, however, to avoid the fate which was thus displayed before him; and, acknowledging that he had something to confess, he offered to avow it if one of the queen's attendants were brought on the part of Anne of Austria, to command him in her name to reveal all he knew. Lafeymas in return demanded which of the queen's attendants he would wish, and he immediately named La Rivière, an intimate friend of the judge, and one who, he well knew, could be brought to say anything that the court and the cardinal wished. Lafeymas, delighted, immediately notified to Richelieu his success; and La Rivière, well instructed what he was to say, was confronted with La Porte, and delivered to him an imaginary message from the queen, commanding him, in a tone of displeasure, to confess everything that he knew concerning her.

La Porte pretended to believe the whole, and said that, since such was the case, he would immediately confess everything, though, had he not received such an order, he would have suffered a thousand deaths sooner than have opened his mouth. He then deposed to exactly the same facts which the queen had acknowledged, according to the private instructions he had received, and positively denied that anything more had taken place. Convinced by the similarity of the confession that he had arrived at the ultimate truth, Richelieu abandoned for the time the persecution of the queen and La Porte, and, to use the words of a contemporary, left them to rejoice that even the foxes of the Palais Cardinal had found some cunninger beasts in the world than themselves. A reconciliation took place between the king and queen, which was complete for the time. Louis XIII. sent for his wife to St. Maur, where he had been spending some days, and on their return to Paris that cold and painful separation was done away with which had so long existed between them. Shortly after Anne of Austria proved pregnant of a son, who, La Porte naïvely says, might well be called the child of his silence.

Of course Anne of Austria had suffered greatly while these proceedings were taking place. The terror of Richelieu's indignation, or the expectation of rewards and advantages, led almost the whole court to abandon the queen; so that, even in crossing the quadrangle of the palace she inhabited, the courtiers dropped their eyes to the ground, for fear they

should be suspected of giving one look of compassion towards the victim of him who, for the time, held the horn of plenty in his hand.*

Two members of the court, however, showed a nobler spirit, —the Marchioness Senecay and the famous Count de Brienne. The one showed herself almost as much afflicted as her mistress herself at the treatment which Anne of Austria received; the other hastened down to Chantilly, to comfort and advise her at the time that she was abandoned by almost every one else. Some degree of consolation, however, was in store for Anne of Austria; and the very rumour that she was likely at length to give an heir to the French throne called in a moment around her all those base and sycophantic courtiers who had fled from her during her misfortunes.

The long period which Anne of Austria had remained the wife of Louis XIII. without giving birth to a child, either male or female, caused the fact of her proving pregnant to excite all the love of the marvellous which existed so strongly in that day, and produced an equal portion of scandal at an after period. It was busily circulated throughout Paris, and seems to have been believed by the Count de Brienne himself, that, before the least whisper of the queen's situation had got abroad, a Carmelite monk announced the fact to the Cardinal de Rochefoucault, in consequence of an express revelation made to that effect. The Count de Brienne himself seems to have been one of the first to suspect the truth, without any revelation, except from seeing the queen in tears when there appeared no particular occasion for sorrow. With the unceremonious bluntness which he affected, he demanded at once whether what he suspected was the case, and the queen making no denial, the story of the monk's revelation and of the queen's pregnancy spread rapidly all over Paris.

* Although the courtiers of Louis XIII. had by this time become basely subservient to the Cardinal de Richelieu, the people were by no means either so much awed by his power, or so much terrified by its unsparing exercise, as to abstain from that sort of cutting satire for which the French are particularly famous. Pasquinades, couplets, and libels of every kind, were common in Paris during the sway of that minister; and in them designs upon the throne itself were openly imputed to him, as is exemplified in the following verses, written about the time of the birth of Louis XIV.:

Martel, Capet, et Du Plessis
Ont voulu tous trois être assis
Dessus le trône de la France.
Les deux premiers l'ont usurpé,
Mais au tiers il est échappé,
Grace à la Divine Puissance!

It was not to be doubted that the birth of a child would give Anne of Austria much greater influence than she had ever yet possessed in France; but though a multitude of the flies of the court instantly winged their way towards the spot where the honey was likely to be found, a number of others were scattered in consternation and amazement at tidings which did away a great deal of their power or of their hopes. Richelieu himself was but little pleased at the prospect of a new tie springing up, not only between the king and queen, but between her and the nation. But the party which experienced the greatest mortification was that attached to the Duke of Orleans, hitherto the presumptive successor to the throne. The members of his faction, however, consoled themselves and him during the queen's pregnancy by prognosticating that the child would prove a girl, who of course could not succeed; and much and bitter was the disappointment felt when it was announced to the expecting people of France that Anne of Austria had given birth to a fine boy. The Count de Brienne, who was in attendance, was called in to the queen's chamber within a very few minutes after the birth of the infant; and the great joy and satisfaction expressed by the king, whom Brienne found sitting by the queen's bedside, would be sufficient, without any other proof, to do away with a great part of the scandalous suspicions disseminated in after years regarding the real parentage of Louis XIV.

After Brienne had kissed the queen's hand, which she extended to him in gratitude for his attachment during her misfortunes, the king extended his also, exclaiming, "You share my joy: but it will cause bitter mortification to many a one."

Brienne, in reply, proposed a somewhat novel way of turning out a ministry: "You have nothing to do, sire," he said, "but to throw them out of the window."

The famous Chancellor Seguier, who was also present, seemed somewhat confused amidst all he saw and heard, and, turning to Brienne, demanded, "Who would have thought it a year ago?"

"If any one had, people would not have been at the Val de Grace," replied Brienne, alluding to the chancellor's search through that convent for the private papers of the queen.

Having touched upon the suspicions which have been thrown upon the birth of Louis XIV., it may not be amiss to remark, that the general supposition on which those suspicions have been founded—namely, that the queen had never before given

promise of bearing children, is quite incorrect, as we learn from Bassompierre that she had previously miscarried in the year 1622, in consequence of an accident. Nor does there seem to be the slightest foundation whatsoever for the idle report which was also circulated at a later period, that Louis XIV. had a twin brother, who was afterwards concealed in order to prevent a contested succession. So many persons were in the room at the time of the future monarch's birth, so many were there immediately afterwards, and such are the precautions required by law in regard to the birth of a child of France, that it is scarcely possible such concealment could have taken place, even had not the king's desire for manifold offspring rendered the attempt as improbable as its execution would have been difficult.

Although there can be no doubt as to what were the feelings of Richelieu upon the occasion, yet he affected every external sign of joy; but the Duke of Orleans and his party were weak enough to show their disappointment by retiring suddenly to Blois. The birth of a second son, not long after, completely destroyed all hope of succeeding to the crown in the bosom of the Duke of Orleans; but Richelieu lost no part of his power over the mind of Louis XIII.; and though his rule was intolerable to France and to the king himself, it continued with scarcely any diminution to the end of his life. So long as that life was protracted the existence of Anne of Austria ran on in the same troubled stream as before; and though some consolation was, of course, afforded to her by the birth of her two children, the tyrannical cardinal and the moody king contrived to make even those children a source of bitter anxiety to her, by threatening daily to separate her from them. All her most faithful attendants were dismissed; Madame de Hautefort and the Marchioness de Seneçay were driven from the court, and the charge of the royal children was committed to Madame de Lanzac, a person peculiarly obnoxious to the queen.

Conspiracy now succeeded conspiracy, each having in view to overthrow the insupportable domination of Richelieu; and no new intrigue of the kind was discovered without furnishing matter for the persecution of the queen. The insurrection of the Count de Soissons took place in 1642, and was followed closely by the conspiracy of Cinq Mars; but in both the fortunes of the minister triumphed over his enemies. Both as-

sumed a very dangerous aspect as regarded Richelieu. In the first, the royal army was totally and disgracefully defeated by the troops of the insurgent prince; and, in the second, the king had to a certain degree become a party to the cabal against his own minister, looking on with no expression of dissatisfaction while measures were taken to procure that minister's fall, his imprisonment, and perhaps his death. In the first, however, the great leader of the insurgents died in the moment of victory, by the hand, it is supposed, of an assassin. In the second, while Cinq Mars was doing everything in his power, by levity, insolence, and neglect, to disgust the king, and cast from him the favour he had obtained—succeeding, indeed, to such a point that Louis was known to exclaim, "Leave me, leave me! for the last six months *I vomit you*"—Richelieu, thoroughly informed from the first* of all the proceedings of the conspirators, was taking the most effectual measures to sustain himself in power, by strengthening his foreign relations, and by making the safety of France depend upon his own. Thus, he even induced the Prince of Orange to send a formal declaration to the King of France, purporting that if the great minister with whom he had hitherto treated were removed, he would immediately make peace with Spain. This declaration was delivered to the king by the Count D'Estrades, very shortly after tidings had been received that the prince, by skilful manœuvres, and an extraordinary forced march, had saved the French army on the Rhine; and the double-dealing King of France did not fail to declare that he had never for a moment contemplated *the removal* of his minister. The triumph of Richelieu was thus as complete in the latter as in the former conspiracy.

By throwing out dark hints that the queen might have had a share in each, Richelieu held the mind of Louis alienated from his wife, and deprived her of that influence which he had feared she would acquire as the mother of a future king of France.

The days of the ambitious minister, however, were num-

* This is proved by the letters of Richelieu, Chavigni, and D'Estrades himself, from the 13th of May, 1642, to the 4th of September in the same year, which give a more thorough insight into the policy of Richelieu and the conduct of the king upon this occasion than all the memoirs that have been written upon the subject. In the memoirs of Fontrailles, &c., the passions of the partisan give a colouring to the whole, of which it is impossible to divest it. In the letters and despatches the actors in that tragedy speak out for themselves, and we judge not alone from what they display, but from what they suffer to appear.

bered; and after having struggled long against the ravages of disease, he died on the 4th of December, 1642, leaving the king apparently to act according to his own will. But the spirit of Richelieu reigned after him; and the impetus which he had given to every branch of the administration was diminished by very slow degrees, influencing the march of government for many years. No change took place in the cabinet of the king; there was a vacancy, but no alteration of system; and as the monarch himself was evidently about to follow the minister he had admired, and to whom he submitted without either loving or esteeming him, all eyes were turned towards one point, all lips were ready to worship the rising sun. Nevertheless, though the party of Anne of Austria now daily grew of greater importance, yet there wanted not persons to hint that the influence of Richelieu's memory over the mind of Louis XIII. was quite sufficient to exclude her from the monarch's nomination to the regency. That influence certainly was very great; the memory of Richelieu's high qualities might still remain when the weight of his insolent tyranny had been removed; but even at the very moment of the cardinal's death, Louis XIII. evinced not only indifference to the fate of the minister, but joy at his own deliverance. "I am at length king," he said; and though he some time after spoke of the cardinal's devout and edifying decease as giving assurance that he had reached a heavenly crown, he heard with a complacent smile one of the Gascon officers of his guard, who replied, "If the cardinal is in heaven, sire, the devil must have been robbed on the road."*

* The judgment of various men who lived under the rule of the Cardinal de Richelieu, and who had means of judging of his character, was as opposite as it is possible to conceive. The account of De Retz would very much lower him in our estimation; but it must be remarked, that in all the pictures given by that facetious prelate, the tone of character is debased to bring it down to his own standard. He treats even murder, conspiracy, and civil war with so much familiarity, that they lose the dignity of horror. Perhaps the best and most impartial sketch of Richelieu by a contemporary hand is that of Bussy Rabutin. "Armand Jean Duplessis de Richelieu," he says, "was born with a mind both brilliant and solid, an imagination lively and fruitful, a heart elevated and capable of the greatest designs, and possessed manners noble and engaging. He loved letters and the fine arts; he was liberal, magnificent, a good friend, raising those who served him—an implacable enemy, pardoning nothing. He had a fine countenance, full of gentleness, as may be remarked in his portraits; and there is every likelihood that his conduct would not have given the lie to his physiognomy, if he had had less ambition, or if it had been less fortunate. Supple, proud, haughty, patient, vindictive, natural, artificial, vain, modest, according to conjunctures, one might have said that the most opposite passions mastered him turn by turn: and nevertheless, to speak properly, he had but one—which was, the unbounded desire of reaching the first post which a subject can occupy, and maintaining himself therein

The first great alteration, however, which took place regarded the Duke of Orleans, who through life had been the enemy of the late minister, and though the tool of every faction, not less the tool of Richelieu himself. Only four days before the death of the cardinal, an edict had been published by the king, declaring the Duke of Orleans incapable of ever exercising the regency of the kingdom, depriving him of several of his posts, and, in fact, inflicting upon him that degree of punishment for the part he had taken in the conspiracy of Cinq Mars which his turbulent insignificance more than merited. The counsellors of the monarch, however, easily foresaw that many persons, who were without power for good or evil during his life would naturally rise into importance in the commencement of a new reign; and it is extraordinary to remark the various and manifold directions, the curious and tortuous paths, in which the creeping things of the cabinet sought to insinuate themselves into the good graces of whomsoever they judged likely to obtain a share of authority at an after period. All the last acts, in fact, of the reign of Louis XIII. are affected by this cause; and every deviation which took place from the policy of Richelieu may be attributed to the same motives.

All the ministers, well aware that the Duke of Orleans, from the very degree of consanguinity in which he stood to the existing and to the future king, must have great influence during a regency, failed not to advocate his interest, and to gain credit with him for his restoration to the court. The edicts against him were very soon annulled, and returning to St. Germain in the beginning of January, 1643, he immediately commenced a cabal for the purpose of obtaining the regency.

Louis XIII., about the same time, either moved by remorse for the cruelty and injustice in which he had had a share, or willing to cast the load entirely upon Richelieu, suffered a multitude of exiles to return, and opened many a prison-door throughout France. Thousands of those who had been banished now flocked to the court; and all the discontented spirits of which Richelieu had purged the land, or which he had caged in the Bastile, now flowed back again like the

at any price. All the others were, to speak properly, but auxiliaries, and looked up to this as to their chief. He would bring them forth, or make them disappear, according as they were necessary or unnecessary to his ends, of which he never lost sight. He raised himself by art, and he sustained himself by talent."

returning tide, and deluged the capital, from which they had been so long expelled. Multitudes of others, too, who had been feared by the minister, or had feared him in turn—multitudes who had been disgusted with his tyranny, or wronged by his power, hastened to return, in hopes of some advantage in the future, or some recompense for the past. Amongst others were Madame de Hautefort and the faithful La Porte, who had been liberated during the time of the queen's pregnancy, but ordered to remain at Saumur. The court, which in the days of Richelieu had been almost totally deserted, was now so completely thronged with guests, that the capital could scarcely contain them; and La Porte with his fair companion, after long searching for a lodging, at length got into a house which was proved not to possess the best of reputations.

In the mean time, the cabals and the intrigues at court of course went on, only accelerated, and yet complicated, by the multitude of fresh actors who were daily hurried upon the scene. All these as individuals strove for their own interests alone, as, indeed, is universal under such circumstances; but as the time for carrying on their intrigues was limited to the extent of the king's rapidly-declining life, the hurry with which all persons were obliged to wind along the tortuous paths of intrigue, the manner in which they jostled and ran against each other, the rapidity with which they cheated or endeavoured to cheat every one they encountered as they went, form a scene at once ludicrous and lamentable, but still striking, though so often enacted in the court and the cabinet. Brienne and De Noyers quitted their posts in the council; both, beyond doubt, influenced to a line of conduct apparently opposed to ambition, by the view of gaining a great deal under the regency of Anne of Austria for the little they sacrificed under Louis XIII. Brienne, with all his bluntness, however, took a step which De Noyers, with all his subtlety, failed to follow; and, success, of course, rewarded precaution. On obtaining the king's permission to sell his post, Brienne stipulated with his sovereign that he should be always received at court with the same facility and the same favour as before; and that which as a demand appeared to Louis the strongest proof of his old servant's disinterested attachment, secured to Brienne, when it was granted, the opportunity of maintaining all his influence unimpaired. De Noyers went at once into retirement, and was of course forgotten.

More politic, more impudent, more persevering, however, than any other, was the person destined to act the most conspicuous part in the regency, and to govern France by his power over those who governed. Mazarin had been admitted into the council on the very day of Richelieu's death;* and it is evident that from the first he had exercised a great deal of influence over the mind of the king. The retirement of the Count de Brienne from office removed one of those whom he had principally to fear; and the removal of De Noyers was instantly followed by the appointment of the well-known Le Tellier, a friend of Mazarin, to the office of secretary of state.

It has been said of Le Tellier by one of the best French historians, that by never pretending to the first place he always made sure of the second; and Mazarin seems both to have appreciated his talents and his moderation. His accession to the cabinet was an accession to the influence of the cardinal; and the only persons in the council whom Mazarin had to fear, were Bouthillier, and his talented son, the Count de Chavigni. Thus stood the parties in the cabinet, as opposed to each other, and aspiring to the supreme direction of affairs after the death of the king: Chavigni and his father, both ministers deeply versed in political affairs, especially those of France, against Mazarin and Le Tellier, both consummate politicians, and both subtle as well as determined.

Without the walls of the cabinet, however, were the parties who were to bestow the power, and for some time it was doubtful into whose hands the gift of that power would fall. The expectants were the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé; but the prince soon found that his chance was too slight to justify him in sacrificing more probable advantages by opposing those more likely to succeed. The competitors were thus reduced to the Duke of Orleans and the Queen, both equally mistrusted by the king. For a length of time it was doubtful to which, under these circumstances, he would assign the regency; and it became clear that the success of the aspirants to that high office would greatly depend upon their management of those members of the council who, in turn, were aspirants for the subordinate power.

In this double intrigue, however, necessity more than choice determined which parties would cohere together. Chavigni and his father had too deeply offended Anne of Austria, to

* According to the date of a letter cited by Aubery, it was the day after.

entertain any hope of obtaining from her favour the power which they coveted; Mazarin, on the contrary, stood, if not well, at least fairly with the princess. He had taken no active part in any of the proceedings against her; he had injured neither herself, nor any of her favourites. Thus, while Chavigni leaned towards the Duke of Orleans, Mazarin anxiously turned towards the queen. The difficulty was how to obtain her favour, and how to open such a communication with her as would enable him at once to serve her and to serve himself. Anne of Austria had shown herself hitherto quite indifferent towards him, and relying on her growing power over the king's mind, and her great hold upon the country as the mother of two princes, she seemed to believe that she could stand without support, and bestowed the greater part of her favour upon Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, who, with a narrow mind, obtuse senses, an upright heart, and considerable ambition, aspired to rule the land as prime minister; though an infant might as well attempt to rock the cradle in which it is intended to sleep.

Mazarin felt that it would be by no means good policy to serve the queen's views with the king without making her feel the obligation of his services; and, in the embarrassment under which her indifference placed him, he determined to have recourse to the man he intended to supplant, for an opportunity of cultivating her favour. He accordingly applied to the papal nuncio to break the matter to the good Bishop of Beauvais, and to inform him that Cardinal Mazarin, being devotedly attached to the person of the queen, applied to him, as one of her best friends and greatest favourites, in order to express to her majesty his desire of rendering her every good office in his power. The scheme proved perfectly successful: the nuncio undertook the mission; the good Bishop of Beauvais, without the slightest idea of Mazarin's real objects, was enchanted with the proposal, and hastened to the queen to advise her by all means to make sure of the cardinal, who was so well disposed to serve her.

The queen, with greater reason, was as much delighted with the suggestion of Beauvais as he had been with the proposal of Mazarin. In consequence, she did not fail to signify her satisfaction to the cardinal, and to give him every hope of obtaining her favour: and he, with a mind at ease, seeing no one between him and the station at which he aimed but an imbecile old man of whom he could so readily make a tool,

laboured to obtain the regency for the queen. The whole scheme, indeed, had at one time been nearly overthrown by the Count of Brienne, to whom the Bishop of Beauvais communicated at once all that had taken place. It suited not in any degree the views of that statesman, and he seems to have been strongly tempted to remonstrate with the queen, and to strive to overthrow the fabric already raised. He hastened to Anne of Austria apparently for that purpose, and inquired whether what the Bishop of Beauvais had told him was true, and what motives could have engaged her to adopt the course proposed. Anne of Austria, however, replied decidedly,—first, that she had reason to believe that Cardinal Mazarin was devoted to her service; and secondly, that, wishing to get rid of Bouthillier, Chavigni, and all those who were not in her interests, she was nevertheless desirous of keeping some one in the council who might inform her of the real intentions of the king at his death, *in order*, she said, *to follow them*. "For that purpose," she added, "I wish to make use of a person neither dependent upon the Duke of Orleans, nor on the Prince de Condé." After such an explicit declaration, Brienne was wise enough to be silent, and the arrangements of Mazarin went on.

In the end, however, the good Bishop of Beauvais himself perceived that he had raised up a dangerous rival in the queen's favour, and he joined with the Duke of Beaufort in the endeavour to undo what he had done; but it was then too late to make the attempt, and Mazarin never lost the hold he had obtained upon the queen's regard.*

In the mean time the party of the queen greatly increased. The Duke of Beaufort, who had lately returned from a voluntary exile, attached himself to her, with the whole house of Vendôme; and the Prince de Marsillac, afterwards famous as Duke of Rochefoucault, also adopted her cause at once, assuring her, at the same time, of the still more important support of the heroic Duke d'Enguien, better known as the great Condé.

A secret negotiation was carried on between D'Enguien† and the queen by means of Marsillac and Coligny, in the course of which it was stipulated, on the part of the duke,

* La Rochefoucault gives an account of all these affairs somewhat different from that of M. de Brienne; but, for reasons which will be apparent to every one acquainted with the memoirs of the time, I have preferred Brienne where the statements of the two were incompatible.

† Rochefoucault.

that if he gave all his influence to aid the party of Anne of Austria, in her efforts to obtain the regency, she again should bestow upon him all the honours, rewards, and offices from which she could exclude the Duke of Orleans without risking an actual rupture. The means of accomplishing the objects of both were discussed and arranged, and everything promised the queen that success which she afterwards obtained.

Day by day her friends increased, and her popularity in the capital, where her sufferings were not yet forgotten, spread through all ranks; but still the task of inducing the king to appoint her regent was not without its difficulties; and though Mazarin was rising rapidly in the favour of the dying monarch, yet the counsels and suggestions of Chavigni and Bouthillier constantly gained something for the Duke of Orleans and for themselves, as often as Mazarin obtained a step for himself and for Anne of Austria. Thus, when the king at length—well knowing that if the queen might perhaps use the regency unwisely, the Duke of Orleans was certain to use it ill—determined to appoint Anne of Austria regent after his death, other councillors induced him to limit the powers of the regency, and name the Duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom: and thus, when Mazarin obtained for himself the power of presenting to all benefices under the regency, the king decreed that Bouthillier and Chavigni should be, of right, members of the council of regency. The same party who had so far thwarted the purpose of the queen gained that the Duke of Orleans should preside over the council, and, in his absence, the Prince de Condé: but, in opposition to this, Mazarin induced the king to appoint him to fill the same post when Condé and the duke were absent, and to confide to the queen the nomination of persons to all vacant offices, except that of secretary of state, which required the consent of the council to make the appointment valid.

In order to give as much authority to these dispositions as possible, the king caused them to be registered by the parliament; but the party of the queen was already so strong, that loud censures were heard in every part of Paris in regard to those points which limited her authority; and she, who for so many years had been totally without political influence, could now perhaps have opposed successfully the power of the king himself. Even the parliament was so completely devoted to her will, that the Count de Brienne informs us it occupied itself from the first moment after the declaration of

the king had been recorded on its registers with the consideration of how it might most formally annul all its dispositions.

Mazarin now stood high in favour both of the king and queen; and, two days after the king's declaration had been presented to the parliament, he was selected for the high honour of standing godfather to Louis XIV. The dauphin had indeed been previously baptised, on the very day of his birth,* but the full ceremony was now performed, Mazarin and the Princess de Condé standing sponsors.

The high favour which Mazarin had by this time obtained might well have served, in the eyes of the political parties of the court, as an augury of his speedy elevation; and a stroke of policy which bound to his interests the powerful house of Condé and the mighty genius of the young D'Enguien, confirmed his hold of authority in a manner which it would have been difficult to shake. To him, we are told by Brienne, and to his solicitation, was owing the appointment of the Duke d'Enguien to command that army with which he won the famous battle of Rocroi and destroyed for ever that celebrated Spanish infantry which had obtained a military fame scarcely inferior to that of the tenth legion. Although the cardinal might consider his ultimate success secure, and although the court might well perceive that the power of the queen would only be rendered supreme by the death of the king, yet every one waited with agitation and alarm, expecting concussions of much greater severity than were at all likely to take place.

This state of suspense lasted long; and the paroxysms ot the king's disease kept the whole court in a continual movement. Now he was apparently in the agonies of death; and Anne of Austria, calling round her all her friends, took measures to guard against a *coup de main* of the other party, by putting her children under the charge of the Duke of Beaufort, whose courage and fidelity were not to be doubted. Then again came the tidings that the king was better, and playing on the guitar; and the queen hastened to conceal from the jealous and moody eyes of her husband the steps she had taken to secure the sovereign power in expectation of his

* Such is the account of Brienne, who was present; but it is singular to remark that a good deal of confusion has prevailed in regard to the facts attending Louis's baptism,—the daughter of the Duke of Orleans declaring that she acted as godmother, and that her father filled the office of godfather to the young king; whereas we know, from the most authentic records, that on the real ceremony being fully performed by the Bishop of Meaux, in the palace chapel of St. Germain, the godfather and the godmother were Mazarin and the Princess de Condé.

death, while at the same time a number of exiles who had come back without permission during the time in which he seemed at extremity scampered away into the provinces again, fearing that the first act of his recovery would be to punish their unbidden return.

Everything was prepared for the event, however, and in the beginning of May the decline of the king became so apparent, that the last measures were taken by Anne of Austria and her partisans for directing the first movement of popular feeling, which was likely to follow the death of Louis, entirely in their own favour. At length, on the fourteenth day of May, Louis XIII. died at St. Germain-en-Laye, leaving to his infant son the vessel of the state shaken by many a wind and tempest, corrupted in many points through its whole fabric, and surrounded by rocks and shoals which were only the more dangerous because they were covered with waters that rippled lightly in the sunshine.*

It is probable that Louis XIII. was not regretted by a single individual in France. His court was composed of persons who were eager to seize upon the power that was slipping from his hands; his army, of persons who might admire his constitutional courage, but abhorred that phlegmatic apathy which rendered his courage of but little avail; his nobles comprised in their corps scarcely any one whom he had not either injured, or suffered to be injured; his servants loved

* Anquetil, in speaking of the death and last dispositions of Louis XIII., says that Chavigni was the person who was employed by the queen to remove from the mind of the dying monarch the impression that she had meditated his death at the time of the conspiracy of Chalais. He afterwards says, that even when she had become regent she nourished a considerable degree of resentment towards Mazarin, for having drawn up, if not suggested to Louis, the declaration of his will which limited her powers as regent. In both these cases he is borne out by the authority of persons at the court; but it will be seen that I have taken a view of the matter totally different from his; my motive for so doing being, that Brienne takes a totally different view; and that he not only frequented the spot, and entered into the confidence of the king and queen as much as any of those who have left memoirs of the time, but also mingled with all the political intrigues of the day. He especially dwells upon these two points, giving the queen's own words in regard to Chavigni and Mazarin. In the first place, he shows that she was resolved to put no trust in Chavigni, looking upon him as an enemy: it was not likely, therefore, that she should employ him in an office of such delicacy as is here represented. Chavigni, who was of a much more bold and frank nature than Mazarin, might perhaps of his own accord speak to Louis in favour of the queen, and try to disabuse him in regard to her conduct; but it would seem clear that she never employed him. In regard to the next point, it is shown, by the queen's own language to Brienne, that long before the death of her husband she looked upon Mazarin with favourable eyes, and believed him to be devoted to her service.

him not, for he was neither liberal nor courteous, frank nor mild; his ministers despised him for his weak dependance upon others; and his people disliked him, as much for his abhorrence of multitudes as for any evil qualities. His virtues and his talents were but little estimated, because they were not such as dazzle or surprise; and yet in a reign during which more injustice was committed in the king's name than in perhaps any other period of the same extent to be found in history, he acquired the name of "the Just." He certainly could not be looked upon as clement; and if we are to believe Rohan and many of his contemporaries, Louis XIII. showed on various occasions a cold and yet sanguinary nature, in comparison with which the ambitious executions of Richelieu were mild and humane.

The French, however (though no one wept over the loss of their king), did themselves justice, as usual, in an epigram upon the faults of their late master, and summed up his character in the following epitaph:

> Ci gît le bon roi nôtre maître,
> Louis treizième de ce nom.
> Il fut vingt ans valet d'un prêtre,
> Et pourtant acquit grand renom:—
> Ouï, chez autrui,—mais chez lui, non.

Which may be rendered—

> Here lies Louis the Thirteenth, lately deceased,
> Our king and our master, and slave of a priest;
> Who yet gain'd some glory while on the French throne,
> In other king's countries,—but none in his own.*

Ere we proceed to notice the events which followed the death of Louis XIII., it may be necessary to pause, for a moment or two, on the moral and social condition of France, which it may be as well to display rather by traits of the times than by long dissertations. That the people were ignorant, and that the human mind in all classes was at a very low ebb in the scale of cultivation, we have already shown by pointing out the egregious superstition of the higher orders. The be-

* The famous President Hénault judges of Louis XIII. more favourably. He says, after speaking of the narrowness of his sphere of feeling, "The views of this prince were straightforward—his mind wise and enlightened. He imagined nothing, but he judged well. His minister only governed by convincing him; and he is by no means a prince of mediocrity who only suffers himself to be led by great means. He was as valiant as Henry IV., but of a valour without fire or brilliancy, which would have served but little in conquering a kingdom. Providence had caused him to be born at the moment fitted for him. Earlier, he would have been too weak; later, too circumspect. Father and son of two of our greatest kings, he strengthened the still shaken throne of Henry IV., and prepared the marvels of the reign of Louis XIV."

lief in judicial astrology which we have noticed was, of course, accompanied by an immense number of other prejudices of the same family, and witchcraft, sorcery, and magic were matters believed in alike by clergy and laity.

A thousand instances might be given of persons persecuted even unto the most cruel forms of death upon the accusation of sorcery; but the example of the famous Maréchale d'Ancre, who was publicly condemned and burnt alive in the Place de Grève on the charge of witchcraft, would be sufficient, were not political rancour sufficient to account for any mixture of absurdity with crime. Another instance, however, at a later period, when no such political motives sought to veil themselves under the robe of superstition, is found in the case of the famous Urbain Grandier, curate of Loudun, who, being accused of magic, was tried by a special commission appointed for that purpose, condemned, and burnt in the year 1634, only four years before the birth of Louis XIV. Some persons have indeed discovered, or pretended to discover, that the unfortunate curate of Loudun had excited the enmity of the unforgiving Richelieu; but even were it so, of which there is no proof, the perpetration of such a crime upon such a pretence would be quite sufficient to establish the lamentable state of superstition in which the whole country was plunged.

The manners of the time, of course, kept pace with the intellectual darkness of the people, and examples of coarseness, and even grossness, in the lovely and the fair and the celebrated of the court of Anne of Austria might be given which would astonish the reader, were it not impossible to dwell upon such topics in the present day.* It is true that the character of the king himself, ferocious and harsh, gave a tone to the society around him; and occasional traits of brutality, especially towards his wife, are to be found in every page of his history.

The monarch who would seize upon a whole packet of letters which his queen had been writing, and because she had wept to hear that her brother had been defeated by the armies of her husband, would cast them all down in a pile, and set fire to them, exclaiming, "There is a bonfire on the defeat of the Spaniards, in spite of the queen!" could not wonder that at an after period his own chancellor should, with insolent boldness, attempt to take a paper, which Anne of Austria had concealed, *even from her very bosom.* None of the reverences of

* See the Memoirs of La Porte, pages 95 and 96

society could be long observed under the influence of such examples.—The nobles, quarreling daily for trifles, violated even the precincts of the palace by their contentions; and the Dukes of Chevreuse and Montmorency fought in the very court of the royal residence at Monceaux, in the presence of the king's guard itself. Duels, which, next to private assassinations, are certainly the strongest proofs of a barbarous state of society, were of daily occurrence, till Richelieu interposed to put a stop to them. Nor was this all. A ferocious spirit was abroad, which took a delight in sporting with human life. No police can be said to have existed in the realm. The repose of Paris was watched over, or rather neglected, by a guard insufficient to secure the tranquillity of an ordinary village, consisting of forty-five men, badly paid, and only serving on those occasions when it was absolutely necessary to show themselves. The highways were infested with robbers; hourly rencounters were taking place in the streets of the capital; and even in the inns of large towns the traveller was anything but secure, from the cupidity of some and the brutal levity of others.

An anecdote is told of the famous Maréchal de Fabert which gives a strange picture of the exploits wherewith the young nobility of France occasionally amused themselves. Fabert, in returning to the court, after having executed some mission of importance, was stopped at Clermont en Beauvoisis by the want of post-horses, and went to bed to take some repose while the means of proceeding on his journey were sought for. He kept a light burning in his chamber, and, about two o'clock in the morning, two young officers in the French service, the Count de Rantzau and Monsieur de Quesnai, entered the room in which he was sleeping, for the express purpose of annoying a stranger. Woke by an extraordinary noise, Fabert looked up, and beheld two gentlemen dancing as hard as they could in the middle of the room. "Gentlemen," exclaimed the marshal, "you know, I trust, how to behave yourselves! This room is mine. There are others in the hotel, and I beg you would make use of them."

"Sir," replied the count, "sleep if you can; for my part, I only wish to amuse myself:" and seeing that Fabert, enraged, was starting out of bed, he burst out into a violent fit of laughter, exclaiming, "The matter is serious; Monsieur takes to his slippers!"

Fabert, now losing all patience, snatched up his sword and

fell upon them; but Rantzau and Quesnai drawing also, got him between them; so that as soon as he lunged at one, he was exposed to the other: thus he was wounded in fourteen places before any one came to his assistance. At length, however, the noise brought the whole household into the room, and Quesnai, who was nearest the door, was instantly disarmed: at the same moment Fabert sprang upon Rantzau, threw him on the ground, and holding his sword to his throat, exclaimed, "What is your name, villain? Demand your life, or you die." As he answered nothing, however, the master of the house cried out, "Hold, hold, Monsieur Fabert! I know him well; his name is Rantzau." At the celebrated name of Fabert, the young officer burst forth, exclaiming, "What have I done?—would to God that I were dead!"

"Make your escape, young fool," cried Fabert, "and try to conceal yourself from the disgraceful punishment which justice inflicts upon assassins." The two officers, however, were afterwards taken and tried, though their lives were ultimately spared at the intercession of Fabert.

Joined with this wild and sanguinary rashness, there often appeared, as a matter of course, many nobler and more generous traits of character. Courage and resolution, in all their forms, were to be found carried to the highest point; and no one displayed those qualities more strongly than Fabert himself, who joined to the sternest determination a degree of blunt simplicity which savoured of a former and more chivalrous age. Being severely wounded in Piedmont, the surgeons, after having examined his thigh, declared to the Cardinal de Lavalette that it would be necessary to amputate the limb; and that prelate undertook to communicate the tidings to Fabert himself. The brave soldier, however, demanded to speak with the surgeons in the first instance; and after having explained to him the nature of the wound, they informed him that they had come to the determination of amputating the leg. "Gentlemen," replied Fabert, "you have not consulted the principal persons interested, since it is *my* life that is at stake. No, no, I do not intend to die by pieces; death shall have the whole of me, or shall have none: who gets the *gigot*, gets the rest of my body. I will be my own surgeon." And so good a surgeon did he prove, that ere many weeks had elapsed, he and his valet had completely cured the wound which the others had pronounced incurable.

A thousand instances of chivalrous generosity might be

cited; and the noble and deep feelings in which they originated offer a strange contrast, if we will bear them in mind, with the mercenary greediness, levity, and selfishness which were already beginning in some degree to mingle with them, but which did not shine out in all their glaring nakedness till the troublous commencement of the succeeding reign.

Chevreuse, the mortal enemy of Montmorency, rendered so by an unfeeling jest upon a personal defect, forgot his enmity the moment that his chivalrous adversary fell into misfortune, used his most strenuous efforts to save his life, and wept bitterly when his death was announced to him.

In the attack upon Collioure, the Maréchal de Meilleraie raised all the wrath of Fabert by a sneer at the battalion of guards which he commanded, and which for two years had been on duty at the court. So high was the indignation of the latter, that he was quitting the head of his troops to take satisfaction on the spot, when he was stopped by Turenne, who in vain endeavoured to reconcile them. Shortly after, the Spanish army being before them, Meilleraie, as a noble kind of concession, sent for Fabert to give him his advice. The angry general, however, refused to quit the head of his troops, replying, that the battalion was ready to obey any orders, but its officers would not leave it. Thereupon Meilleraie rode up to Fabert, exclaiming, "No rancour, Fabert, in the face of the enemy! Give me your advice. What ought I to do?"

"Attack them!" was the laconic reply of Fabert. "March!" replied Meilleraie; and the battalion of guards immediately charged up the hill, and, without the slightest disorder in their ranks, drove the Spaniards from position to position till they took refuge in the town itself. As he returned, Fabert was met by Meilleraie, who sprang from his horse to embrace him, and besought him to come with him immediately, to lay out the plans for attacking Collioure.

Nor was deep and devoted attachment, as we have already shown, wanting in France at this period; and the examples of the Chevalier de Jars, Madame de Hautefort, and La Porte, are only some out of many which might be cited, to afford a strange contrast with the baseness, the caprice, and inconstancy of the Fronde. The times, indeed, were such as were best suited to try the characters of men, and to bring out the deeper qualities of the human heart. But there was already prevailing throughout society that general relaxation of morals,

and that libertine indifference to many of what ought to be the most sacred ties, which precedes, accompanies, and follows the general contempt of all others. Female virtue was held at nought throughout the land: the fashion of the day was against it, in a country where all things are fashion, and many a person whom we have every reason to believe was substantially virtuous assumed the appearance of vice for the purpose of being like the rest. There is great cause to suppose, indeed, that this was the case with Anne of Austria herself. Somewhat vain of her personal appearance, by no means insensible to flattery, and of a character and temperament not devoid of passion, the queen of Louis XIII. on more than one occasion affected a kind of sentimental attachment for various persons which certainly brought her character in danger; and yet La Rochefoucault, who assuredly was not over-credulous in regard to female virtue, and who dwells at large upon her connexion with Buckingham—the most dangerous of these engagements,—gives us distinctly to understand that the queen did not sacrifice her own or her husband's honour. Her example, however, in following so evil a mode, her strong attachment to Madame de Chevreuse and other women notorious for their intrigues, and the want of all check or restraint, moral, religious, or legal, of course induced a degree of depravity on which it would be unpleasant to dwell. Suffice it to say, that even the libertinism of the court of Louis XIV., great as it undoubtedly was, assumes a very mitigated appearance when compared with that of his father.

If the moral condition of the country was loose and bad, its political state was equally so. The feudal system in its decline had naturally verged into a struggle between the great vassals and the throne, in which the throne had become predominant; so that till the reign of Henry IV. everything had been tending gradually towards an unmixed despotism. In the wars of the League, feudality (complicated with superstition) made its last great stand, and though defeated in its efforts, still gained so much, that on the accession of Louis XIII. the scattered fragments of the resisting mass remained as obstacles to the march of government in every direction. It appears to have been through his life one of the great aims of Richelieu to remove these; but the labour and difficulty of so doing rendered the whole reign of Louis XIII. a period of transition in all things, the scene encumbered, wherever the eye turned, with the ruins of past things, out of which had

not yet risen up the brilliant but perhaps feeble state which was to last, in its rise, its splendour, and its decline, till the death of Louis XVI.

Voltaire says truly, that nothing was fixed—nothing was settled. The rights of no individual and of no body of men were ascertained. Corporations, ecclesiastical corps, bishops, princes, and jurisdictions were daily coming to blows in the streets of the capital for their real or imaginary privileges; and the same dispute pervaded towns and villages, carrying dissension into the most remote corners of the kingdom. From a general sense of the necessity of bringing some remedy to this lamentable state, sprang a system of defining all privileges, which we shall see naturally deviating, amongst a vain and distinction-loving people, into a devotion to etiquette, and a ceremonious adhesion to station both ridiculous and inconvenient.

At the same time, the power of the king was not in any degree more clearly defined than the privileges or rights of his subjects amongst themselves; the parliaments, the states-general, and the remaining power of the nobles were all obstacles still left in the way of despotism. With the first, indeed it only required skill, resolution, and military force to deal securely; and the second might be dispensed with altogether now that taxes could be imposed without their concurrence The great nobles, however, offered still formidable obstructions, though not, as formerly, a counterbalancing power; and privileges which the crown had been forced to leave in their hands, impeded both the formation of any general political system, and even the execution of recognised law. A number of towns and cities of great importance, regularly fortified and garrisoned, were in the hands of different nobles, some holding them upon the frontiers as separate sovereignties, some in the interior of the realm as high fiefs. Besides these, the government of provinces and of towns, conferred by the king, conveyed privileges of a very uncertain extent, which however were often stretched to absolute resistance to the royal authority, and to cover and support rebellion. The monarch, it is true, had the undoubted right to dismiss the refractory governor; but that could never be done but at the risk of producing insurrection.

Trevoux, the capital of the small principality of Dombes, was held by Gaston, Duke of Orleans, as guardian of his daughter; and even under the severe rule of Richelieu the

king was obliged to obtain possession of it by a stratagem. Fabert was despatched to lay wait in the neighbourhood with an armed force, while a peasant was sent to the gates during the night, pretending that he came in haste to seek a midwife for a woman taken in labour. The guards were thus deceived, the gates opened, and the king's troops soon made themselves masters of the town. The Duke of Epernon, while governor of Guyenne, dared to show the most cutting contempt towards the cardinal prime minister himself; and Richelieu, lying ill in Bordeaux, was rendered worse by the apprehension of being arrested by one of the king's subjects. Sedan was the head-quarter of all conspiracies; and a multitude of other towns throughout France were ready at any moment to set at nought the royal authority.

Nor was this all: the power of the law itself was impeded in its operations by a thousand obstacles. A thousand local jurisdictions—a thousand petty courts over which there was no control, and the limits of whose privileges were very uncertain, infested by a tribe of mercenary officers and lawyers, judges without honesty or without wisdom, advocates impudent and greedy, were not only spread over the whole country, but rioted in Paris itself, divided it into separate districts, interfered with each other and with the more regular courts of justice, and took advantage of the undefined boundaries of their jurisdiction to plunder any unfortunate suitor who might be entrapped into their snares, whether his case was really within their cognizance or not. Thus, in many instances, causes were sent backwards and forwards between two local courts, like a shuttlecock between two battledores, till the fortune of the unfortunate suitor was beaten to pieces between them. Interminable confusion, lamentable expense, and that gross injustice, the delay of justice, were thus entailed upon the people by these remnants of feudal jurisdictions, which, up to the death of Louis XIII., had been only made more complicated, aggravated in their evil consequences, and rendered more uncertain and more dangerous, by the desultory and ill-directed efforts which had been employed to establish the authority of the king's courts, and by the tyrannical, illegal, and unjust special commissions by which Richelieu had endeavoured to terrify the refractory nobles into obedience.

In Paris itself, besides the Archbishop, the Abbess of Montmartre, the Abbot of St. Germain, and the grand prior,

a number of different noblemen claimed certain judicial rights, which were totally inconsistent with the equal distribution of justice. The powers as well as the privileges of the parliament itself were equally ill defined, and indeed remained so during many years; for at a much later period we find that body proposing to try, condemn, and execute, *with closed doors*, the famous John Law: showing, by the very discussion of such a proposition, how little understood were the real principles of justice in France, even at a period when the laws had undergone the greatest amelioration.

Political economy was totally unknown; and though in the latter days of Richelieu he had made some efforts to put the finances of the kingdom upon a better footing, yet the revenue of the country did not amount to more than 45,000,000 of livres, at twenty-six livres to the mark; and the collection thereof was carried on upon the most improvident system—if that can be called a system in which injustice, peculation, rapacity, and malversation, were all mixed up together in darkness and confusion. Nor was this all: the very geographical condition of the country seemed to partake of the same indefinite and irregular character displayed by all the circumstances of its internal situation. The territory of Roussillon, separated from Spain by the great mass of the Pyrenees, and only joined to it by narrow passes, branched out into France, affording the Spaniards an easy access into that country, of which it had been made a portion by the hand of nature. The town of Avignon and the large province of Franche-Comté, which every geographical circumstance designated also as parts of France, lay in its bosom more like snakes than children, and were the refuge of rebels, insurgents, and the discontented, approaching so near to Paris itself, that a few posts brought the traitor and the criminal into a foreign territory beyond the pursuit of justice. Between France and her natural boundary of the Rhine also, lay Lorraine and Alsace; and although the grasping hand of Richelieu had snatched at Roussillon, and taken hold of Lorraine, the King of Spain still maintained his claim upon the first of those states, and the expelled duke lingered in the neighbourhood of his former territories, flitting about, deprived of everything but his army, like a soul separated from its body.

Such was the state of France at the end of the reign of Louis XIII.: everything was shaken, nothing fixed; laws

and jurisdictions were unsettled and undefined; feudal rights and privileges, no longer existing as a system, disturbed that order which they had formerly maintained; cities and fortresses in the hands of individuals; governors of towns and provinces possessing more power within certain districts than the king himself; detached portions of other countries interrupting the natural limits of France and breaking its geographical identity; no generally-recognised authority in the land, each individual and each corps struggling to extend its influence to the detriment of others; arts and sciences just beginning to break forth, but with their infancy nearly strangled by the serpents of faction and tyranny; war on every point of the frontier; ill-regulated and scanty finances; gross superstition amongst the Catholic part of the population, vehement fanaticism on the part of the Protestants, and a general grossness of manners and depravity of morals pervading all the higher classes of society, and even spreading into the lower ranks of life. Without comparing this picture with that which is to follow, it is impossible to appreciate or understand the character and epoch of Louis XIV. But one strong moving principle carried on the machine of state,—the impetus given to everything by the mighty mind of Richelieu.*

CHAPTER II.

Accession of Louis XIV.—He is carried to Paris—Popularity of Anne of Austria—The late King's Will annulled—State of Parties—The Importants—Potier—Beaufort—Madame de Chevreuse—Châteauneuf—The School of Richelieu—Chavigni—Bouthillier—Mazarin—His rise—His Favour with the Queen—His Talents—Opposition and Intrigues—D'Enguien—Madame de Longueville—Coligni—The scandalous Letters—Duel between Guise and Coligni—Triumph of Mazarin—Madame de Chevreuse and Madame de Montbazon banished—Beaufort arrested—Potier dismissed.

THE birth of Louis XIV. had been announced by a trumpet to the Spanish general in Italy, together with an offer of immediate battle. His accession to the throne was ushered in by the nullification of his father's will, and the great victory of Rocroi.

* For the contents of this chapter I have consulted Madame de Motteville, Bassompierre, La Porte, Brienne, Rochefoucault, the histories of Fabert, &c., besides several general histories. I have placed the greatest reliance upon Brienne, La Porte, and Madame de Motteville, where I have found contradictory statements in regard to the private history of Anne of Austria and the early life of Louis XIV.; because those persons had the best means of knowing the truth, and also relate the facts of which they were witnesses with an air of sincerity and candour which is not easily assumed.

No sooner were the eyes of Louis XIII. closed in death, than a rumour ran through the old castle of St. Germain that it was the intention of the Duke of Orleans to seize upon the persons of the young king and his brother, and take possession of the regency by force. Although it is not at all improbable that some of the turbulent and factious favourites of that prince, whose life was a series of frustrated *coups de main*, might have proposed to him the enterprise which he was now supposed to be on the point of attempting, yet it is very improbable that he entertained it seriously for more than ten minutes, as that was the utmost term of existence at which any of his resolutions, generally speaking, arrived. The report, however, was sufficient to justify the queen in active measures to protect her own rights, and she was already well prepared to resist any attempt to deprive her of the authority assigned to her by the will of the late king.

For several weeks the Duke of Beaufort, and the other partisans of the queen, had been negotiating with the Swiss and French guards, and had completely gained them to the interests of that princess. Intelligence of what was taking place at St. Germain was constantly conveyed to their quarters, and they held themselves prepared to march to the palace at any moment, and maintain the authority of Anne of Austria by force of arms. As soon as Louis XIII. was no more, the young king was placed once more under the care of the Duke of Beaufort; all the queen's officers were ordered to obey him at once; and, the panic soon subsiding, triumph and joy succeeded, somewhat indecent in its display, while the body of the dead monarch remained unburied within those very walls.

By the advice of the Duke of Beaufort, it was now determined to convey the young king immediately to Paris. The faithful guards were summoned from their quarters; the royal family was placed in a carriage in the midst; and followed by a multitude of the friends and attendants of the queen, who bore but too little the appearance of grief for the death of her husband, they set out, and arrived in the capital with no opposition from any party. The triumph of Anne of Austria was complete. The populace went forth to St. Germain,* to meet her, with the most enthusiastic gratula-

* Laporte, p. 30. Madame de Motteville says, that from Nanterre to the gates of Paris the whole country was filled with carriages.

tions: and on her arrival in Paris, though there might be some who were disappointed at the turn which affairs had taken, all was tranquil, perhaps we might say all was joyful; for to a people so fond of change as the French, the loss even of a good king is seldom without affording some concomitant motive for satisfaction, while the death of a bad or indifferent monarch may well be passed over without even the decent hypocrisy of mourning.

Thus surrounded by guards, whose very presence showed some signs of apprehension, Louis XIV. and his mother arrived at their palace in the capital; and scarcely had the queen entered the gates, when a proposal was made to her by her chancellor, the President de Bailleul, which by a few words affected the next twenty years of the king's life; perhaps, I might say, the whole after history of France. He pointed out to the queen that it would be better to give her opponents no time to strengthen themselves; to strike a blow at once which would place in her hands the supreme authority, and prevent all cabals against her power for the future. He proposed that, without any delay, she should carry the young king to the parliament, as had been done in 1610; and he expressed his opinion, that, without any regard for the will of the late king, the unlimited regency would be at once conferred upon her.

The suggestion was immediately communicated to the council, and might have met with severe opposition, had the party of the Duke of Orleans been as energetic and prompt as that of the queen. But, on the contrary, it was divided in itself, and felt no security in the firmness of its chief. So convinced indeed had Chavigni become that the party of Anne of Austria would ultimately predominate, that towards the latter days of the king's life he had affected greatly to devote himself to her cause; declaring, with the sort of hypocrisy common to both sides, that the interest of the Queen and Duke of Orleans were one. The truth is, Chavigni had gained all that he could gain from the king in favour of the duke, and he was perfectly convinced that that prince would gain nothing further for himself. Under these circumstances he had been inclined to rest content with what had been acquired, and to make a merit with the queen for very negative sorts of service.

The triumphant attitude, however, at once assumed by the regent, the evident devotion of the guards and the people, the popular impulse in her favour, and the boldness with which

she and her party took the first decided steps in their new career, so overawed the Duke of Orleans, that either lead by, or leading, the Prince of Condé, he made a voluntary offer of resigning into the queen's hands all the power with which he had been entrusted by the king. Condé made a similar, though not so important offer, of yielding the small authority which had been confided to him, and all the members of the council, with the exception of Mazarin, readily agreed that the king should go to the parliament, and hold what was called a "*lit de justice.*"

Mazarin, however, perceiving that it was the intention of the queen to assume at once the whole power, and that nobody proposed to mention even his name in the proceedings, or to take the slightest notice of his claims, was in every degree repugnant to the measure, though he did not venture to make any opposition to it in a council where all the members were in its favour. He addressed himself directly to the queen, beseeching her to give him permission to retire to Italy, but coupling his petition with such strong expressions of devotion and attachment as might well show the regent that he had not the slightest wish to quit France, provided he could obtain that degree of consideration which he felt his abilities entitled him to expect.

The queen was thunderstruck at his proposal; and, being not yet sufficiently aware of the indirect means generally employed by the subtle politician with whom she had to deal, she believed that Mazarin was really anxious to retire to Rome. In this difficulty she applied to the Count de Brienne, who replied shortly, that if she offered to restore to his eminence that which he lost by the annulling of the king's will, he would have every reason to be satisfied. "If he refuses," said Brienne, "it will be a proof that he is resolved not to lie under any personal obligation to your majesty, and in that case you will lose nothing by his retirement; but you will permit me to say, that I believe him much too shrewd a man not to accept your offers with very humble thanks."

The experiment was tried. Mazarin soon after presented himself before the queen to reiterate his application for permission to retire. The queen made him the proposal suggested by Brienne, and heard no more of the journey beyond the Alps.* In the mean time the bed of justice was held on the

* I have taken the greater part of my account of these transactions from Brienne himself, who may, I believe, be perfectly depended upon in such particulars.

18th of May, 1643, just four days after the death of Louis XIII., without the slightest opposition being made to Anne of Austria's design. The chancellor proposed to confer upon the queen the absolute regency of the kingdom; the parliament, which in all ages considered itself, to use the words of Voltaire, as the guardian of the kings of France during their minority, agreed at once, and registered the act.

The Duke of Orleans, however, by the same decree was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and the guard and care of the person of the young monarch was confided to the queen, who named Mazarin superintendent of his education. As an act, this transaction resembled very much that of Marie de Medicis, in assuming the regency on the death of Henry IV.; but there were many points of difference in the causes and circumstances of the two events. In the case of Mary, though no absolute force was used, there can be no doubt that the parliament was overawed by the queen, and astounded by the assassination of Henry. In the case of Anne of Austria, such was not the case; the parliament had long contemplated the approaching death of Louis, and had prepared, as we have before said, from the very moment that the declaration of his will was registered, to annul it as soon as he was dead. In the one instance it is more than probable that, had the parliament had time to think and means of resistance, it would have refused the application of the queen. In the other case there can be no doubt, to use what is only apparently a paradox, that the queen's proposal was agreed to before it was made.

The infant monarch was of course present upon the occasion, and the transactions were conducted in his name. He is said also to have demeaned himself with extraordinary grace; but where was there ever an infant monarch who did not demean himself with extraordinary grace when the record was kept by those who wrote after the graces of infancy had merged into the beneficent powers of manhood?

A crowd now surrounded the regent, composed of as diffe-

As far as regards the repugnance of Mazarin to the nullification of the king's will, it was evidently founded upon the considerations of self-interest; and Brienne clearly indicates that it was displayed before the parliament had been applied to on the subject. Whether his proposal to retire to Rome, however, was made as a threat to deter the queen from taking such a step without securing his interests, or whether it was thrown out afterwards in order to ascertain the precise situation in which he stood, and what he might expect for the future, is left in doubt by the secretary of state, and I have consequently endeavoured to state it in the same dubious manner.

rent and as discordant materials as it was possible to collect. It was divided indeed into two general classes; but each of those classes was again subdivided in itself, and full of matter for further divisions still. The only principle of cohesion amongst them was self-interest; and that principle the least change of circumstances would of course direct to the opposite result. The two great classes, however, may be called Richelieu-ists and anti-Richelieu-ists, or those who had been brought up in state affairs by that great minister, and looked forward to the various offices of the government as their share in his succession; and, on the other hand, those whom he had persecuted or kept at a distance, and who now returning from exile, or issuing forth from prison, saw in the equally persecuted Anne of Austria the head of their sect. The Duke of Orleans indeed must be considered as a thing apart, for he seldom remained long attached to any party, because he never remained attached to any principle. In the present instance he had thrown himself into the arms of Chavigni, whom he had made his chancellor,* and consequently may be regarded as belonging to the faction of the school of Richelieu.

It was very natural that the queen should look to her fellow-sufferers with affection; and we find that, during the last days of Louis XIII., all the returned exiles and liberated prisoners had been gathering round her, and now they appeared in a mass, giving themselves out to be the queen's party, and taking upon themselves such airs of authority as soon to gain from their witty countrymen of the capital the name of The Importants. It is probable, however, that their adversaries did not much fear that their reign would be long; nor can we wonder at the rapid fall of this party, if we consider for a moment its materials.

At the head thereof, assuming the likeness of prime minister, appeared Augustin Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, qualified by the sarcastic De Retz as "more of an idiot than any idiot of your acquaintance," and of whose pious zeal it is related that his first act was to signify to the Hollanders that, if they would retain the friendship of France, they must abandon the damnable heresy into which they had fallen.† Next

* Brienne.

† Voltaire strongly denies that this was really the case, and the fact certainly rests alone on the authority of the Frondeurs. It is scarcely possible, however, to suppose that such an anecdote would be manufactured and generally promulgated without some foundation; and, perhaps, it had its origin in the following facts narrated by Brienne. D'Avaux and Servien were sent, while Potier still

to him in authority, and still higher in favour, appeared the son of Vendôme, Francis, Duke of Beaufort, brave as a lion, not without some talent, but perfectly incapable of any great scheme or any well-concerted enterprise. Towards the queen he affected an air of devoted gallantry, which she permitted in consideration of his zeal and fidelity; although his manners and conversation have been represented as those of the *halles* of Paris, a term equivalent to our British Billingsgate. The rest of the faction of Importants was composed of such men as Vitry, who, twenty-six years before, had been entrusted with the delicate task of arresting the Maréchal d'Ancre, and which doubtless he executed to the satisfaction of those who confided it to him;* of Bassompierre, who, now in his decrepitude, crept forth from the Bastile stuffed full of loves and gallantries; of the Duc de Cramail, who, possessed of considerable powers of mind, had been too long a prisoner to enter into the events and feel the spirit of the period; and others of the same character, who, either in exile or imprisonment, had lost a knowledge of the times and the habit of affairs.

Such was the party of the Importants at the commencement of the regency; but, as time went on, a number of other persons attached themselves to it, which rendered it far more formidable than it had been at first. Amongst the earliest to swell its ranks were two personages who had played a very conspicuous part during the reign of Louis XIII. The first of these was the famous, beautiful, and witty Duchess of Chevreuse, the intimate and attached friend of Anne of Austria, who had been apparently sacrificed to her friendship for that queen, and whom Louis XIII. had judged so dangerous that he had expressly enjoined the regent never to recal her to the court. By the same prohibition was affected the former keeper of the seals, Charles de l'Aubespine, Marquis de Châteauneuf, who had displayed

acted as minister, to treat for peace with the empire, and on their journey stopped to conclude some negotiations at the Hague. On taking leave of the states, D'Avaux thought fit to address to their high mightinesses a long remonstrance in regard to their Catholic subjects, and an exhortation to treat them more mildly. Servien, who hated his colleague heartily, instantly disavowed all share in this proceeding; but the states were offended, the interests of France injured, and the Dutch laid a formal complaint, asserting that the French ambassador had attempted to make the Catholics of the country throw off their dependence upon the constitutional government.

* He killed him upon some slight resistance, which saved the young king and Luynes much embarrassment.

considerable talents under the administration of Richelieu, but had ultimately made himself obnoxious to that great minister, after having given many a sanguinary proof of his devotion to him. Amongst other charges urged strongly against him, was his having presided over the court which condemned to death the gallant and chivalrous Montmorency, though he had every motive and every excuse for declining the painful task. In the exercise of this function he condemned to death the man in whose father's house he had been brought up as a page.

The wishes of Louis XIII., however, were destined to have but little weight with Anne of Austria. Châteauneuf and Madame de Chevreuse applied for permission to return to the court as soon as the king was dead; and the gates of the prison of Angoulême, where the former was confined, were instantly thrown open to give him exit, while the latter was recalled enthusiastically from her long exile, and hastened to appear at court. Before she reached Paris, however, some persons, whose names are not very clearly known, inspired the queen with doubts in regard to the propriety of this conduct, and Anne of Austria began to hesitate whether she should or should not despatch messengers to stop her former friend by the way. Long before her return, if we may believe La Rochefoucault, the queen's affection had mightily cooled towards Madame de Chevreuse, and she regretted, almost as soon as she had granted it, the permission given to re-enter France. That writer, indeed, insinuates that to the counsels of the Bishop of Beauvais was owing the fall of Madame de Chevreuse in Anne of Austria's opinion; and it is clear that all parties looked forward to her return with equal apprehension, perfectly uncertain to which side her intriguing spirit might lead her, but sure that she would not rest satisfied with embracing one faction without endeavouring absolutely to destroy the other. She was permitted, however, to continue her journey to the capital, more probably because the queen felt that she could not with any appearance of gratitude or honour refuse, than from any real inclination to recal her to the court. She was met at Brie by La Rochefoucault, who, knowing that the whole face of the French cabinet and policy was entirely altered since the duchess had been sent into exile, took great pains to draw out for her a map of the strange country she was about to visit, and, if the remembrances of his old age are correct as to what passed in his youth, laid out for her that

plan of conduct which after events proved would have been the most advantageous for her to pursue. Thus prepared, she proceeded to Paris, and was received by the queen with kindness.

Not so, however, Châteauneuf, who was commanded to abstain from appearing at court; but he was ordered to take up his residence in his house at Montrouge, sufficiently near to Paris to cause great disquietude to all those who feared his return. The cause of the partiality shown upon this occasion is probably to be found in the great intimacy which had arisen between Anne of Austria and the Princess de Condé, a woman of high mind and clear intellect, with some faults and failings doubtless, but with a sufficient degree of real superiority to make her person esteemed, and such a tone of decision as to cause her advice to be listened to with respect on all occasions by the queen. She was the sister of the dead Montmorency, and her enmity towards Châteauneuf may well be understood.

Some time after Madame de Chevreuse had reappeared at court, and Châteauneuf had taken up his abode at Montrouge, a number of other persons were added to the cabal of the Importants, who had acquired by no means a good reputation under the rule of Richelieu, and whose acts had distinguished them, not alone as men dangerous to that minister, but as men dangerous to any state in which they might be suffered to remain. These were Fontrailles, Montressor, St. Ibal, and others of the same class, all of whom, De Retz declares, died mad, and who previously had borne a prominent part in every desperate conspiracy which had convulsed the reign of Louis XIII. They were the men who were to have murdered Richelieu at Amiens; they were the men who had carried on all the lower parts in the insurrection of the Count de Soissons; they were the men who had excited, supported, directed, and abandoned Cinq Mars; and now, rejoicing at the prospect of new commotions, they brought their lean faces and unscrupulous hearts to spread a leaven of conspiracy through the very innocent cabal of the Importants.

We must now turn to examine the opposite faction, at the head of which we may place the Prince de Condé, a man who had shown himself neither very capable nor very daring under Richelieu, but who, after consenting that his son should marry the niece of that minister, had been loaded with favours, honours, and rewards; had seen his enemies of the house of Epernon punished for the faults which he himself committed,

and was bound to the policy of the deceased minister both by interest and gratitude. He had agreed at once, it is true, to annul the declaration of Louis XIII.'s will, and had willingly consented that the queen should enjoy the unrestricted regency; but as soon as he found what he had lost by this facility, he looked with anger and disappointment upon the cabal of the Importants, by whom he had suffered himself to be led, and attached himself more strongly than ever to the friends of Richelieu.

The Duke of Orleans throughout must be considered as a cipher, which only gave value to the figures which it followed. The principal persons of importance, after the Prince de Condé, were Chavigni, Bouthillier, and Mazarin; but each member of this faction was animated by different views and different interests; and, although through them all there ran a feeble thread of union, their selfishness prevented them from acting with any force against their general opponents. Had each shaped his course with a reference to that of the others, they might have acted as chain-shot fired into a fleet, sweeping away all before them; but in their actual state they were like the same shot attached together by packthread, the connexion being burst asunder even by their own progressive advance.

Such was in some degree the condition of the two great divisions into which the French court had fallen; but while the first wranglings were going on, which seemed destined to precede a general struggle, an individual of the faction of Richelieu was separating himself from the mass, and, with keen eyes towards his own individual interests, was preparing step by step to attain that commanding position from which he would be enabled to hurl down beneath his feet each of the contending parties and their leaders. This man was Julius Mazarin, the place of whose birth, and the station of whose family, are equally doubtful. It is certain that he had been a soldier, a negotiator, and a priest; that he had been educated in Spain; that he had attached himself to France; and that, in negotiating for other powers with the country which he was afterwards destined to rule, he had shown for it a partiality and a tenderness which were attributed to corruption, and at all events were recompensed with honours and offices. In him Richelieu, during the latter part of his life, placed the most unbounded confidence; and in a letter from the Count d'Estrades to the Prince of Orange, dated

Lyons, September 4, 1642, we find these extraordinary words, which may serve to show not only the authority which Mazarin had already obtained, but the trains of policy which he was then laying for the foundation of his future power. "I ought to tell your highness also," says D'Estrades, "that no one can express greater respect for you, nor a greater desire to possess your friendship, than the Cardinal Mazarin, who is a person of great talents, and who conducts all affairs under the cardinal duke."

After the death of Richelieu, Mazarin, with that politic affectation of moderation which served greatly to disarm opposition, and to facilitate each of his steps towards power, expressed the strongest inclination to retire from the court of France, and take up his abode at Rome; creating an opportunity of coupling this desire with a display of his deep zeal and attachment to the service of the King of France, by assuring the monarch that all his efforts at Rome should be employed to watch over and promote his interests, and to show his gratitude for the great and extraordinary favours which had been showered upon him. The king, he says himself, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated February 18, 1643, would not permit him to put this purpose in execution; but commanded him to remain in order to assist the counsels of France, *and to take the conduct of all the most important affairs.*

After the king's death, as we have already seen, Mazarin renewed this pretence of a desire to retire to Rome; but the queen's commands proved as potent as the king's, and the humble-minded prelate remained, fingering gently the globe and sceptre, till he got them into a deputed grasp which retained them with a firmer or a laxer pressure till the day of his death. Very soon after the queen had taken possession of the regency, it became a general conviction of the most clear-sighted that the power of Mazarin was rising. Nor did Anne of Austria herself refrain from expressing openly the confidence which she placed in him; and, even before the death of her husband, she had told the Count of Brienne that she was perfectly convinced of the attachment of Mazarin to her interests.

Immediately after she had become regent, Brienne declares, speaking of himself, "I made, on my part, a thousand protestations of service to the cardinal, being persuaded that thereby I should give pleasure to the queen." The same was

the case with La Rochefoucault, who says, that very soon after the death of the king, it was not difficult to discover that the credit of Mazarin with the queen had augmented, while that of the Duke of Beaufort had diminished. Day by day he went on gaining more and more upon the regard of Anne of Austria, as much by his real talents, to which she could not be blind, and which gave her the expectation of direction and support in the difficulties of her new situation, as by his insinuating manners and courtier-like adaptation of his advice to her circumstances. Nor was this all: the wisest and the most clearsighted of the courtiers, of whatever party they might be, perceived that the capacity and powers of the cardinal were such as to render him the only person about the queen fitted for the general direction of the affairs of the kingdom.

Brienne suffers this to be apparent through his whole narrative of these events; and La Rochefoucault in his interview with Madame de Chevreuse before she arrived in Paris, gave her the following view of the queen's esteem for Mazarin, and of that minister's capabilities in regard to the high task which he was likely to be called upon to perform. "I represented to her," he says, "that the queen was certainly resolved to retain about her the Cardinal Mazarin; that it would be difficult to judge by any other means than by the event, whether this resolution would prove good, or evil, because, being a creature of the Cardinal de Richelieu, and united with his relations, it was to be feared that he would hold by his maxims; but nevertheless, having had no part in his violent acts, and being almost the only one who had any knowledge of foreign affairs, I doubted whether (in the absolute necessity in which the queen and the state were placed, of having a man capable of managing those affairs) it would be easy to obtain from her the exclusion of Mazarin; besides which, I did not see any person whose capacity and fidelity were sufficiently known to induce us to wish to establish him in a post so difficult and so important as that."

This wise view of the case was taken by many others, and very likely served to confirm the queen's opinion in regard to the statesman in question. but there was another cause which induced Anne of Austria to adhere most pertinaciously to the preference which she had already formed for Mazarin; that cause was, the violent opposition which she met with from a great number of her old friends and attached de-

pendants, and from the manner in which that opposition was urged. La Porte, in describing her character during the time that she was suffering under the oppression of Richelieu, declares that she was kind, gentle, and full of every good intention; but that, if those who were about her pressed her strongly and perseveringly, they could easily persuade her to take a very opposite course to that which she had at first proposed to follow.

Such, doubtless, was the appearance that the queen's character assumed so long as the exercise of her will was in reality restrained by a power that she could not resist; and many others judged as unwisely as La Porte, and believed that to proceed from the original formation of her mind, which was only a modification produced by circumstances. Amongst these was Madame de Hautefort, who had also been recalled to the court on the death of the king; and she, La Porte, and others, soon found that the same woman, who, in adversity and under irresistible restraint, had been easily persuaded, now that she held in her hands the supreme authority, and believed that her will must be obeyed, resolved that it should be so, and stiffened herself against any remonstrance which took in the slightest degree the tone of reprehension.

As soon as ever La Porte and Madame de Hautefort arrived at the court, they perceived the growing authority of Mazarin, and made up their minds to attack his authority on a side where they thought the queen most sensible. The cardinal was yet in the prime of his life, handsome, courteous, insinuating; and there did not want rumours in the gay and scandal-loving city of Paris, which attributed the predilection of the queen for the minister fully as much to the heart as to the head. The long conversations which he held with her majesty in private, and which are reported by La Porte to have been really remarkable, of course did not pass unnoticed; and the friends who had formerly been her great counsellors and confidants did not fail to bring to her ears all the rumours that were current in Paris regarding her.

The queen had very imprudently commanded La Porte always to tell her the truth—a command which ought never to be given but by the wisest and most candid of monarchs to the wisest and most disinterested of subjects, otherwise its execution becomes dangerous to both. Whether La Porte told her the truth in all other respects, we cannot, of course, discover; but he certainly told her the truth regarding the

reports about her and Mazarin. In the first instance, the queen heard them with apparent indifference, declared that the cardinal was by no means the gallant man that was supposed, and, *if we may believe the narrator*, threw out an innuendo too gross and filthy to be repeated, but which tended to shield her reputation, while it cast upon Mazarin an imputation of the blackest character.

We would rather believe that La Porte falsified the truth, than that any queen or any woman could so degrade herself. On the next occasion when her attached attendant returned to the subject, she heard him with less temper, became very red, and flew into a passion, declaring that it was the Prince de Condé who spread these reports; at the same time beating the glass of the window violently with her fan. The attack was, nevertheless, kept up upon her by a number of her former friends; and Mazarin could have desired nothing better in order to destroy their influence and to raise up his own.

The arrival of Madame de Chevreuse, and her conduct towards the queen, brought these matters to their height, and furnished the cardinal with an opportunity of overthrowing the whole faction, and mounting to power upon its ruins. The duchess had promised La Rochefoucault to act with scrupulous care and moderation, and, without attempting to govern the queen, to endeavour at first, by all the arts which she knew so well how to use, to regain that high place in the affection of her mistress from which her absence had caused her in some degree to descend. He had assured her of the co-operation of Madame de Seneçay, Madame de Hautefort, and all the old friends of the queen; and he showed her that, by bending and submission at first, she might soon place herself in such a situation as to have the fate of Mazarin in her power. On her arrival she was received with great kindness by Anne of Austria, and any little difference that she perceived in the conduct of the queen, she attributed to causes which her presence would remove in a moment; and at the same time the counsels and opinion of the Duke de Beaufort, all unfitted as he was to counsel any one, convinced her that her power was as high as ever.

Beaufort himself, the Bishop of Beauvais, and all the rest of the cabal, were by this time extremely jealous of the influence which Mazarin had acquired. They had considered the queen-regent entirely as their property, and regarded any one not of their faction, who attempted to excite an interest in

her bosom, as little better than a highway robber. For this reason she determined upon his destruction, and assured Madame de Chevreuse that she could accomplish it when she liked. Till her arrival, Mazarin was somewhat doubtful of the degree of influence which she might be enabled to exert; and although he had taken every measure to undermine the queen's affection for her, as well as to strengthen himself, he did not think it unnecessary to wait upon her the day after her arrival, and endeavour to effect an union with her: he offered her both his services and his purse; softening the latter proposal by speaking of her exile, her sudden return, the slow payment of orders upon the royal treasury, and every topic which could render the acceptance of pecuniary assistance less mortifying to her pride. She refused his offer of money, however, at once; and for his offers of service treated him with a degree of raillery which showed how confident she was of the complete restoration of her authority.

The complaisance which Mazarin displayed towards Madame de Chevreuse only the more strongly confirmed her in the opinion of his weakness and her power; and she determined at once, by recalling Châteauneuf to office, to destroy the rising minister, and to strip the family of the Cardinal de Richelieu of all that they had acquired under the government of that great statesman, in order to gratify her revenge against a race she detested, and at the same time to recompense her friends and adherents with the vacant offices. But, brilliant and talented as she was, she was engaged at a game of chess with the first player in Europe. Mazarin contrived to beat her by her own moves; and while he threw himself between her and the family of Richelieu, which gave him all the advantages of apparent disinterestedness and secured him powerful support, he took no notice of the direct attack upon himself by the efforts for the recal of Châteauneuf, but contented himself with moving up the Chancellor Seguier, at whose office Châteauneuf aimed, in order to protect his game, and to prevent himself from receiving a check from the former keeper of the seals.

In the mean time Madame de Chevreuse pursued her plans against him with vigour, but without skill. She, like the rest, had mistaken the character of the queen, from the appearances which that character had assumed in adversity; though, indeed, she might have judged, from the pertinacity which Anne of Austria had always shown in her affection for those whom

the king and Richelieu had striven to make her relinquish, that her favour could never be shaken by direct attacks, and could only be undermined by covert insinuations. She and her party demanded loudly of the queen that the young Duke de Richelieu should be stripped of the government of Havre, in order to invest therewith the Prince de Marsillac (Rochefoucault); that the high-admiralty of France should be taken from the Duc de Brezé, as a prey for the Duke of Beaufort; and that the Maréchal de Meilleraie should resign the government of Brittany, as a plaything for the old Duke of Vendôme.

These demands were not urged by the duchess herself alone, but by the whole faction of the Importants, Potier, Beaufort, Vendôme, Mercœur, Rochefoucault, and a long train of inferior nobles; while Mazarin himself was placed in a difficult position by the offers of service he had made to the duchess on her first arrival. At the same time, the Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé, not very well contented with the small share of power they retained, looked on with no great interest in the game of Mazarin; and Chavigni, who had seen his father (Bouthillier) dismissed by the regent, and had himself been forced to cede his place of secretary of state to the Count de Brienne, though he retained his seat in the council, gave but very lukewarm assistance to the minister who was so rapidly rising above his former colleague.

Madame de Chevreuse, however, went on, as we have said, playing the game of Mazarin for him; while Seguier contrived by the interest of his sister, one of the nuns of Pontoise, who had much influence over the queen, to bar the door against Châteauneuf. Mazarin, without absolutely counselling the queen to reject the demands of the Importants, proposed delays and expedients which irritated the Duchess of Chevreuse to the highest pitch. On all occasions the queen bade her apply to Mazarin, and the duchess did not fail to refuse to receive favours from any hand but that of her mistress; mingling her complaints with invectives and sarcasms against the minister, which did not fail to confirm the queen in an opinion which the cardinal had instilled into her, that it was the intention of Madame de Chevreuse to rule her with a rod of iron.

Anne of Austria seems to have borne this conduct with much patience; arguing with her, remonstrating, and warning her distinctly that, if she plunged herself into further political intrigues, she would bring about her own ruin.

To the faction of the Importants, however, the queen was

willing to grant something, rather than come to an open rupture with her old friends in the very commencement of her regency: thus the government of Brittany was taken from the Maréchal de Meilleraie, but it was not given to Vendôme, and, in regard to the other demands of the faction, they were eluded, partly by promises, partly by delays.

The most powerful engine, however, which Mazarin employed to shield the house of Richelieu from the storm by which it was menaced, without exposing himself to its full fury, was, the influence of the Princess de Condé, whose enmity towards the Duke de Beaufort, who had treated her daughter (afterwards Duchess de Longueville) with contemptuous levity in regard to an alliance proposed between the two families, was but a shade less than that which she entertained towards Châteauneuf; and Richelieu himself had taken care, by marrying his niece to the Duke d'Enguien, to secure the support of the princess for his relations.

Thus all parties were playing a game, the result of which was still doubtful, though great chances of success lay on the side of Mazarin; when a new actor, appearing on the scene, rendered the whole intrigue more complicated, and restored, for a short period, to the faction of the Importants far more than they had lost by their own blindness and stupidity. At the very same time, however, one of those acts of private levity and misconduct which have, in France more frequently than in any other country in the world, given a sudden change to the whole affairs of state, and affected the welfare and destiny of the country, was lying in preparation, destined in the end completely to change the face of state policy, and to cut at a single blow the Gordian knot into which the various parties had entangled the state intrigues of the times.

That new actor was the victor of the battle of Rocroi, the justly celebrated Duke d'Enguien, who returned to the court about the middle of 1643, accompanied by a number of young noblemen, glowing with their triumphs over the Spanish arms. His great influence, his sudden and mighty renown, the affection with which he was regarded by the army, and his extraordinary genius, rendered the young duke's support an immediate object with each of the cabals of Paris. Mazarin showed him the most humble devotion; the Duke of Orleans, though somewhat jealous, was anxious to attach him to his interests; and the Importants were not less desirous of gaining the co-

operation of a prince whose weight would make whatever scale he threw himself into preponderate almost to a certainty.

It is true, he had married Clara Maillé de Brezé, niece of the Cardinal de Richelieu, and near relation of all those against whom the operations of the faction were directed; but it followed not at all in those days that the views and interests of the husband and wife should go together, and the Duke d'Enguien was in no degree notorious for his affection towards the duchess. As the interest of his mother, however, and every political consideration, would have carried him strongly to the opposite party; and as D'Enguien himself hesitated for some time, toying with the courtship of all factions; the Duchess of Chevreuse, and other lady-leaders of the Importants, arranged their plans for entangling the young duke, and binding him to their party, by meshes of a softer kind.

Still beautiful, though past her youth, the Duchess of Chevreuse appeared as step-daughter of another fair dame, not less beautiful and somewhat younger than herself; this was the Duchess de Montbazon; and these two ladies, neither of them particularly famous for scrupulous virtue, gathered round them, for the purposes as much of faction as of amusement, all the bright and beautiful that they could collect in Paris. To this circle, as it may well be supposed, the Duke d'Enguien was easily attracted; especially as his own sister, Marie de Bourbon, the beautiful and talented Duchess de Longueville, was one of its principal ornaments. We must notice here the strong affection with which D'Enguien regarded his sister, as it was the matter of base and scandalous comment in Paris, where such fraternal regard was not very usual, and as it greatly affected the events about to be related. D'Enguien was soon gained over, attached himself to the Duchess of Montbazon, was treated with every degree of kindness by that lady, and was publicly exhibited by the faction of the Importants as a new accession to their party.

Mazarin saw the greatest obstacle thrown in his way which he had yet had to encounter, when suddenly a piece of malicious scandal dissolved the vision of success which had risen before the eyes of the Importants, as if by the stroke of an enchanter's wand. In the very prime of her youth and beauty, brilliant, admired, and courted, the Duchess of Longueville of course excited no little jealousy in persons whose more mature charms were under the influence of life's autumn, and

who saw the bright things of existence passing away into the hands of another generation. This feeling seems to have been the most poignant in the bosom of Madame de Montbazon: and perhaps D'Enguien's affection for, and confidence in, his sister, irritated in some degree the elder lady to whom he had attached himself.

The intimate friend of D'Enguien, the Count de Coligni, was suspected of being attached still more strongly to the sister than to the brother; and one day after the Duchess de Longueville had quitted the school for scandal established by the Duchesses of Chevreuse and Montbazon, some letters were found, as if let fall by her accidentally, which did not tend to put her fidelity to her husband in a very clear light. These letters were brought back to the circle, and read with many a jest and many a comment. The scandal spread all over Paris, and Madame de Montbazon lost no opportunity of promulgating that the letters which had been found had undoubtedly dropped from the person of Madame de Longueville, and were part of her correspondence with Coligni.

The whole town was on fire with the tidings; it spread from house to house, and from lip to lip, till at length it reached the Princess de Condé, coupled with information of the part which Madame de Montbazon had played in the whole business. Indignant at the imputation cast upon her daughter, the princess immediately flew to the queen, demanding justice; but, before Anne of Austria could take counsel with her friends and advisers in regard to what she ought to do under such circumstances, the Duke d'Enguien had at once chosen his part, broken off all communication with the enemies of his sister, and hurled a vehement defiance at the whole cabal, which was instantly taken up by the Duke of Beaufort. The quarrel spread through all their followers and attendants; the officers who had served under D'Enguien flocked to offer him the support of their swords; the houses of Vendôme, Montbazon, Chevreuse, Guise, and Lorraine ranged themselves on the other part; and in a few hours Paris would have been deluged with blood, if the queen had not exerted herself vigorously to put a stop to the quarrel, and decide the dispute by her own authority: while the Prince de Condé, roused from his apathy by the danger of his son, used every energy to prevent the hero of Rocroi from shedding his blood in a pitiful quarrel commenced by a circle of bad women and carried on by a faction of intriguing men.

The queen announced to Madame de Montbazon that she must make reparation to the Princess de Condé, and the express terms were regulated by no less a person than Mazarin, who gained a great accession of influence by the support that he gave to the house of Condé, and by the abasement of one of the heroines of the opposite faction. An apology was drawn up, which Madame de Montbazon was compelled to read before a large assembly of the court at the house of the Princess de Condé; but, in so doing, she used a tone of insolent jest and raillery, which only aggravated her offence in the eyes of the Princess de Condé, and left them as bitter enemies as ever.

The more serious disputes between the male parts of the two factions reduced themselves to a duel between the Duke of Guise and Coligni. It is more than probable that the letters were forged; but, whether the Duke of Guise had any share in their fabrication or not, he so warmly espoused the cause of her who had circulated the scandal, that the brunt of the affair naturally fell upon him.

The matter needed not, however, to have proceeded to bloodshed, had the counsels of the wise and moderate friends of all parties been attended to; nor would it have done so, had not the mortified vanity of a woman taken part in the business. The Count d'Estrades, famous both as a soldier and a negotiator, was applied to by his relation Coligni to carry for him a message to the Duke of Guise, demanding his presence, with a single friend, in the Place Royal. D'Estrades replied that he would do so willingly, but that the duke had already publicly denied having any share in the scandal which had spread from the house of Madame de Montbazon; and that, if he repeated the denial, he could not properly be called upon to give any further satisfaction. To this Coligni replied, "That has nothing to do with the matter now. I have pledged myself to Madame de Longueville to fight him in the Place Royal, and I must not fail." The Duke of Guise instantly accepted the challenge, and repaired early on the morning appointed to the Place Royal, which, though planted with trees, was at that time in the centre of the most fashionable part of Paris.

Coligni met him with the Count d'Estrades, who, as was customary in those days, encountered hand to hand Bridieu, the second of the Duke of Guise. Coligni was disarmed and wounded, and Bridieu was at the same time overcome by the

Count d'Estrades, who instantly hurried up to his friend, whom he found severely hurt. Though wounded himself, he offered to Coligni to recommence the combat on his part with the Duke of Guise; but Coligni would not suffer him to do so, and was carried home, where, after lingering for some months, he died, greatly regretted by the whole house of Condé. There appears to have been very little doubt that the duel was entirely promoted by the beautiful Duchess de Longueville; but a still more sanguinary trait is generally added to the history, in which perhaps scandal may have had its share. The duchess, we are told, after having exacted from her lover that he should fight the Duke of Guise, and having ascertained the time appointed, repaired to the house of the old Duchess de Rohan, and there, from behind a blind, became an unseen spectator of the combat which terminated so disastrously for her champion.*

This being the first duel under the regency, the queen and her council threatened highly to put in force the laws by which Richelieu had succeeded in completely stopping that evil and absurd practice. The prosecutions which were commenced against the parties produced a letter from the Prince of Orange,† too remarkably characteristic of the man and of the times to be omitted in this place; it is addressed to the Count d'Estrades, and is dated 16th of April, 1644:

"SIR,—I understand that you are pursued by the parliament for having served Monsieur de Coligni, your relation and mine, in an affair of honour. I beg that you would quit a country where they do not understand good people, such as you are, and come to join me here, where I am ready to divide with you everything that I have, in order to testify my esteem and friendship for you. I send you a bill of exchange for a

* Madame de Motteville, who gives a full account of the duel, does not absolutely say that she knew Madame de Longueville to have witnessed it; using the words, "as was believed." The following verses, however, which that pious lady gives as written on the duel, show, by the sentimental levity with which they treat the connexion between Coligni and Madame de Longueville, the looseness French morals at that time:

"Essuyez vos beaux yeux,
Madame de Longueville,
Essuyez vos beaux yeux,
Coligni se porte mieux.

S'il a demandé la vie,
Ne l'en blâmez nullement;
Car c'est pour être votre amant
Qu'il veut vivre éternellement."

† Frederic Henry.

hundred thousand livres upon the Sieur Hœust, who will give them to you directly. If you have need of more, you have nothing to do but to take it, and to come and join me immediately, without stopping any longer in France, where they do not understand your value."

The most important act of the intrigue, however, was yet to come. The irritation which existed between the Princess de Condé and the Duchess de Montbazon rendered it likely that some new explosion of passion would take place in the various meetings to which they were, of course, subject in the ordinary intercourse of the court. The same was the case with the Duke of Beaufort and the Duke d'Enguien, and this state of things produced two of the most favourable circumstances that it was possible to imagine for the policy of Mazarin.

In order to prevent any unpleasant consequences between the two ladies, the queen commanded Madame de Montbazon to retire immediately from every place where she should meet the Princess de Condé—an order which was received with anger and indignation, and which was only obeyed for a time, with a full determination of evading it as soon as possible. On the other hand, the Prince de Condé, apprehending every moment that the violence of his son would produce bloodshed between him and the Duke of Beaufort, saw no path open before him but a strict union with Mazarin, for the purpose of destroying the faction of the Importants. To ensure the most perfect ascendancy, and to put all chance of opposition out of the question, it was necessary to gain also the Duke of Orleans to act vigorously in the same direction; and Condé, who had shared that prince's mortifications in regard to the regency, now laboured strenuously to bring him over to the party which he had at length espoused.

His applications to the Duke of Orleans for this purpose came at a moment when that irresolute prince was torn by contending feelings, and labouring under one of those ague-fits of irresolution to which he was so much subject. When urged by his old friend and confidant, Montressor, he was ready to throw himself into the arms of the Importants; and when listening to the insinuations of the Abbé de la Rivière, who abhorred Montressor with all the warm detestation of jealousy, he was quite as ready to hold out his hand to the Cardinal Mazarin.* Shaken between these fits of heat and

* De Retz

cold, it is probable that he would have remained perfectly neuter, had not the solicitations of the Prince de Condé come to determine him. He perceived in a moment that there could be no danger in taking the part which Condé proposed, a perception which was always agreeable to that feeble prince.

The uncle of the king, and lieutenant-general of the kingdom, joining with the first prince of the blood and with the favourite minister of the queen-regent, supported by the greatest general of the age, and by an army devoted to him, could, of course, risk nothing in encountering a cabal formed by private individuals; and, under these comfortable circumstances, the Duke of Orleans determined to array himself against the Importants. He did so the more willingly, we cannot doubt, because he had been disappointed in the hopes held out to him by the Bishop of Beauvais, who, on the occasion of the queen assuming the unlimited regency, had assured the Duke of Orleans that the whole of the real power would be entrusted to him—an assurance foolishly uttered, and foolishly believed.

In the mean time the conduct of the Importants themselves gave the fairest pretext in the world for destroying them, without any charge of inconsistency. The Duchess de Montbazon and Madame de Chevreuse took counsel together to evade the queen's commands; and in order to get rid of the unpleasant submission which the former was obliged to show towards the Princess de Condé, it was determined that the Duchess de Chevreuse should give a great *fête champêtre;* and the queen and court were accordingly invited. Madame de Montbazon hastened to the house of her stepdaughter, in order to assist her in receiving her guests; and the Princess de Condé, hearing that she was to be there, proposed to the queen, with dignified propriety, to remain in Paris, and not to trouble the pleasure of the day by her presence. Anne of Austria, however, refused to suffer such a concession, and sent a message to Madame de Montbazon, directing her to find some excuse for retiring before she appeared. The duchess refused to be absent from the fête of her stepdaughter, and it consequently passed without the presence of the queen. The next day Madame de Montbazon received a formal notification that she was banished from the court, and it was intimated to the Duchess de Chevreuse that she had better keep herself retired in the country. Scarcely, however, had Anne of Austria performed this act of vigour ere feelings of gratitude towards her

old adherent caused her to repent, and recal the Duchess de Chevreuse. In so doing, however, she warned her in emphatic terms of the danger which she ran in meddling any more with the intrigues of the court. She offered her her friendship upon condition that she abstained from all cabals, but assured her that if she entered into them she would certainly be banished.

In the mean time, the Duke of Beaufort and his friends were proceeding in the very manner to hasten their disgrace. Rude, violent, self-conceited, and overbearing, Beaufort lost no opportunity of abusing the cardinal and insulting the queen. He more than once turned his back upon her; he affected not to hear her when she spoke to him; he refused all favours from her hands; and he went about abusing every one whom he imagined to belong to the opposite party. Mazarin was not only insulted, but threatened; and he skilfully availed himself of those threats to pretend that his life was in danger. The Importants still continued their cabals, giving the appearance of great affairs to pitiful trifles; holding councils about nothing; giving meetings without an object; and enveloping even their hunting parties with an air of mystery which perfectly served the purposes of Mazarin and the court. Reports were spread that armed men had been seen dogging the cardinal; rumours of a conspiracy became general. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé agreed that some vigorous step must be taken, and it was determined that the party of the Importants should be destroyed.

On the 2nd of September, 1643, the Duke of Beaufort, with Madame de Chevreuse and her daughter, proceeded to the Louvre and remained some time in conversation with the queen. There were also present, Cardinal Mazarin, Madame de Hautefort, Guitaut, captain of the guard, and some of the officers of the household; and, after remaining some time with every appearance of composure, Anne of Austria and Mazarin quitted the saloon and retired into a neighbouring chamber. As soon as they were gone, Guitaut walked up and whispered something in the ear of the Duke of Beaufort, who immediately exclaimed aloud that he was arrested. He submitted, however, without making the slightest resistance, slept that night at the Louvre, and the next morning was conveyed to the prison of Vincennes, while a general decree of exile was announced to all the principal members of his faction.

Châteauneuf, Montressor, St. Ibal, were banished; Madame de Chevreuse was ordered to betake herself to Dampière, and

thence again was driven to Tours; Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, the phantom minister of the last four months, was quietly transmitted to his diocese, to exercise the good qualities of his heart unembarrassed by the operations of his head. Mazarin, now, with the stage cleared before him—with Bouthillier excluded from the councils of the queen, Chavigni deprived of the office of secretary of state, the favour of the regent completely obtained, and the houses of Orleans and Condé committed to his support—appeared upon the scene as prime minister with all the éclat of a vigorous and energetic stroke, aimed successfully at persons who thought themselves all powerful, and with all the advantages which a modest and unassuming demeanour affords when combined with a manifestation of power and determination. Step by step he had gained all that he had sought for; and now, gratified to the full, he resolved to conciliate and win all classes, and to make the nation forget that he was one of a profession whom the French had learned to distrust in power; that he was a foreigner, of course obnoxious to national as well as private jealousy; and that he was a creature of the Cardinal de Richelieu, whose sanguinary and tyrannical fame was yet fresh and odious in the minds of men. He had every reason to be contented; and having passed through scenes of intrigue, for which he was so well fitted, with continual success, could of course put on a smiling mien to all men. Not so Anne of Austria, who had been pained and distressed by the struggles which had ushered in the days of her dominion, and so strongly affected by contending feelings in regard to the banishment of her former friends, that she was thrown into a fit of illness by mere distress of mind. From it, however, she speedily recovered; the factions which had convulsed the last few months were swept away; and from the famous 2nd of September commenced that period which in French history is known by the name of "The fair days of the Regency."

CHAPTER III.

Military History—Battle of Rocroi, 1643—Capture of Thionville—Turenne recalled from Italy—Surprise and Capture of Rantzau—Turenne upon the Rhine, 1644—Mercy takes Freiburg—Condé on the Rhine—Three Battles of Freiburg—Successes of Condé and Turenne—Capture of Gravelines—Campaign in Catalonia—La Mothe defeated—Lerida taken by the Spaniards—Turenne takes Stuttgard, Halle, and Mariendal, 1645—Is defeated at Mariendal—Condé sent to take the command—Victory of Nordlingen—Successes of the Archduke—Capture of Treves—Capture of Rosas—Battle of Llorens—Successes in Italy—Condé and the Duke of Orleans in Flanders, 1646—Courtray, Bergues, Mardyke, and Dunkirk taken—Duels in the Army—Extraordinary March of Turenne—The heart of Germany invaded—Turenne out-manœuvres the Archduke—The heart of Bavaria laid open—Siege of Orbitello—Portolongone and Piombino taken—The Count de Harcourt defeated before Lerida—Condé sent to Catalonia, 1647—Besieges Lerida—Is forced to raise the Siege—Illness of the young King—Revolt of the Weimarian Troops—Wise conduct of Turenne—Campaign in Flanders—Successes of the Archduke and of Gassion—Death of Gassion—Capture of Ypres, 1648—Capture of Courtray by the Archduke—Signal Victory of Lens—Capture of Tortosa—Running Fight of Zusmarhausen—Successes of the French—Peace of Munster.

The reign of Louis XIV. is equally remarkable in its civil and its military portions; and although the dry details of battles and sieges are in general neither very amusing nor very instructive, yet the history of Louis's wars forms a striking point in the history of civilisation. Those wars themselves, the method in which they were carried on, the peculiar kind of influence with which they invested the monarch, and the changes which they wrought both immediately and remotely in the position of France and the state of Europe, contributed very nearly, if not quite as much, to the general progress of society, as the expansion given to all the arts and sciences, and the introduction of new systems of internal and external policy.

At the death of Louis XIII. France was at war on all points of her frontier: she was giving armed assistance to the revolted Catalonians; she was carrying on a successful warfare in Roussillon: on the side of the Low Countries, she was struggling with foreign armies; and on the frontier of Champagne a Spanish force was hovering, commanded by an old and experienced general, and comprising that redoubted body of infantry which had hitherto borne up the military renown of Spain, notwithstanding her many unsuccessful efforts to maintain by force of arms possession of her wide but disjointed territories.

Shortly before the death of Louis XIII., at the suggestion

it would appear, of Mazarin, the young Duke d'Enguien, better known as the Great Condé, not yet twenty-two years of age, was appointed to command the army opposed to Don Francisco de Mello and the veteran and renowned Count of Fuentes. In order to moderate the fire of the young duke, and to supply the experience which he wanted, the old Maréchal de l'Hospital had been joined with him in command; and had he met with a genius less decided, or a less determined man, might have neutralised all the benefit of the vast military talent of Condé.

The small town of Rocroi was as that time considered the key to Champagne; and after a demonstration on the side of Picardy, made for the purpose of deceiving the French, Francisco de Mello turned rapidly towards that place, with an army of twenty-six thousand men. Rocroi was then situated in the midst of extensive woods and difficult passes, its fortifications were strong, and it was capable, had the garrison been sufficient, of standing a prolonged siege; but the Spanish officers had obtained information that it was, in fact, neither well garrisoned nor well supplied, and they were led on to attack it by the great facilities which its possession would have afforded for advancing to the very gates of Paris. An enemy in possession of Rocroi could pursue its march to the French capital without fording a single river; and Don Francisco de Mello, despising the young general opposed to him, imagined that Rocroi would fall before Condé could appear to relieve it.

The news of the death of Louis XIII. arrived in the French camp as the duke was marching in pursuit of the Spanish army; and with that intelligence an express order was transmitted to the young general, on no account to risk a battle at the critical moment which had now arrived. The old Maréchal de l'Hospital used all his eloquence in support of this command; but Condé was determined to secure the important point of Rocroi if there still existed a possibility of saving it; and he hastened on, sending forward Gassion to throw some small reinforcements into the place, and gaining information as he went, which gave him good hopes of ultimate success. The return of Gassion, after having effected his object, brought information to Condé that the siege had already commenced, and that the rear of the Spanish army was naturally protected by woods and morasses, the only way through which was by means of narrow defiles which might

have been guarded by a very trifling force. These defiles, however, De Mello had neglected to secure; nor had he taken sufficient precautions to strengthen the actual position of the besieging army.

Whatever was the motive which induced the Spanish commander to pursue such a course, the facilities which he afforded were in no degree to be calculated upon, and Condé met with determined opposition from the Maréchal de l'Hospital in his design of forcing the Spaniards to a battle. Condé, however, persisted, and on the army arriving at Bossut, he caused a general reconnoissance of the dangerous ground in the vicinity to be made at daybreak. No sign whatever of any intention to interrupt him in his passage was to be discovered, and the young duke, putting himself at the head of his cavalry, entered the defiles, and by skilful manœuvres covered the advance of the rest of the army, which was slow and difficult. Don Francisco de Mello, however, made not the slightest demonstration of attacking the French, though there can be little doubt that at that moment the fate of the young commander and his whole forces was in the hands of the Spanish general. As soon as the defiles were passed, Condé took up a position for battle, with his right resting upon the woods, and his left upon a piece of marshy ground, while a narrow valley ran between him and the enemy; but the day was too far advanced for either general to willingly commence the action, and though La Ferté, who commanded on the left under the Maréchal de l'Hospital, had nearly ruined the dispositions of the young duke by attempting to throw succour into Rocroi, his mistake was quickly remedied, and the French army bivouacked in presence of the enemy. Every delay, indeed, was in favour of the Spaniards, to whose aid the Austrian general, Beck, was hastening with considerable reinforcements; and we are assured that the Count of Fuentes strongly advised Don Francisco de Mello to use every means in his power to avoid an engagement till the expected succour had arrived. A great superiority of numbers, however, gave Don Francisco encouragement to encounter the Duke d'Enguien at once; and the reputation of the hitherto unconquered infantry, under the command of Fuentes himself, afforded sufficient assurances of success.

The arrangements of Don Francisco de Mello for the battle are generally allowed to have been skilful. The phalanx

of the Spanish infantry occupied the centre of the field; the Duke of Albuquerque, who had already distinguished himself highly in the course of the war with France, commanded the Spanish cavalry on the left, supported by a large body of German, Walloon, and Italian infantry, and protected by a wood filled with light troops which flanked the valley that lay between the two armies. On the right of the Spanish army was Don Francisco de Mello himself, with a considerable force both of infantry and cavalry.

On the opposite side of the valley Condé and Gassion appeared commanding the right wing of the French, De l'Hospital and La Ferté were on the left, Sirot led the reserve, and D'Espenan was at the head of the infantry. The Duke d'Enguien had concerted his whole plan of operations with Gassion, his maréchal-de-camp, consulting the old Maréchal de l'Hospital no further than was absolutely necessary; and when all was arranged, on the night preceding the battle, so soundly did he sleep, that he was obliged to be roused in order to lead his men to victory.

The battle began at an early hour, and for a moment success seemed doubtful The Spanish infantry maintained their superiority in the centre: the Maréchal de l'Hospital was driven back and thrown into confusion on the left, while Condé was leading on his men against the cavalry of Albuquerque; but the impetuosity of his courage gave him the full opportunity of employing his genius to remedy the errors of others, and overcome opposition in every part of the field. Though fighting desperately, the Spanish cavalry were routed in a very short time; and as soon as their defeat was assured, the eagle eye of Condé turned to the left wing of his army, and marked the confusion and disarray of De l'Hospital, who had been completely beaten by Don Francisco de Mello. The whole of that wing was in disorder; the infantry, under D'Espenan, was nearly cut to pieces; the whole artillery was taken; and the Spanish general, with scarcely less impetuosity than Condé himself, was leading on his troops at once against the reserve under Sirot. Such was the critical moment in which the genius of Condé first displayed its vast and extraordinary scope. Without a moment's hesitation, he gathered together his victorious cavalry, passed behind the whole of the Castilian infantry, and coming in the rear of the right wing of the Spaniards, which was just engaging Sirot in front, he poured an impetuous charge upon them,

which at once threw them into confusion. The rout of the Spaniards in that quarter also became irremediable, and for a few moments Don Francisco de Mello himself was in the hands of the French, though he afterwards made his escape, leaving his truncheon of command behind him.

Still, however, the unbroken phalanx of the Spanish infantry continued to advance; and Condé hastened to oppose all his own fiery genius to the determined courage of a body of men who knew that their corps had never been defeated for two hundred years. Putting himself at the head of his most trustworthy troops, he hurled himself like a thunderbolt against the advancing body of the Spaniards, which was now enclosed on three sides by a forward movement of the right and left wings of the French army; but twice was Condé himself and the French cavalry driven back from the face of that serried line, like a fierce wave dashed from the advancing prow of some stout ship. Every time the French cavalry charged, the battalions of Spain opened to permit a discharge from within of artillery, loaded with musket-shot, which swept down whole ranks of the enemy. Still, a third time, the duke returned to the charge, causing the reserve to advance at the same moment—and that third time he rent his way through.. The line of the Spanish infantry was then first broken since it had followed the Great Captain to the field; the French cavalry poured in; and all became confusion and flight and carnage.*

The Count of Fuentes died at the head of his troops,† and the fugitives, rushing from the field, encountered General Beck, advancing with six thousand Imperialists to their support; but instead of gaining courage from the sight, they communicated their own fears to the Germans, and hurried them away in their flight.

Condé, in the mean while, forgot in an instant the fierceness of battle and the excitement of victory: the conqueror became the protector; and he who had been seen through the thickest of the fight leading on his men with the most impe-

* It would appear that the Spanish infantry, finding themselves surrounded on the advance of the French reserve, made signs of a desire to surrender; but not understanding that their proposal had been acceded to, opened a tremendous fire upon the French cavalry as they once more approached. This was supposed to be an act of treachery by their enemies, and the slaughter which took place in consequence of this misunderstanding was very great.

† Condé is reported to have said, that he would wish to be dead like him if he had not conquered.

tuous daring, was now beheld in every part of the field putting a stop to the carnage, and with the Spanish officers and soldiers clinging to his horse's knees, as the only place of certain refuge from the fury of the excited victors. The loss of the Spaniards in killed and wounded amounted to upwards of seven thousand men;* a great number of prisoners were taken; the whole of the baggage of the Spanish army, the standards, the military chest, and eighteen pieces of field artillery, with six larger guns, fell into the hands of the French.

But such acquisitions were nothing to the important objects obtained by this victory. The first and greatest point was, the total defeat of a Spanish army in a regular battle by an inferior number of French troops; for though the French had been greatly successful, upon the whole, during the course of the war, they had never obtained any very signal victory till the battle of Rocroi. The moral effect upon the French soldiery was immense, and that advantage was doubled by the moral effect upon their adversaries. To be defeated in petty encounters, to be frustrated in a siege, or to lose a city, might only irritate the Spaniards, and cause them to make more vigorous efforts to regain a superiority; but to be defeated by a young general with an inferior force, in a regular battle where all parties behaved well, was, of course, calculated to depress their spirits and make them look with apprehension to after engagements. From that moment the complete ascendancy of France began, and the glory of that state as a great military power dates from the battle of Rocroi.

The French lost only two thousand men, and were immediately in a condition to follow up their victory, and reap those successes of which it was but the seed. The Duke d'Enguien immediately wrote to Paris, not alone to announce his victory, but to demand permission to follow it up by the siege of Thionville, making preparations, in the mean while, to carry his purpose into execution as soon as his messengers returned. He encountered some opposition at the court, but by perseverance at length obtained the permission that he desired, and, crossing a considerable part of the country filled with Spanish and Austrian troops, he outmanœuvred the enemy's generals,

* The French and Spanish accounts differ, in general, but little in regard to the loss of Spain on this occasion; but, strange to say, the Spanish historians make it greater than the French, giving it as eight thousand killed and six thousand prisoners.

and laid siege to the city he proposed to take. A gallant resistance, however, was offered to all his efforts, and it was not till the beginning of August that Thionville surrendered. The capture of that strong town was followed by that of Sierck, and the whole course of the Moselle was laid open to the military efforts of France.

From time to time during his command Condé returned to Paris, and mingled, as we have shown elsewhere, in the political intrigues of the day. We shall here, however, merely follow the military operations of the different officers; and now for a moment leaving the youthful general, who had already reached the highest point of glory, we shall turn to another, who, by slower, but not less certain steps, was advancing to the same proud eminence.

Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne Viscount Turenne had been for some time employed in Italy; but the dissatisfaction which his brother, the Duke de Bouillon, had displayed towards the court of France, and his retreat to Rome, had excited the jealousy of Mazarin, and taught that minister to fear the union of the two brothers for the purpose of opposing his views or undermining his authority. He determined at once to recal Turenne from the country in which, at the head of a veteran army, he was every day increasing his fame; and it would appear that he had many doubts in regard to re-employing that general at all, and only did so on the strenuous recommendation of Fabert, who, in writing to Mazarin respecting him, made use of these remarkable words: "He has always preferred the interests of the state to those of his own house: however dear the latter may be to him, he has never on that account violated the fidelity which he owes to his sovereign, nor the immutable laws of probity. His reputation for good faith is established to such a point, that the enemy even treat with him for suspensions of arms without exacting any guarantee whatever."

Such was Fabert's recommendation of Turenne; but it became absolutely necessary that some general should be immediately sent across the Rhine, of skill and influence sufficient to put a stop to the misunderstandings and check the disasters which were disgracing the French arms in that quarter. The army of the famous Duke of Weimar had, after his death, been gained to the service of France, and put under a French general; and in 1643, the Maréchal de Guebriant, who at that time commanded the Weimarian

forces, led them to the siege of Rottweil, which he succeeded in capturing, but was mortally wounded himself during the siege. The Count de Rantzau, who succeeded him, embarrassed by dissensions between the French and Germans, of whom the army was composed, suffered himself to be surprised in the neighbourhood of Tutlingen,* by General Mercy, and was himself taken with almost all his officers and a great part of his troops. About seven thousand men in confusion and disarray made their escape across the Rhine, and remained for some time in Alsace, destitute of almost every necessary and of every comfort.

To gather together the scattered forces of the defeated army was the object for which Turenne was now despatched to Germany; and a task so little likely to be productive of fame, reward, or success, was accepted by that great general without a murmur. On arriving at the army, Turenne found it in a most lamentable condition, hutted in the midst of a country totally exhausted by the preceding campaigns; and though he joined the French forces in the midst of winter,† he determined immediately to change the quarters of the Weimarian troops, and consequently led them into Lorraine, where provisions were more abundant. No money could be obtained from the court; but Turenne, rather than suffer the soldiery to want, raised considerable sums on his own credit, remounted five thousand of the men whose horses had been lost or killed, and furnished clothing to six thousand infantry. After having thus supplied the troops with necessaries, his next object was to restore to them that degree of confidence of which their late defeat had deprived them; and hearing that the Baron de Mercy had been detached with a small corps from the army of his more famous brother, Turenne led his little force in pursuit of him, and defeated him with sufficient advantage to gain the object he proposed. This took place early in the year; but Mercy gave very little attention to the defeat of a small detachment under his brother, and hastened with a powerful army to lay siege to Freiburg in the Breisgau. Turenne, although he had received some small reinforcements, could only muster ten thousand men; but he nevertheless hastened to attempt the relief of Freiburg. His march was conducted with such rapidity, that he arrived be-

* I find the name of this small town on the Danube spelled Tuttlingen, Dutlinghen, and as I have written it in the text.

† He arrived in Colmar in December, 1643.

fore Mercy had been enabled to make his full dispositions for the siege; and Turenne attempted immediately to seize upon a steep hill, called the Black Mountain, which commands the plain. Mercy at once perceived his object, and detached a small body of men round the other side of the mountain, of whom twenty reached the summit, and instantly opened a discharge upon the French troops, who, believing that it was already occupied by the Bavarian infantry, were seized with a panic, fled without resistance, and drove back the second line, which was advancing to their support. Turenne was in consequence obliged to retreat, and taking up his position in the neighbourhood, he remained nearly inactive with his small army, while Mercy, with his larger force, reduced Freiburg to capitulate.

The French general, however, had in the mean time caused many remonstrances to be made to the court, setting forth the impossibility of effecting any great operation with the small force under his command, and beseeching Mazarin to send him immediate reinforcements. Instead, however, of complying with his request, Mazarin determined to employ the Duke d'Enguien, who seemed to have chained fortune to his chariot wheels, to oppose the army which had been successful against Turenne. He did not, indeed, expose Condé to the same hazard of defeat which he had called upon the head of the brother of the Duke of Bouillon; but, on the contrary, the young warrior, who was then at Amblemont, in the neighbourhood of Mouzon, led ten thousand men to swell the army, the paucity of whose numbers had chained down the genius of Turenne.

No sooner had Condé joined Turenne than he held a council of war and received a report of the position and attitude of the enemy, who still remained in the neighbourhood of Freiburg. Mercy, besides the garrison which he had thrown into that city, had under his command fifteen thousand veteran troops, and had entrenched them in a manner which seemed to set attack at defiance. He occupied a small plain defended by woods and mountains, with Freiburg behind him and some heights in front. These heights commanded the only direct road from Breisach, and were strongly fortified; but on the left of Mercy's position, winding through deep forests and steep hills, was a ravine sufficiently wide for an army to advance if the defile were left undefended. The Bavarian general, however, committed no such oversight, and

besides filling the woods and crowning the heights which commanded the ravine with musketeers, he strongly fortified the mouth of the defile, and judged that he had rendered his camp on all sides impregnable. So also judged Turenne and all the French generals whom Condé called upon to give him their advice; and the universal opinion seems to have been, that the only way to reduce the enemy was by blockade. Condé, however, determined upon attacking Mercy in his camp, and directed Turenne to advance by the ravine, and, while he himself endeavoured to storm the heights in front, to make a simultaneous attack upon the left of the enemy's position. Turenne having to take a large circuit, it was arranged between the two generals that the battle should not be begun till three o'clock; and it was in fact a little after that hour, when the French infantry, supported by Condé at the head of his cavalry, marched up the acclivity towards the fortified heights in front of Mercy's camp. The slope was broken by a number of low walls built to support the earth of a vineyard, and each of these was gallantly defended by the Bavarian troops. The French, however, pushed on against all opposition till they reached nearly the top, when a tremendous fire opened upon them from the redoubts with which Mercy had fortified the summit. They still held the position they had attained, however, and Condé, seeing that they neither advanced nor retreated, seized the critical moment, sprang from his horse, put himself at the head of a fresh regiment, and leading it at once to the charge, drove the Bavarian troops from their entrenchments.

He was now master of the heights; but the struggle had been long and severe, and night was coming on: he determined, therefore, to pause, and rest satisfied for that day with the success he had obtained, taking means to let Turenne know that he had carried his point.

In the mean time, his brother general had fought his way through the ravine, encountering at every step increasing resistance, till he reached the entrenchments on the verge of the plain. It was now however night, and Condé on his part had ceased the combat; so that Mercy, who had lost three thousand men in defending the heights, withdrew whatever troops could be spared from that quarter to oppose Turenne, whom he still held at bay during the whole night, though the combat was continued in that quarter through several hours of darkness. Towards morning the German commander found

that his loss had been so great, and the success of the French so decided, that he determined to abandon his camp, and retreat to the Black Mountain behind Freiburg, which offered a new position almost impregnable. This he effected, masking his manœuvres under a continual fire of musketry; but nevertheless, had the French been in a condition to pursue him immediately, his army would in all probability have been annihilated at once. The fatigues, however, and the losses of the preceding day (3rd of August) had been so great as to require some repose, and the new attack was delayed till the 5th.

In the mean while Mercy employed the time in fortifying his position with the utmost skill. The lines of the late siege afforded him great facilities, and his right was protected by the cannon of Freiburg. Nevertheless, it would seem that his position was somewhat too much extended for the reduced number of his forces.

On the 5th the duke made his dispositions for battle, directing Turenne to advance in order to attack the left of the enemy's camp, while D'Espenan was prepared to assail their right; and a false attack on their centre was to effect a diversion in favour of those two generals. Neither, however, was to commence the action without the express orders of Condé, who advanced at the head of Turenne's division, in order to reconnoitre Mercy's position more closely.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, D'Espenan attacked a redoubt at the foot of the hill during the young general's absence. It was gallantly defended by the Bavarians; fresh troops poured forward on both sides; the battle began at a different moment and on a different plan from that which the duke had laid down, and, after fighting through the whole day and during a part of the night, Condé was obliged to withdraw his troops, repulsed at all points.

The loss of men on both parts had been very great; but Condé was determined not to be defeated. Judging, however, that the position of Mercy was impregnable in front, he determined to make a circuitous march and cut off his retreat into Wurtemberg; thus obliging him to fight under more disadvantageous circumstances, or to surrender from want of provisions. He paused several days, however, in order to allow his troops repose, and then commenced his march; but no sooner were his movements descried from the Bavarian camp, than Mercy at once divined his object and hastened to prevent him from attaining it. Dangerous as it was to quit

his fortified position and attempt his retreat in the face of a superior army, no choice was left him, and with prompt determination he took the shorter road which was open to him from his position on the Black Mountain; while Turenne and Condé pursued him through the valley of the Glotter, hoping to cut him off at the abbey of St. Peter.*

The French troops, however, were forced to make a large circuit; and so rapid was the retreat of Mercy, that Condé soon found it would be out of his power to come up with him, unless he could so far harass him in his retreat as to delay his progress in a considerable degree. For that purpose he despatched Count Rosen in advance, at the head of a large body of cavalry, in order to attack the rear of the Bavarian army, and keep it engaged till the rest of the French troops could come up. Rosen accordingly hurried forward, and falling in with the enemy near the abbey of St. Peter, charged the rear-guard, but was repulsed and driven back. Mercy seized the moment to hurry on, and leaving behind his heavy baggage and artillery, made his way through the passes of the Black Forest into Wurtemberg.

Condé and Turenne continued the pursuit till it became hopeless, and then paused to hold council on their further proceedings. If the French generals gained credit for their skill, perseverance, and valour in the long and desperate conflict they had carried on, no less glory was reaped by Mercy in his skilful, courageous and successful defence, and in his wonderful retreat in the face of a superior enemy. The French claimed the victory, and certainly the result of the three days was in their favour; but still in the second attack they were repulsed, and on the third day they failed in their object.

Mercy, however, had retreated, and the whole course of the Rhine was open to the operations of Turenne and Condé. The object for which the prince had come was the recapture of Freiburg; but, strange to say, that object was abandoned as soon as it was within reach. Various motives, however, were assigned for this conduct, of which the most important was the opportunity afforded by the absence of all Imperial troops for obtaining command of the course of the Rhine. Philipsburg was accordingly besieged instead of Freiburg;

* Let it be remarked, that the names of these places are so disfigured in the French accounts, that very often no similarity is to be perceived between the false and the real names.

and while Condé and Turenne were carrying on the operations against that place, the Marquis d'Aumont captured Spires and several other less important places. In the mean time, during twelve days the small garrison of Philipsburg resisted the efforts of Condé; but at the end of that time the place capitulated. Hearing that Mercy with new-levied reinforcements was marching to repair the evils which had befallen him, Condé entrenched himself strongly under the cannon of Philipsburg, and detached Turenne to attack Wormes, Oppenheim, and Mayence, which surrendered without striking a blow. Landau held out during five days; but Manheim, Neustadt, and various other towns in the palatinate, yielded with scarcely any resistance.

Having now obtained such decided advantages as to stamp the doubtful combats of Freiburg with the mark of victory, Condé left Turenne to command on the Rhine, and returned to Paris, taking with him a considerable body of troops. No sooner had he left the palatinate than Mercy again approached the Rhine, while the Duke of Lorraine advanced with the apparent purpose of joining the Imperial forces. Manheim and some other towns of less import were recovered by the Bavarian general, and Turenne could obtain from the court no reinforcement to oppose his progress. His own activity and genius, however, supplied the place of all; and though Mayence was menaced and Spires attempted, he maintained his command of the course of the Rhine, and even took Creutznach before the face of Mercy and the Duke of Lorraine. Winter then approaching, and the whole country being exhausted of provisions, he threw reinforcements into the various towns garrisoned by France, sent his cavalry to winter in Alsace and Lorraine, and took up his own quarters at Spires to watch the movements of the enemy.

While such success had followed the arms of France on the banks of the Rhine, the Duke of Orleans, who had taken the command of the army in Flanders, made himself master of Gravelines, after a siege of two months, during which period it was gallantly defended by D. Ferdinand de Solis. When at length it was surrendered, a sharp contestation ensued between the Marshals de Meilleraye and Gassion in regard to who should take possession of the town. The former claimed it as commanding the regiment of guards, the latter as his right according to routine: the soldiers took part with their officers; neither would yield; swords were drawn; and

the successful troops were likely soon to have turned their arms against each other, when Lambert, the camp-marshal of the duke, interfered, and in the name of the commander-in-chief prohibited the soldiers from obeying either Meilleraye or Gassion till the cause of their dispute had been investigated by the prince. The Duke of Orleans decided that it was the privilege of the guards, when present, to take possession of a conquered city, and Meilleraye in consequence entered at the head of that regiment.

It has been remarked, in regard to this decision, that Gassion, though one of the bravest officers in France, though skilful, determined, and active, was nevertheless at no time a favourite with the court of France. His manners were harsh, and his contempt of life so great, that while he risked it on the slightest occasion himself, he took it from others without pity or remorse. He cared too little for anything that could befal him personally to stoop to any minister whatsoever, and consequently could expect but little from the favour of those in power. The decision of the Duke of Orleans, however, seems to have been founded solely upon the etiquette of the service, and was held by most persons but the parties concerned to be just.

With the capture of Gravelines ended the operations of France upon the side of Flanders. The army which had been left by Turenne in Italy effected but little in his absence, and the capture of the town of Santia was the only advantage gained by France in that quarter.

In Spain a different scene was acting in the course of 1644 Philip the Fourth, under the prudent and sagacious counsels of Don Louis de Haro, was directing his principal efforts to the recovery of Catalonia; and although the army that he could bring into the field was but scanty in numbers, and by no means well provided with the munitions of war, all its first attempts were successful, and offered a favourable presage for the ultimate reduction of the revolted province. Don Philip de Sylva, an officer of experience and determination, was put at the head of the Castilian troops, and immediately advanced to the siege of the strong town of Lerida, the king himself being nominally in command of the army. The French troops in Catalonia were at that time commanded by La Mothe Houdancourt, who no sooner heard of the advance of the Spanish troops towards Lerida than he marched with great rapidity to the relief of that place. Accustomed

to contemn the efforts of the Spaniards, the French general took but little precaution; his movements are generally reported to have been rash, his conduct unworthy of his reputation in every point but that of courage; and in a battle which immediately ensued he was totally defeated, with the loss of three thousand men and twelve pieces of artillery.

Four thousand men, however, still remained within the walls of Lerida, and the Spanish army had already suffered so much in the battle and by the diseases then prevalent in the camp, that Don Philip de Sylva himself hesitated in regard to pursuing the siege of that place, but the king's orders were peremptory, and after a long siege Lerida surrendered. La Mothe, in order to compensate in some degree for his defeat, and to draw the Spaniards from their design upon Lerida, had laid siege to Tarragona, and at first obtained some slight advantages, though he had neglected to protect his own camp by lines. But the garrison of Tarragona showed great spirit and courage in defending their city, and after having lost nearly three thousand men in various attempts upon that place, La Mothe found himself compelled to retire to Barcelona on the approach of Cantelmo with a small Spanish army.

The indignation excited in France by these reverses, as usual, caused a thousand charges, true and false, to be circulated against La Mothe, who was recalled to France, and immediately arrested and committed to the prison of Pierre Encise at Lyons, where he remained for several years, complaining loudly that he was the victim of the hatred of Le Tellier. He was subsequently, however, tried by the parliament of Grenoble, and fully acquitted in 1648.

The commencement of the following year afforded France every prospect of success on the frontiers of Germany. The Bavarian army, which under the command of Mercy had been unable to effect anything against the Duke d'Enguien and Turenne, had been diminished by a detachment of four thousand men, despatched to aid the Imperial troops opposed to those of Sweden. No sooner did Turenne hear of this movement than he gathered together the forces which were dispersed in winter quarters, and with an army of eleven thousand men and fifteen pieces of cannon advanced towards Wurtemberg, and approached Pforzheim on the Ens, near which Mercy was himself encamped with only six thousand men. On his approach the Bavarian general retreated before him, pursued by Turenne from place to place, till the

French commander, having taken Stuttgard, Halle, Mariendal, and some other cities, established his general quarters at Mariendal, expecting to be joined speedily by the troops of Hesse, which would have placed at his command a larger body of men than any that could be brought against him. The want of forage for his horses, however, induced Turenne to disperse his cavalry in small bodies through the neighbouring towns; an error which he had soon cause to repent.

At two in the morning of the 2nd of May, a party which had been despatched to reconnôitre returned to Mariendal, bringing information that Mercy was advancing with a considerable force and the greatest rapidity. Turenne instantly rose, and despatched orders for all the detachments to concentrate upon the village of Herbsthausen, and for General Rosen to put himself at their head and defend that point until the whole army could be brought to his support. The post of Herbsthausen was masked by a small wood, which had on the other side a vast plain, through which the Bavarian army was forced to advance; and Rosen might have defended the passage through the wood for some time, even if Mercy had not been deterred from attacking him till the dispositions for a general battle were made. The latter, indeed, was likely to be the case, as it would have required some time to ascertain whether the whole French army was in presence or not, covered as the position of Herbsthausen was by the wood in front. Rosen, however, imagining that Mercy was not so near as he was reported to be, seems to have neglected the advantages of his situation, and instead of passing to the opposite side of the wood with merely a few battalions, as if to defend a post behind which the whole army was in position, he led all the forces which had then arrived into the plain; and though but three thousand men were upon the field, he drew them up in order of battle, exposing the weakness of his force to the enemy.

Such was the state of the case when Turenne arrived; but it was too late to remedy the mistake of Rosen: Mercy was already in presence of the French army, had discovered the smallness of his adversary's force, and was drawing up his men in order of battle. Turenne hastened to prepare for an encounter which was now unavoidable, and a moment after the Bavarian artillery opened upon the small forces of the French. Mercy, however, soon found that the cannonade produced but little effect, and at the same time perceived, by the increase of the forces on the part of his adversary, that

he was losing invaluable time, and that if he did not profit by the moment, the army of Turenne would soon be equal to his own. In consequence, he marched at the head of his infantry to obtain possession of the small wood; while the famous John de Wert, who commanded the left of the Bavarian army, advanced against Count Rosen, who occupied a post on the right of Turenne, defended by another small wood. Turenne, we are told, perceiving the purpose of Mercy, charged his right wing at the head of the French cavalry, and threw it into disorder. But by this time Rosen was completely defeated and taken prisoner, while De Wert, pushing through the wood, got into the rear of Turenne, who for several minutes was nearly surrounded. That great general, however, succeeded in saving the greater part of his cavalry, though he was obliged to separate from them for a time. Passing through the greater wood, he found three more regiments coming up to the field, with which, and about twelve hundred men who had escaped from the battle, he effected his retreat as well as he could, after having lost nearly the whole of his infantry, twelve hundred of the cavalry, and the whole of his artillery and baggage.

Such a signal defeat had not been sustained by the French arms for a length of time, and much blame was undoubtedly to be attached to Turenne for suffering himself to be surprised. It is generally allowed, however, that in the terrible state to which his own mistakes and those of Rosen had reduced him, no one could have done more to recover an irretrievable error than he had done at Mariendal. In directing his retreat upon Hesse, also, Turenne had acted wisely, as the troops of his own cousin, Amelia Elizabeth, Landgravine of Hesse, were there, ready to give him support, and to enable him to cover the French conquests on the Rhine, till such time as reinforcements could arrive from his native country.

In the mean while, Turenne made every effort to increase his forces so far, before the appearance of any other French general, as to be enabled to retrieve the unfortunate defeat of Mariendal with his own hand; and he consequently despatched messengers to Count Konigsmark, commanding a body of Swedish troops, who had been quartered for the winter in the duchy of Brunswick, beseeching him to hasten to his aid, and representing to him the danger which the common cause ran by the great superiority which the Bavarians had attained in the field. Konigsmark at once hurried for-

ward to support him, the Hessian troops joined him immediately, and Turenne once more found himself at the head of fifteen thousand men, when despatches from the court announced that Condé was marching to his aid with considerable reinforcements, and forbade him to attempt anything till the arrival of that great commander.

Turenne was very much mortified at this intelligence; and his historians have attributed evil motives to Mazarin in sending Condé to take command of the French army on the Rhine. It would appear, however, that Turenne could expect nothing else. He had been left in command of a large body of troops; he had made a brilliant but somewhat unfruitful march through Wurtemberg into Suabia, and had then suffered himself to be surprised and signally defeated, when he had every reason to believe that the Imperial and Bavarian generals would make the greatest efforts to drive him from the position he had assumed. That it was no partiality for Condé or ill-will towards Turenne which actuated Mazarin upon the present occasion, is established by the fact of the army placed under the command of the former in 1645 having been very inferior in numbers to that which was left with Turenne; and that the insignificant object entrusted to the greatest warrior of his day was, to cover the force besieging the small town of La Mothe, against the efforts of the Duke of Lorraine.

Such was the actual occupation of Condé when he received orders to march with the eight thousand men under his command, in order to recover whatever advantages had been lost by the defeat of Turenne. On effecting his junction with the combined armies, Condé found himself at the head of twenty-three thousand men; and some skilful manœuvres took place both on his part and that of Mercy,—the one threatening Heilbronn, the other endeavouring to prevent the attack of that place. After taking Wimpfen, however, the Swedes, who had only come to support Turenne, and had with difficulty been prevailed upon to remain with Condé, after the French army had been so much increased as to be able to keep the field unaided, peremptorily insisted upon taking their departure in consequence of a quarrel between Condé and Count Konigsmark.

The Hessians, nevertheless, remained with the French general; and Mercy still manœuvring for the security of Heilbronn, came in presence of the adverse army on the 1st

of August. Condé, however, finding that the position in which he was at the time was by no means favourable for engaging the enemy, after having cannonaded the Bavarian forces during a part of the 2nd, decamped during the night, and approached the town of Nordlingen with the purpose of attacking that city. Mercy also hastened towards it as rapidly as possible; and towards midday of the 3rd, Condé received information that the enemy had appeared in the plain, and were beginning to form an entrenched camp for the purpose of impeding his proceedings.

Out of the plain of Nordlingen, to the east of that city, but at a considerable distance from it, rise two hills with a valley between them; and a little in advance of the mouth of that valley is a small village called Allerheim. In going from Allerheim up the valley and turning one's back upon Nordlingen, the hill on the left is called the Weinberg, and that on the right is crowned by the old castle of Allerheim, separated from the village by a considerable space of sloping ground broken by a rugged hollow way. Such was the position chosen by the keen eye of Mercy, whose right, under General Glen, occupied the Weinberg, while his left, under John de Wert, stretched across the other hill, on which stood the castle of Allerheim. The centre, under his own immediate command, was drawn up across the valley in three lines, having in front the village of Allerheim, occupied by a strong body of infantry, and strengthened by such works as the shortness of time permitted the Bavarian general to construct. Entrenchments also had been formed along the brow of the hills, and everything had been done to strengthen a position naturally advantageous.

Such was the position of the Bavarian army when the French came in sight; and although the force under Condé amounted to seventeen or eighteen thousand men, while that commanded by Mercy was below fifteen thousand, Turenne judged the post to be impregnable, and strongly advised the duke not to attack it. Condé, however, was determined to wipe out the stain upon the French arms left by the defeat of Mariendal, and gave orders for attack. The Maréchal Duc de Grammont commanded the right wing of the French army, opposing John de Wert; Turenne led on the left, against Glen; and the Count de Marsin was at the head of the centre; while a considerable reserve, which acted as a second line to the right wing, appeared under the command of Chabot.

The battle began by a severe cannonade; but the artillery planted on the two eminences so completely commanded the plain, that Condé found it would be necessary to commence an immediate attack upon the enemy's position, without waiting any further for the effect of his own cannon. The possession of the village of Allerheim was, of course, the first point to be striven for by the French, and the Count de Marsin was directed to attack it with a part of the infantry. He advanced accordingly about five o'clock in the afternoon, at the head of several picked battalions, and soon made himself master of the entrenchments which defended the village on the side of the plain. Pushing on into the streets of Allerheim, however, he met with a much more desperate resistance. The houses had been filled with musketeers, as well as the steeple of the church and the cemetery, which was enclosed within high walls pierced for musketry. The fire that opened from all these quarters upon the French was most tremendous; the Count de Marsin was dangerously wounded, and carried to the rear; the French infantry were swept down, or picked off man by man as they advanced: they were thrown into confusion, lost heart, and were flying, when the Marquis de la Moussaye, sent by Condé to their support at the head of several fresh regiments, passed the entrenchment and entered the town. These, however, were likewise repulsed in a moment, and while flying in confusion, were met by Condé himself, who, seeing the disarray into which the parties that he had thrown forward were thus cast, had put himself at the head of the great body of the French infantry, and led them on to the attack of Allerheim. Mercy, who perceived this movement, and knew the determination of his own troops, and the advantages of their position in the village, exclaimed with joy, "God has turned the heads of the Frenchmen—they are rushing to defeat!"—and advancing himself with a considerable body of infantry, he hastened to support his forces in Allerheim, and encounter Condé in person.

Through every street, and at every turning, the fire was now incessant, the carnage tremendous; and in the thickest of the whole fight appeared Condé and Mercy, each imagining that the fate of the day would depend upon the possession of the village. Two horses were shot under Condé; his hat, his clothes, were pierced with musket-balls; he received a slight wound in the thigh; and the officers and soldiers, alike fear-

ing for the life of one on whom so much depended, called to him loudly to quit that narrow scene of slaughter, but in vain. Still he led them on against the Bavarian forces, encouraging them by his words and his gestures, seizing upon every advantage, repairing every disaster, till at length he received a musket-ball in the arm; and almost at the same moment Mercy was shot dead within a hundred yards of where the adverse general stood.

The death of their commander, however, was far from discouraging the Bavarian troops: rage was added to determination, and the struggle in the village was continued to extermination. In the mean while, the Maréchal de Grammont had advanced, for the purpose of attacking the left of the Bavarian position, but had become embarrassed by the ravine in front of John de Wert. That general immediately charged him at the head of his troops, and drove him back fighting, beyond his former position. Grammont rallied his forces, however, and by a brilliant charge broke through the line of the enemy, but suffering his impetuosity to carry him too far, got entangled unsupported, and was eventually wounded and taken. The German commander instantly seized upon the advantage, routed the rest of the French cavalry that opposed him, poured down upon the reserve under Chabot, who was killed at the head of his troops, and drove everything before him over the plain. Committing the same mistake, however, which nearly at the same period was committed by the famous Prince Rupert in England, he pursued his advantage over the right wing of the French too eagerly, forgot the general in the soldier, and in following up the flying squadrons of Grammont and Chabot, suffered victory to escape from his hands.

At that moment the French were defeated on the left, repulsed in the centre with the loss of several thousand men in the village, and held in check upon the right of the German position; and had John de Wert, instead of pursuing the fugitives from the French right wing, turned upon the rear or on the flank of Condé, the day would have been completely lost to France. At this critical period, however, when the duke, in his attack upon an almost impregnable position, had nearly met with a complete defeat, the extraordinary military genius with which he was born, and which seldom suffered, even in the midst of strife, of victory, or of disappointment, a single advantage to escape his eagle eye, burst forth to save the French army and turn defeat into triumph.

Nearly at the same moment, the tidings were brought to him, that his right wing under Grammont was totally defeated, that the reserve on the right was also in flight, and that Turenne, after having scaled the heights of the Weinberg and forced the first entrenchments, was held in check with his troops wavering and on the eve of defeat. The first advantages which had been gained during the day, however, were on that side. Condé looked around him, and saw that his troops in the centre, after suffering tremendous loss, were keeping up, in confusion and disarray, a fierce, but hopeless, hand-to-hand fight in the village. He found that the second line of the Hessians had remained in the plain inactive, while Turenne had scaled the heights occupied by General Glen; and his scheme, even at that last moment, for recovering the fortunes of the day was formed in an instant.

Putting himself at the head of some regiments of cavalry, he galloped to the left, commanded the second line of the Hessians to follow him instantly, and charged up the hill in support of Turenne, whose troops were by this time falling into confusion.

The arrival of Condé with such a strong reinforcement at once turned the balance. The cavalry of the Imperialists was driven back, their infantry broken and defeated, their artillery captured and turned against themselves; while Condé and Turenne, wheeling their troops on the summit of the hill, took the Bavarians in flank, and charging with the impetus of victory, drove them down into the plain, captured General Glen, and pushed the flying forces of the enemy for nearly half a mile beyond the village. Then, turning upon Allerheim, the victors prepared to attack the troops which it contained; but the Bavarian forces which occupied the village, finding themselves surrounded by the French and Hessians, surrendered at discretion.

Night was now beginning to fall, and the defeat of the right wing and centre of the Imperial army was complete, when John de Wert returned to the field with the victorious left, and saw the effect which his serious error had produced. He did, however, what he could to repair the evil, rallied the fugitives as far as possible, and, under cover of the night, effected his retreat to Donauwert.

At break of day Turenne set off in pursuit; but De Wert paused not for a moment till he had placed the Danube between himself and the enemy, and Turenne returned to reap

the fruits of a victory in which he had had so great a share. The retreat of De Wert would have left the result of the battle clear and ascertained; but Condé had also gained the field, all the cannon, and the greater part of the baggage of the enemy. Grammont had been taken on the one side, and Glen on the other; but Mercy had fallen, and there was scarcely a man in all Germany capable of replacing him.

Nevertheless this victory, though decisive, had cost the French a high and terrible price. So tremendous had been the slaughter in the village, that for several days after not fifteen hundred of the French infantry could be collected together; and the army was so enfeebled that no great operations were likely to take place. Several small towns, indeed, surrendered to the French and Hessian army; but, in consequence of fatigue, excitement, and bad air, Condé fell ill, and was no longer able to pursue the campaign. He consequently resigned his command to Turenne, and was carried back to France in a litter; but before he went he wrote to the queen, giving an account of the battle, and, with the generosity of true courage, he attributed the whole success of the day to Turenne, whose attack upon the right of the Imperial army had so greatly contributed to the victory. Shortly after, he himself received a letter from the Queen of Sweden, thanking him for having avenged upon the plains of Nordlingen the defeat which the Swedes had met with on that spot some time before. Mercy was buried near the field of battle, and on his tomb they engraved "Sta Viator, Heroem calcas."

The military glory of Condé had now reached the highest pitch it was possible to attain; but it seemed as if Death, who had so often spared him in the field, was now about to visit him in the more appalling form of slow and lingering disease. The whole nation was agitated with the report of his illness; physicians were sent to him from Paris; and for some time the event was doubtful. At length, however, the fever from which he suffered abated, and in repose and a better air he soon recovered his former strength.

In the mean while the French and Hessian army, under Turenne and Grammont, who, since his capture, had been exchanged against Glen, had proceeded to Halle, and showed a resolution of taking up its winter quarters at a distance from the Rhine; but the plans and purposes of the French generals were defeated by the junction of the army of the Archduke Leopold with that under John de Wert and Glen, form-

ing a corps so much superior to any that Turenne could oppose to it, that immediate retreat became necessary. The French army, consequently, decamped at the approach of the Bavarians, swam the Neckar, each trooper carrying a foot soldier behind him, and paused not till it found itself under the cannon of Philipsburg. The Imperialists pursued; but Turenne had entrenched himself between the city and the Rhine with his infantry, causing Grammont to pass the river with the cavalry; and the position he occupied had been rendered so strong that the enemy dared not attack his camp. The archduke, however, did not fail to take advantage of his superiority, and, marching back from Philipsburg, made himself master of Wimpfen and all the towns which the French had acquired between the Neckar and the Danube, and restored the whole country to the same state in which it had been before the commencement of the campaign.

No sooner had the enemy retired, than Turenne, anxious to obtain some advantage as a compensation on the part of France, determined to attempt the restoration of the Elector of Treves to his territories. That unfortunate prince had been stripped and imprisoned in the beginning of the war, and his situation had afforded pretexts and causes of quarrel to all parties. On the commencement of the negotiations which terminated in the treaty of Munster, he had been set at liberty at the demands of France, but had not been restored to his dominions. Turenne, therefore, concerted a plan with his own court for the purpose of seizing upon Treves, the garrison of which place was but scanty; and setting out in the beginning of November, with a large body of cavalry and scarcely any infantry, he advanced with rapid marches towards that city, sending a part of the Hessian horse to disperse the troops which had collected on the other side of the Moselle, for the purpose of relieving the place as soon as it appeared to be menaced.

At the same time a reinforcement of French infantry and a train of artillery dropped down the Moselle from Metz, and on the 14th November Treves was invested. After a few days' feeble resistance the governor, finding that there was no chance of relief, and that his garrison was not sufficient in number to hold out against the French army, demanded to capitulate, and on the 20th November the place surrendered to Turenne. This concluded the campaign on the side of Germany, and in Feb-

ruary, 1646, Turenne quitted the banks of the Rhine and returned to Paris.

On the side of Flanders, although no such remarkable event took place as the battle of Nordlingen, the substantial success of the French was in reality greater. The Duke of Orleans, with Marshals Gassion and Rantzau under his command, proceeded from place to place, adding a vast district to the territories of France on that frontier; and after the duke had quitted the camp and returned to the court, the successes of the two subordinate officers were still more important, though Mardyke and Cassel were retaken.

In Spain, also, the events of the war were equally favourable to France. La Mothe having been recalled and imprisoned, as we have before mentioned, the Count de Harcourt was withdrawn from Savoy, and put at the head of fresh forces, for the purpose of repairing the disasters of the former general. He was accompanied by Duplessis Praslin and the celebrated Fabert; and while collecting the troops at Agde, it was determined to lay immediate siege to the strong fortress of Rosas,* which commanded the principal entrance of Catalonia from the side of Roussillon. It was arranged, also, that while Duplessis conducted the operations before that place, the Count de Harcourt should take up a position in the plains of Urgel, to cover the siege against the attempts of Cantelmo, who now commanded the Spanish army in Catalonia.

Shortly before the place was invested, however, Fabert himself, in a skirmish with a large body of Spanish cavalry, was taken prisoner and carried into Rosas, and, by an extraordinary combination of circumstances, proved as useful to the besieging army within as he could have been without the walls of the fortress. The governor of that place, Don Diego de Cavalliero, a brave and determined officer, displayed in his conduct towards his prisoner the not unusual mixture of credulity and suspicion; and though he refused during the whole period of the siege to suffer Fabert to retire upon parole, fearing the consequences of his experience upon the French counsels, he nevertheless did not scruple to consult him in regard to the defence of the place, and took his advice upon many important points with a degree of confidence certainly very extraordinary. His own experience in military affairs was but very slight, and after the opening of the trenches, which took place on the 7th of April, 1645, he spent daily many

* Usually written *Roses*; I do not know why.

hours with Fabert, endeavouring to gain from him that knowledge of which he himself was destitute. Fabert did not scruple to turn this disposition to advantage, and considered himself perfectly justified in giving to an officer who strove to gain from him advice detrimental to his country, counsels which were calculated to have a perfectly different effect. So great indeed did he find the governor's credulity, that he at length ventured to advise him to draw off the water from the moat on the side of the principal attack;* and the governor did not fail to follow such directions to the letter.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Rosas, notwithstanding its great strength, surrendered after no very prolonged resistance. On the 28th of May, the governor signed a capitulation, which he employed Fabert himself to draw up, and which, without being dishonourable to the Spaniards, was highly advantageous to the French.

On the 31st of the same month, the French entered Rosas, thus taking possession of a fortress which gave them easy admission into Catalonia till the end of the war. No sooner was this advantage obtained, than the Count de Harcourt marched on, and, after capturing some places of minor import, passed the Segre, encountered the army of Cantelmo in the neighbourhood of Llorens, and, gaining a complete victory, made himself master of Balaguer. Such was the conclusion of the campaign on the side of Catalonia.

Beyond the Alps, also, the arms of France were triumphant: Prince Thomas of Savoy gained several advantages over the Spaniards in the beginning of the year; took the small place of Rocca di Vigevano, and threatened the Milanese. His forces were inadequate, indeed, to any very great undertakings; but finding that Duplessis Praslin was leading a reinforcement to join him, after the successful attack upon Rosas, he hastened to meet that general, and finding the Spaniards encamped upon the Mora, he attacked their quarters with vigour and success, routed the force opposed to him, and opened a free passage for his troops in whatever direction he chose to lead them. Disputes however arose between him and Duplessis, which prevented him from following up his successes, and in the end of the campaign the Spaniards resumed the offensive and recovered Rocca.

Thus ended the military events of 1645, and the following year opened once more in Flanders with the success of the

* This fact is related by M. du Bosquet, upon the authority of Fabert himself.

French. Not well satisfied with the minor advantages gained by the Duke of Orleans, the regent and Mazarin were extremely anxious that the army in the Low Countries should be placed under the command of the Duke d'Enguien. But to propose such a thing to the uncle of the king, and the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, without leaving him the option of taking the command himself, could not of course be done, and the Duke of Orleans very soon showed his determination of pursuing the war in that quarter in person. Consultations took place, it would appear, between Mazarin and Condé upon the subject, and with that generous freedom from all jealousy which Condé always evinced in military affairs, he himself proposed to serve under the Duke of Orleans; a task which could not have been demanded at his hands. He, however, was placed at the head of a separate corps, though still under the general command of the duke; and from the commencement of the campaign, it was evident to all, how the bold genius of Condé was crippled by the weak indecision of Gaston. The great general's first project was to cross the Scheldt, and to open the campaign by fighting the enemy, who lay in the neighbourhood of Tournay. A battle gained in the commencement of the year,—and Condé had never yet failed to gain a battle when he fought it,—would have laid open the whole country to the efforts of the French, and would have enabled them to pursue to its conclusion any siege which they undertook, with ease and rapidity.

His counsel, however, was rejected, and instead it was determined to besiege Courtray in the first instance. Accordingly, while Condé advanced, and, crossing the Scheldt, kept in check the Duke of Lorraine, Gaston of Orleans laid siege to Courtray, accompanied and counselled by his favourite the Abbé de la Rivière, whose indecision and timidity, added to that of his master, of course rendered everything that was undertaken weak, tedious, and hesitating.

The siege continued for a considerable length of time, and finding that his troops were not sufficient, or his military knowledge not competent, to the capture of Courtray, the Duke of Orleans recalled Condé to the camp, and more vigour was immediately perceived. The Spanish army, however, advanced in order to relieve the place, and made many efforts for that purpose. All proved in vain, however, and on the 28th of June Courtray surrendered. Condé was still anxious to fight the enemy; but the Spanish and Imperial generals

contrived to deceive the Duke of Orleans and effected their retreat unattacked. In the plain of Bruges, indeed, the Spanish army was once more found drawn up in battle array, and Condé immediately proposed to engage them; but the Duke of Orleans procrastinated, delaying all decision till the following morning; and during the night the enemy had once more effected their retreat. As soon as that fact was known, Condé pursued with his division, but could effect nothing except the capture of a few prisoners, one of whom he took with his own hand. From him, however, he received the most gratifying compliment, perhaps, that ever his great military genius obtained. The young officer whom he had captured was not aware into whose hands he had fallen, and as Condé brought him back towards his staff, from which he had been separated, he demanded why the Spaniards had decamped so quickly during the preceding night. The young man replied simply, that it was because they had learned the Duke d'Enguien was at the head of the advanced guard of the French forces.

During all these operations, the French commanders had been in daily expectation of important diversions being effected in their favour by the efforts of the Prince of Orange. That general, however, was now in the decline of life, was embarrassed by the dissensions between Holland and Zealand, and by the evident determination of the United Provinces to make a separate peace with Spain. He complained also that he could effect nothing without some reinforcements from France; and a body of French infantry was in consequence detached to his aid, under the command of Marshal Grammont, while the French army retired upon the Lys, and the siege of Bergues St. Winox was undertaken on the 30th of July, 1646.

That town made no resistance, and surrendered on the following day. Condé then proposed to attack Dunkirk; but the Duke of Orleans was anxious to recapture Mardyke, which had been taken and retaken during the preceding campaign. During this siege, the Spanish army, under the Marquis of Caracena, lay under the cannon of Dunkirk, and gave constant assistance to the besieged, as well as constant annoyance to the French army. The place was gallantly defended also by the garrison; but, notwithstanding all their efforts, the trenches were pushed forward; and at the attack of the Duke d'Enguien, on the night of the 12th of August, the French established themselves on the counterscarp.

Condé had remained in the trenches all night, and at break

of day, believing that the enemy would not undertake any very great enterprise during the daylight, he retired to his tent, when suddenly he was again roused by the news, that a sally had been made by the garrison, that the soldiers in the trenches had been driven back, the cannon spiked, and the whole labours of the night rendered ineffectual. Rushing out, he cast himself into the midst of the conflict, and while commanding as a general and fighting as a common soldier, he would have been inevitably killed or taken prisoner, had not his company of light horse, commanded by the Count of Bussy Rabutin, come up at the charge, and driven back the sally party towards the town, thus giving time for the troops in the trenches to rally, and recover a part of the advantages which had been lost. It was at the expense, however, of terrible slaughter; for of those whom Bussy led into the field not quite one-half returned alive.

The carnage amongst the young nobility of France at the siege of Mardyke was tremendous; and on the 15th of August, Condé again ran the risk of being killed, not indeed, on this occasion, by the enemy, but by one of his own soldiers, who, in passing by him with his hat full of gunpowder under his arm and a lighted match in his hand, suffered a spark to fall into the powder, which exploded and wounded the general severely in the face and in the arm. One of the gazetteers of the day took pains to assure the public of France that the duke had been severely wounded in an encounter with the enemy, probably thinking to win the favour of the prince by such a version of the accident. Condé, however, was no false hero, and he scoffed at the falsehood with the scorn it merited.

Mardyke very shortly after surrendered, and the Duke of Orleans returning to the court, left the Duke d'Enguien in that command, for which he was much more fitted than himself. No sooner was he gone than Condé determined at once to lay siege to Dunkirk. He was opposed by many difficulties: the country was cut up by canals, which were skilfully defended by the Marquis of Caracena; but, nevertheless, Condé pushed forward with such activity, that he soon forced the Spanish general to retreat, made himself master of Furnes, established magazines at that place and at Bergues, and, fearing that the former would be attacked from the side of Flanders, he hastened to throw up works around it, being the first general, it is remarked, in Europe, that ever conceived the extraordinary idea of fortifying one city for the purpose of

taking another. In fifteen days the fortifications were complete, and in the mean time he had sent messengers to beseech the Dutch to co-operate vigorously with him by sea. His request had been granted by the States, and by the time that he was ready to commence the siege of Dunkirk, fifteen French frigates, supported by the Dutch fleet, were prepared to complete the blockade by sea.

In the mean time, however, the Spanish and Imperial troops were gathering round from all quarters. The Duke of Lorraine with an experienced army lay upon the frontiers of Holland, Bec and Piccolomini occupied a position near Dendermond, and the Marquis of Caracena and General Lambois lay at Nieuport. At the same time, it was with very great difficulty that Condé could construct any works for the defence of his camp, as the lightness of the soil, which was little better than a moving sand, rendered all the efforts of the engineer tedious and laborious.

The Marquis of Lede, who commanded in Dunkirk, an able and experienced officer, showed an indomitable degree of courage and activity: every effort of the French troops was met with determination and promptitude, and the Imperial forces threatened daily to attack the duke in his camp. The appearance of such an intention, however, only induced Condé to push the siege with redoubled vigour. An attempt made by Piccolomini to force his way into the French camp at the quarters of Marshal Gassion was frustrated with considerable loss to the Imperialists, and day by day the success of the French became more probable. The outworks of Dunkirk one by one fell into the hands of the assailants; and at length Condé, unwilling to expose either the town itself or his own troops to the carnage of an assault, sent a trumpet to the governor to point out that the place was nearly indefensible, and to offer favourable terms of capitulation. In return, the Marquis de Lede despatched an officer to examine the French works, as had been proposed; and although his report tended to show that the place could not be held out much longer, the governor still resisted for some days, till at length, convinced that no succour was likely to reach him, he offered to surrender in a fortnight if not relieved. Condé, however, would not agree to so long a term, offering to give the garrison three days, and to yield it the honours of war if not relieved at the end of that period. The governor then demanded, that all prisoners made during the siege should be set at liberty on

both sides. This was agreed to by the duke, and on the 11th of December the French took possession of Dunkirk.

The fall of that place, however, was followed by a quarrel between Condé and Marshal Gassion, who had failed to restore his prisoners according to the articles of the capitulation of Dunkirk. The duke reproached his inferior officer sharply, Gassion replied in the same manner; and from that quarrel arose a coolness between two men who mutually esteemed each other. The military discipline, however, and subordination of the French army was at that time by no means exact; and the number of duels which daily took place, notwithstanding the severe prohibition of the practice which still existed, showed the lax state into which every branch of authority had fallen under the hands of Mazarin. Two of those duels are sufficiently remarkable to justify some details, as they show strongly the character and manners of the time.

When the army was marching upon Bergues through the heat of a day in July, Bussy Rabutin and the Chevalier d'Issigny, at the head of a party of light-horse under the command of the former, entered one of the great deserted towns of Flanders, where they saw a small body of infantry drinking at a well with their officer. Approaching the well, Bussy, who was in haste, asked the foot-soldiers to give him the bucket in order to drink; but their officer replied, without looking at him, that he was on horseback, and they more pressed for time than he was. Bussy then ordered his troopers to bring him the bucket, and having drunk, handed it to his friend, who, in turn, having satisfied his thirst, gave it to the horsemen behind him, who passed it from hand to hand, so that the infantry officer was obliged to recommence his march without having drunk.

He grumbled a good deal as he went away, and Issigny exclaimed aloud, "Do you hear, Bussy? That brave man seems to threaten us! He is very savage!"

Neither Bussy nor the infantry officer made any reply; but as the troops marched on, they saw him inquiring apparently who they were. The cavalry, which at that time was in general composed of persons of higher rank than the infantry, looked down with great contempt upon the foot; and Bussy and his companion amused themselves a good deal at the expense of the officer, making a joke of the idea that he would call them out. No sooner had they arrived at Bergues, however, than Issigny came to his friend to tell him

that he had received a challenge from their little friend on foot. As they had arranged before in jest, Bussy acted as second to Issigny; and the two cavalry officers, scoffing at the small swords of their opponents in the infantry, met them according to appointment the next morning. As was customary, while Issigny engaged the officer whom they had deprived of his draught at the well, the two seconds pulled off their pourpoints and drew their swords also. Bussy, however, wounded and disarmed his opponent, and then went to separate the others.

As the whole party were putting on their pourpoints again, the officer who had been engaged with Issigny turned to Bussy, saying, "I did what I could, sir, to bring our affair to an end the first."

"*Mordieu!*" cried Issigny, rudely; "it is much less my fault than yours, my little friend, that it was not so, for I could not advance so fast as you retreated."

Four or five friends of the cavalry officers arriving at that moment, the opponent of Issigny made no reply; but the next morning the chevalier received a note, telling him that he would find his adversary in an appointed place, if, after his insult of the preceding day, he was inclined once more to give him a meeting for the purpose of cutting each other's throats uninterrupted. Issigny immediately took a brace of pistols, and set out alone to meet the infantry officer, whom he found at the place named. They then charged the pistols in each other's presence, and, as is still customary in France, advanced upon each other to fire when they pleased. Issigny, however, held his finger ready, and having a very thick glove upon his hand, pressed the trigger without being aware of it, causing the pistol to go off while pointed in the air. His adversary then advanced upon him, commanding him to give up his sword; but the chevalier refused, and the infantry officer firing, broke his thigh with the pistol-shot.

Issigny immediately fell, and the other running up to him, told him, that if he were not content, he would give him his revenge, offering to charge the pistols again, and lie down beside him while they mutually took another shot at each other. Issigny, however, refused, saying he was perfectly satisfied, begging his adversary to run to the Count de Bussy, and request him to bring a surgeon and a confessor, which was accordingly done. He was removed from the ground to Bergues, where it was found necessary to amputate

his leg immediately; but he died a quarter of an hour after the operation, praising with his last breath the courage and frankness of the man who had killed him, and acknowledging that he had himself provoked the fate he met with.

About the same time another duel took place in the army between the Count de Rieux and a gentleman named Vassé. The second of the Count de Rieux was an officer of the name of Beaujeu, a man celebrated with the bad celebrity of a duellist, holding his head very high upon that evil reputation, but somewhat suspected of talking more loudly and boldly with the young and inexperienced than with the old and tried. He was, however, undoubtedly a man of much courage, strength, and skill; and opposed to him, as second of Vassé, was a young officer named Le Bret, an ensign in the regiment of Piedmont, and a mere inexperienced youth. As they were taking off their coats for the combat, Beaujeu looked at his boyish adversary with a contemptuous smile, saying, "At least, Sir, I trust you will somewhat spare a poor novice in such encounters like myself."

"Enough, enough," replied Le Bret, gravely; "we shall soon see who has most cause to laugh;" and in a very few passes he disarmed his boasting adversary, and at the same moment ran him through the body.

Such are some traits of the disorderly state of the French camp during the campaign of 1646; and from time to time we shall not scruple to give similar anecdotes, in order to exemplify the changes which took place in the manners of the country.

While Condé was pursuing his usual course of success, Turenne had returned to the Banks of the Rhine, and was preparing to effect his junction with the Swedes under the command of Wrangel, when he received orders from Mazarin not to put that intention in effect, on account of a promise which the Duke of Bavaria had given to forbear from uniting his army with that of the emperor, if the French abstained from joining the Swedes. Completely deceived by this assurance, Mazarin ordered Turenne, instead of marching across Nassau, for the purpose of meeting Wrangel in Hesse, to march towards Flanders, and lay siege to Luxemburg. Turenne, however, was more clear-sighted: he felt convinced that the Duke of Bavaria was deceiving the French court; saw that if he marched towards Luxemburg the Swedes might be annihilated, and all that the French had gained on the banks of the Rhine might

be utterly lost. He gained time, therefore, upon various pretexts, and remained in the neighbourhood of Philipsburg till he had ascertained that the Bavarian army, marching on with rapid steps, had united with the Imperialists in Franconia. No time was now to be lost; a few days more would bring the allied troops upon Wrangel; it was utterly impossible that the small forces under his command could offer any effectual resistance, and the whole fruits of the thirty years' war were upon the eve of being lost. Turenne's determination was taken in a moment. He sent messengers to inform Mazarin of his purpose, but he waited for no approbation of that purpose. The united Imperial and Bavarian army had now advanced and interposed between him and the Swedes; it was impossible any longer to pass into Hesse by Nassau. But Turenne, leaving a part of his infantry at Mayence, marched towards Cologne, fording the Moselle six leagues above Coblentz; arrived, after a rapid but fatiguing march, at Wesel, in Holland; and having obtained with difficulty permission to pass through that town, he crossed the Rhine, and despatched messengers to Wrangel to inform him of his approach.

The Swedish general, now encamped upon the frontiers of Hesse, between Wetzlar and Giessen, upon the Lahn, was in presence of the Imperial army, and severely straitened by its approach. Turenne had still an immense tract of country to traverse before he could join the forces of Sweden; but he lost not a moment on his march, crossing the country of La Marc, following the course of the Lippe, and then bending back across a part of Westphalia; so that, after one of the most rapid and difficult marches upon record, he effected his junction with the Swedes on the 10th of August.

The Imperialists had not ventured to attack Wrangel in his fortified camp; but nevertheless, even after the arrival of Turenne, they were considerably superior in number to the French and Swedish armies. The archduke, however, retreated at once several leagues to Friedberg, where he encamped, and began with all haste to fortify himself in a strong position. As soon as the allied troops had in some degree recovered from their fatigues, Turenne and Wrangel marched towards the Imperial camp, as if to attack it. The archduke hastened to complete his entrenchments and fortify himself more securely; but Turenne, who sought nothing but a free passage, marched on towards the Main, and halted between Hanau and Frankfort, at the distance of about ten leagues from Mayence.

Having arrived at this position after a circuit of many hundred miles, he sent orders to the infantry which he had left in Mayence to join him immediately; and as soon as this was effected, he crossed the Main, and, ascending that river, took Seligenstadt and Aschaffenburg, and cast the whole country into terror and confusion.

The smallness of Turenne's army prevented him from putting garrisons in the towns which he captured; but nevertheless he found a rich and productive country before him, quite capable of supporting his troops. He destroyed the fortifications of all the principal places on his march; and the soldiery, rejoicing in the plunder of a country which had fancied itself in perfect security under the wings of the Austrian and Bavarian eagles, followed him with joy and spirit across Franconia and Suabia. Thus proceeding with scarcely any opposition, Turenne marched on towards Munich; and while the Swedes laid siege to the strong town of Rain, the French advanced and summoned Augsburg to surrender.

It would seem, however, that some jealousy at this time existed amongst the Swedes in regard to the conquests of the French, and Wrangel despatched messengers to Turenne, to inform him that he found great difficulties in the siege of Rain. The French marshal, in order to yield him assistance, gave up the siege of Augsburg for the time, and marched to Rain, which almost immediately surrendered on the junction of the French troops with those of Sweden. During the siege, however, the conversation of Wrangel, who often alluded to the former capture of Augsburg by Gustavus Adolphus, showed Turenne what had been the real object of that general in withdrawing him from that place; and the error which he had committed in listening to his call was rendered more important by the entrance of twelve hundred Bavarians into the city in question.

Nevertheless, after the fall of Rain, the united armies once more advanced and laid siege to Augsburg, and the trenches were opened both on the French and Swedish sides of the place. Before the siege had proceeded far, however, the archduke, at the head of the Imperial and Bavarian armies, marched to the relief of Augsburg, receiving strong reinforcements by the way. His army, when it appeared in the neighbourhood of the allies, was far superior to that opposed to him, and Turenne and Wrangel were forced to retreat; while the archduke took up his quarters at the distance of five leagues from

Landsberg, where he had established very large and important magazines. Turenne at once conceived that his purpose was to suffer his adversaries to exhaust the supplies of the country, and then, when straitened for provisions, to attack and drive them back towards the Rhine, which would at once have placed in his power all the towns that France and Sweden had acquired during an arduous campaign.

It was determined, therefore, to endeavour to frustrate this design; and notwithstanding the superiority of his forces, the allies marched towards his camp with the purpose of attacking it. The precautions of the archduke, however, rendered such a measure too hazardous, and, after reconnoitring his position, Turenne executed a scheme which he had reserved as an alternative, if the attack could not be made. Leaving within sight of the archduke's camp, but at as great a distance as possible, a body of two thousand horse, he caused it to display a very extended front, while the rest of the army filed off towards the Lech, passed that river over a bridge which the Imperialists had left, and suddenly turned upon Landsberg, which was at once taken by escalade. The magazines of the Imperial army now fell into the hands of the allies, and Turenne and Wrangel were fully furnished with provisions; while the archduke, without supplies, and in the midst of an exhausted country, was obliged to decamp, to separate from the Bavarians, and to retire into the Austrian territories, leaving Bavaria to its fate.

The allies immediately marched upon Memmingen, and the Duke of Bavaria, seeing himself threatened with utter destruction, sent messengers, begging to treat separately with the King of France. Conferences were held at Ulm in consequence of this step, and a convention was arranged, by which it was stipulated that the Duke of Bavaria should entirely abandon the emperor, should either place or leave in the hands of France all the towns between Ulm and Donauwerth, with a number of other fortified places, which left Bavaria entirely open to the French troops, and that the right of passage and provisions should be granted to the armies of France and Sweden.

The greatest advantages which had yet been gained in Germany were now obtained; the Imperial army, separated from the Bavarians, did not amount to more than twelve thousand men; the allies, with some fresh reinforcements which had joined them, brought into the field a force of

thirty-four thousand; they were already in the heart of the country; an unimpeded retreat was secured in case of need by the places they held in Bavaria; and it seemed that one blow more would effect the ruin of the house of Austria, that object for which France had struggled during so many years. But at that moment Turenne received an order from Mazarin to separate from the Swedish army, and lead his forces to Flanders, where they were, in truth, much needed.

In vain the great general remonstrated, and represented to the French court that an opportunity would be lost which would never come again, and that two or three marches would render the King of France arbiter of the destiny of the empire; Mazarin and the queen persisted, furnished with plausible reasons by the Catholic princes of Germany, who were then treating with France at Munster. Those princes took care to represent to Anne of Austria, that she was in fact warring against Catholicism in Germany, that it would be the Swedes who would derive all the real advantages from any further successes against the emperor, and that if she now withdrew her troops, she would hold in her hand the fate of all parties.

These arguments, but still more the situation of the Low Countries, proved conclusive with Anne of Austria and Mazarin, and the orders which Turenne had received were reiterated. He was commanded to provide for the security of all the places which had been taken by France since the beginning of the campaign, and to establish commanders therein in whose determination and fidelity he could trust. Finding some hesitation on the part of Turenne, the queen wrote to him again with her own hand, commanding him to proceed directly towards Luxemburg; and he accordingly began his march, taking Wiblingen, Tubingen, Steinheim, Darmstadt, and several other towns, which ensured the free passage of French troops at any time to the places which they held in Bavaria.

Before we proceed to notice the events which still further delayed the great French general, in the beginning of the year 1647, it may be necessary to turn to those military transactions in other quarters which called the Prince de Condé (who had now succeeded his father) from his victorious course in Flanders, to take the command of the French army in the Peninsula. In Italy, but little of any great importance had happened, except at the siege of Orbitello,

which was undertaken by Prince Thomas of Savoy, at the command of Mazarin, in order, it would seem, to intimidate the Pope, who had rendered himself obnoxious to the French minister. Orbitello, though a town of Tuscany, was garrisoned by Spanish troops, under the command of Don Carlos de la Gasta; and the French fleet under the Duke de Brézé, nephew of the Cardinal de Richelieu, and brother-in-law of the Duke d'Enguien, was ordered to co-operate with Prince Thomas in the reduction of that place. The Spanish fleet, however, led by the Marquis of Pimentel, sailed to the relief of Orbitello, and a naval engagement ensued between the French and Spaniards, in which the Duke de Brézé was killed at the age of twenty-seven. The French and the Spaniards both claimed the victory; but the Spaniards kept the sea, the blockade of Orbitello was broken, and Prince Thomas obliged to raise the siege with disgrace. Du Plessis and the Maréchal de Meilleraye, however, repaired this defeat in some degree by the capture of Porto Longone, in the island of Elba; and Piombino was also taken upon the continent of Italy.

In Savoy the power of France and Spain remained nearly balanced; but in Spain itself the campaign of 1646 was disastrous to the French arms. The Count de Harcourt, after his successes against Cantelmo, had remained in command of the army in Catalonia, but had been called from the career of victory which he had been pursuing by a conspiracy which broke out in Barcelona. He then proceeded to besiege Lerida, attempting to reduce it by famine. Cantelmo had died of disappointment and grief at the outcry raised against him, Philip de Sylva was dead also, and the Marquis de Leganez had been recalled to the army in Catalonia. To him the Count de Harcourt had been opposed with extraordinary success in Italy, and he so thoroughly despised his enemy, that he took but few precautions against any attempts which he might make to interrupt him in the siege of Lerida. Although intelligence was repeatedly given him that Leganez intended to attack him in his lines, the count would not believe that such was the case, and feeling sure that the Spanish general would not attempt to force on a battle with one who had so frequently conquered him, he showed a want of caution and a rash confidence which Leganez did everything in his power to encourage.

Leganez, however, proved a more formidable enemy than

the count had anticipated. Advancing by a rapid march upon the French army, he approached Lerida at midnight, and dividing his force into two corps, ordered the one to direct its efforts entirely to cut its way into Lerida, while the other attacked the count in his lines. Both bodies were successful, and the French general, taken by surprise, was completely routed, leaving his baggage and artillery in the hands of the enemy.

This signal disaster caused the Count de Harcourt to be recalled; and in order to recover all that had been lost in Catalonia, the Prince de Condé was appointed to command in that province, while a considerable part of the army of Flanders was ordered to proceed towards the frontiers of Spain to serve once more under his command. It had been represented to Condé, when this new post was offered to him, that it was but a stratagem of Mazarin to remove him to a distance from the French capital, and that in all probability he would find himself neglected by the court as soon as he was no longer present. Such indeed proved to be the case, for on his arrival at Barcelona, he found neither ammunition, provisions, nor artillery prepared, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the things necessary for pursuing the siege could be collected. The Catalonians themselves, also, unacquainted with the Prince de Condé in any other manner than by report, seemed at first to despise the young commander sent to their support. He appeared amongst them dressed in black, as mourning for his father, and, giving him the name of the student from that circumstance, they paid very little attention to his wants or wishes. On the arrival of the different corps of troops, however, which were to be placed under his command, Condé caused his principal officers to dress themselves in the most splendid habits they could procure, and paraded them before the Catalonians, whose taste for display and decoration he well understood. A great increase of consideration was the consequence; and when the whole of the army had at length arrived, he advanced towards Lerida, and once more laid siege to that place on the 14th of May. Within the walls of Lerida still commanded Don Antonio or (Don Gregorio*) Brito, an old Portuguese officer in the service of Spain, who had defended Lerida against the Count de Harcourt. Condé, however, with the petulance of youth, despised the governor in his

* We find him called by these two names both by French and Spaniards.

rough and old-fashioned garb, and nothing was heard through the gay army of France but laughter and bravado.

"The place," says the historian of De Grammont, "was nothing, but Gregorio Brito was not a little. He was as brave as the Cid, as proud as all the Guzmans, and as gallant as the whole Abencerrages of Grenada. He suffered us to make the first approaches without showing the least sign of life; and the prince, proud of Rocroi and Nordlingen, in order to ease the garrison and the governor, opened the trenches with his own regiment, at the head of which marched twenty-four violins, as if we had been at a wedding. Night came, and we all set about amusing ourselves as we best could. Our violins were full of tender airs, and good cheer reigned throughout. Many jests were thrown at the little governor and his Spanish ruff, both of which we fancied we should have in our hands within twenty-four hours.

"All this passed at the trenches, when we suddenly heard a cry of bad augury from the rampart repeated twice or thrice. 'Alert to the wall,' which cry was followed by a discharge of cannon and musquetry, and the salvo by a sortie, which having swept our trench, drove us back fighting to our camp. Next morning Gregorio sent a present of iced fruit to our commander, begging him to excuse his not having violins to return his serenade, but assuring him, that if the music he had sent out the night before had proved agreeable, he would endeavour to keep it up as long as the prince did him the honour to remain before Lerida."

It has been denied by many authors that, in opening the trenches to the sound of violins, the Prince de Condé was guilty of any kind of bravado; and Voltaire, whose wit often made his ignorance pass for information, declares that it was the custom in Spain at that time always to open the trenches before a fortified place with the same musical accompaniment. The account of Hamilton, however, and the message of Brito, would evidently show that no such custom existed, even were it not well known that such was not the case. The words of a direct descendant of the prince himself put the matter in the true light. "Some authors," says a later Prince de Condé, "assert that this (the use of violins on such occasions) was a sort of custom in Spain at that time; but it is doing no wrong to great men to acknowledge their errors. A little too much presumption, without doubt, led astray for the moment a young prince whom fortune had continually favoured previously; and

even if the event of the siege had been more fortunate, the violins would always have been something too much in his history as well as in the trenches."

The governor of Lerida kept his word with Condé; and the nature of the soil, the gallantry of the defence, the knowledge that the place was supplied with every sort of store and munition, and the illness of a great part of his own troops, began to make even the prince despair of success.

In the midst of these discouraging circumstances, however, there occurred an adventure which caused a great sensation in the army at the time, and affords a painful and awful picture both of the licentious depravity of the age and of the recklessness of human nature. The Chevalier de la Vallière, maréchal de camp, was on duty at the quarters of the Maréchal de Grammont on the 2nd of June, and invited to dine with him at the mouth of the trenches the well-known Bussy Rabutin, with Barbantane, Brétèche, and Jumeaux—all intimate friends, and the two former fellow-officers in a regiment of gendarmerie. They met some hours before the time appointed, at the mouth of the trench, on the side of the Duke de Grammont's quarters, which trench opened through the walls of an old ruinous churchyard. Breakfast was served to them immediately, and, while they sat at meat, a part of the prince's band played to them such military music as was then in fashion. At length Barbantane, not knowing on what to spend the superfluity of his spirits, lifted off the stone cover of one of the tombs in the churchyard, and, finding therein a corpse yet wrapped in the cerements of the grave, he and Brétèche took the body out, and, putting it between them, made it dance to the sound of the violins. The rest of the party were horrified at the spectacle, and, by remonstrances and reproaches, induced their companions to replace the corpse in the grave. Dinner was shortly after served to the guests, and several hours were passed in carousing and revelry, and in singing the ribald songs of the French capital. After what Bussy himself acknowledges to have been "une fort grande débauche," the Marquis de la Trousse made his appearance, he being the person who was to relieve the Chevalier de la Vallière in the trenches for the following night. He now came to go the rounds with that officer, in order to see how far the works had proceeded, and what was to be done; and finding the party still at table, he bade the chevalier continue his repast, as he was in no hurry. La Vallière however, who,

though drunk, was not so drunk as to have forgotten his duty, started up to go with La Trousse immediately, bidding his friends go on with their revel, and telling them that he would be back immediately. But he was compelled to break his word. La Trousse was one of those brave men who are just a degree below the bravest, and affect to expose themselves without necessity. It was, thus, his habit to walk on the outside of the trenches rather than within them, forgetting that, if every man followed his example, there would be no use of trenches at all. La Vallière would not be behind his comrade in daring; and, exposing themselves completely to the fire of the enemy, the chevalier was picked off by a musquet shot in the head, within a minute after he had quitted his guests. Tidings were immediately brought to them of the event, but it had no effect whatsoever in decreasing their merriment, and they continued the revel, as their deceased companion had told them, with the exception of Jumeaux, who quitted them as soon as he heard that La Vallière was killed, for the purpose of running to the Prince de Condé to ask for the government of Flix, which had been held by his dead friend. He himself, however, died a few weeks afterwards of one of the diseases of the country. Bussy Rabutin, also, was shortly after seized with a fever, which brought him to the brink of the grave; and the news of that hideous revel having spread abroad, the events were magnified by superstition and credulity. The body which had been dragged from the tomb was said to have been that of a saint, and the misfortunes which subsequently fell upon all the principal parties concerned were attributed to the indignation of the grim guest whom they had forced to take a part in their debauch.

Such is the true account of the famous revel of La Vallière; and, shortly after, the Prince de Condé, frustrated in all his efforts against Lerida, daily losing a number of his troops, both by the vigorous exertions of the garrison and the unhealthiness of the climate, raised the siege on the 17th of June, and retired from before the walls of the fortress. He gained, however, some slight advantages in Catalonia, but was impeded by dissensions amongst his principal officers, which prevented him from doing anything in Spain worthy of his former renown. Towards the end of the year he received news from Paris which naturally disposed him to return as fast as possible to the French capital. The young king, in the midst of sports and amusements, had been taken violently ill, and

his life was despaired of. The disease was the small-pox, which was at that time a pestilence little inferior in virulence to the malady which has received the name of *plague* as a distinction. There was every reason to believe, therefore, that it would spread through the royal family. In the event of the death both of Louis XIV. and his young brother, but one head would have remained between the Prince de Condé and the crown, and it was natural for him to hurry towards a spot where such great interests were in agitation. Courier after courier from the court pressed his return with all speed, for Anne of Austria herself, apprehensive of ambitious movements on the part of the Duke of Orleans, in case of the death of the young king, sought anxiously for the support of the house of Condé. But the prince, disdaining the slightest appearance of coveting a sceptre which could only descend to him by the death of many relations, proceeded on his journey towards Paris with slow steps, and paused for some time at Fontainebleau; while his mother clearly indicated to the queen the motives of her son's delay, and in indirect terms reproached the Duke of Orleans for the signs of ambitious eagerness which he had displayed during the illness of the king.

His return to the court was at length hailed with joy and satisfaction by all parties, except, indeed, by the faction of the Duke of Orleans; for that prince, even at those times when he was compelled to co-operate with Condé, could not forget the jealousy of him which the greatness of his power and the greatness of his talents naturally excited. His presence, indeed, in the north, where he had always been so successful, was now very much needed, as Turenne, notwithstanding reiterated orders from Mazarin during 1647, had not been able to take the command in the Low Countries, and the arms of the Spaniards had consequently acquired a superiority which they had not possessed for many years.

We must now turn to show what were the causes which prevented Turenne from executing the commands he had received in the beginning of 1647, and then take a brief review of the campaign of that year in the Low Countries. We left that great general on his march, at the head of his French and Weimarian troops, to reinforce the army of Flanders and take the command in that district. He had, nevertheless, many causes to believe that the troops of the late Duke of Weimar, although engaged in the service of France both by long attach-

ment and positive agreements, would unwillingly change the scene of operations from the banks of the Rhine, where every individual was in the neighbourhood of his own country, to a remote district, where they would be at the mercy of French generals. At the same time, six months' arrears of pay were due to them; and Mazarin, after having promised them the pay of a month, had broken his engagement, and had left Turenne to satisfy them, as far as he could, by giving them good quarters and finding them abundant provisions.

Those quarters and provisions, however, had but rendered the Germans more unwilling to quit the country where they obtained such advantages; and General Rosen, whose errors had greatly brought about the defeat of Mariendal, had never forgiven Turenne, imagining that Turenne would never forgive him. He had consequently done all in his power to irritate his fellow-countrymen against the French general; and after crossing the Rhine at Philipsburg, when the orders were given for passing the mountains of Saverne, the principal officers of the Weimarian troops presented themselves before Turenne, and demanded immediate payment of their arrears. It was, of course, impossible for him to satisfy them; and having sent Rosen, whom he did not yet suspect, to repress the turbulence of the troops, he soon received a message from that officer, informing him that he was forcibly detained by the Germans; and next day Turenne found that they had commenced their march, in order to recross the Rhine. He well knew that large sums had been offered to the Weimarian troops by the emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, and he saw all the danger of suffering such a body of veteran soldiers, not only to quit the service of France, but to go over to her adversaries. Under these circumstances, he pursued them with the greater part of his army, and overtook them just as they were crossing the Rhine, in great confusion, by means of boats they had obtained from Strasburg. Such was their condition that Turenne could have destroyed them had he thought fit so to do; but he was naturally anxious to preserve them in the service of France, as well as to prevent them from joining the enemy. He now saw clearly that he had been betrayed by Rosen; but, after a short consultation with some of the other officers, he determined to promise the Weimarians not to take them into Flanders, and to suffer them, as a proof of his sincerity, to pass the Rhine, if they agreed, when that was done, not to go far from the banks of the river.

This arrangement being assented to on their part, he sent back the greater part of his own troops, with orders to join the rest who were at Saverne, and then march with them into Flanders, while he, with three thousand infantry and one regiment of cavalry, followed the Germans across the Rhine. With them he remained a month, endeavouring to gain the Weimarian officers, and succeeding with all except Rosen. The troops, however, encouraged in their revolt by that general, refused to obey their officers, chose chiefs amongst themselves, and once more put themselves in motion without orders. But Turenne resolved not to abandon them while there was a chance of recovering his ascendancy, and followed them with nothing but his staff, leaving his own forces behind. He went at once to the quarters of Rosen, and, although at first some disposition was shown to oppose him, the firm promptitude with which he put himself at the head of the troops and assumed the supreme authority, prevented the chiefs of the Weimarian army from attempting any personal violence towards him. The soldiers followed their own will, it is true, and directed their march in whatsoever way they thought fit; but Turenne—rejoicing to see that they took their way towards Baden and the Lower Palatinate, in which they would be surrounded by French garrisons, and not towards Bavaria, where they would have been welcomed by the enemies of France with open arms—still kept at their head, fixed the limits of the day's march, allotted the quarters of the different troops, and preserved the semblance of authority with so much dignity and firmness, that the very chiefs of the revolt felt intimidated in his presence.

Finding, at length, that nothing could be done with the Germans so long as Rosen was suffered to pursue his machinations uninterrupted, Turenne determined to arrest that officer even in the very midst of the mutinous troops. Having arrived at Etlingen, not very far from Philipsburg, the soldiers encamped in the neighbourhood, and the principal officers took up their quarters in the town. Turenne immediately sent privately to Philipsburg, with orders for the commandant of the garrison to despatch immediately a hundred musqueteers, so as to be at the gates of Etlingen by daybreak. At that hour Turenne himself caused the corps de garde at the gates to lay down their arms, and put the musqueteers from Philipsburg in possession of the place. He then proceeded to the quarters of Rosen with fifty of the French soldiers,

and, arresting him on the spot, caused him to be conveyed a prisoner to Philipsburg. His next step was to send notice to the Weimarian army of the imprisonment of Rosen, with orders to the soldiery no longer to recognise any commands that officer had given. At these tidings a schism which had existed between the obedient and the disaffected of the Weimarian army at once broke forth: two entire regiments, with the officers of the whole army, down to the very corporals, declared at once in favour of Turenne, and put themselves under his command. A part of the other regiments joined him also; but a considerable body decamped with all speed, and made the best of their way towards the Main. Turenne followed them without loss of time at the head of their former companions, came up with them at Königshausen, charged them briskly in the rear, killed three hundred of their number, and took three hundred prisoners. Those who were thus captured were threatened with immediate death; but Turenne, not unwillingly, seized the opportunity of an appeal made to his good feeling by one of the oldest soldiers amongst the prisoners, in order to pardon the whole, and they were incorporated at once with the other regiments. The rest of the Weimarian army effected its escape, and being now reduced to the number of nine hundred or a thousand men, whose services were of no great importance to Bavaria or Austria, they enlisted in the service of the Swedish crown.

These events had occupied the greater part of the year, and it was not till the month of September that Turenne could enter the territory of Luxemburg. He there took some unimportant places; but the greatest advantage which his presence in that quarter gained for France, was the division of the forces of the Archduke Leopold, then commanding in the Low Countries, who was obliged to watch Turenne narrowly, lest he should be attacked in flank or rear while he was opposed to Rantzau and others in front.

The long delay which had occurred regarding the march of Turenne's forces, the impossibility of that general himself taking the command in the Low Countries, and the period which elapsed before the troops that he did send reached their destination, had caused very great inconveniences to the French army in Flanders, and that at the moment when Mazarin was the most anxious for complete and signal success in the north.

The presence of the king himself on the frontier—this

being the first time he had ever travelled to any great distance from the neighbourhood of Paris—was of course an inducement to the troops to do their duty well; but at the same time it rendered the minister the more desirous of obtaining notable advantages over the enemy under the very eye of the monarch. No such advantages could be obtained by the small force which was assembled to oppose the archduke by the Marshals Rantzau and Gassion, especially as a degree of jealous enmity existed between them, the natural effect of which was to embarrass and enfeeble all their operations. Rantzau was brave and skilful, but is in general represented as a confirmed drunkard; and it is certain that on one occasion he suffered his army to be surprised and defeated, while its general was in a state of complete inebriety. Gassion was brave, skilful, and sober, but somewhat rash and intemperate in his enterprises and passions. The former, however, was favoured by Mazarin; the latter—who, amongst his other errors in the eyes of the court, was a Hugonot—was by no means in the good graces of the prime minister.

The archduke opened the campaign by the siege of Armentieres, and the governor Du Plessis applied eagerly to the court of France for aid. Anne of Austria, with Mazarin, and the young king, had set out for Amiens in the beginning of May; but Mazarin, though undertaking the functions of all the principal officers of the crown, was nevertheless timid in using them; and before he would take any decided step to oppose the enemy, he besought the Duke of Orleans to join the rest of the court, and aid him with his support and advice. The duke, however, delayed, and did not set out from Paris till the 28th of May; while Armentieres, after a vigorous resistance, was forced to surrender on the 31st of that month.

In the mean time, however, a body of four thousand men which had been raised to reinforce the armies under Gassion and Rantzau, had marched forward with considerable supplies under the command of the Maréchal de Villeroy; and shortly after another detachment was led to swell the army of Flanders by La Ferté Sennetre. The forces of the archduke, however, who was now assured of not being attacked by the Dutch, were still superior to those of the French generals, and he proceeded to take Commines and Lens. Marching on, he appeared in presence of the French army in the neighbourhood of Bethune; and it would seem that

both Gassion and Rantzau were eager to engage him, but were prevented from so doing by the express orders of Mazarin and the Duke of Orleans, who commanded them on no account to risk a battle till Turenne arrived from the banks of the Rhine.

I have already shown the events which prevented that great general from obeying the repeated orders of the court to hasten to Flanders; and the archduke, unobstructed on his march, advanced to Landrecy, and laid siege to that place. The importance of the city, and its proximity to Paris, caused great uneasiness; and it was determined to risk a battle to save it. The French army only amounted to sixteen thousand men; but, as it advanced, it was somewhat swelled by all the youth of the court, who eagerly solicited permission to take a part in the coming engagement. The Sambre was passed on the 2nd of July, in presence of a corps of troops under General Bec, which was not strong enough to oppose the French marshals, and the army under their command marched on towards Landrecy. After cannonading the lines of the archduke, however, with but little effect, and remaining in sight of his camp a whole day, Rantzau and Gassion could not agree in regard to their plan of operations; and, as is ever the case when generals disagree, the cause of their country suffered from their private animosity. Although it was proposed to attack the lines of the archduke, and the troops were eager to do so, no such step was attempted; and after a fruitless display of ill-sustained resolution, the French army decamped, and left Landrecy to its fate.

The disagreement between Gassion and Rantzau appears now to have been so great that it became necessary for them to separate; and, each leading a corps under his individual command, the latter proceeded to attack the fort of La Kenoque, with Dixmude, Nieudam, and some other small places; but in the end was encountered by the Marquis of Caracena in a partial engagement, where the success on neither side was very apparent. In the mean while Landrecy surrendered to the archduke, while Gassion hastened to lay siege to La Bassée, defeating a detachment of the Spanish army which endeavoured to throw provisions and reinforcements into the place. Having invested that fortress, Gassion learned the surrender of Landrecy on the 16th of July; and becoming apprehensive that the whole army of the archduke would fall upon him under the walls of La Bassée, if he did not speedily make

himself master thereof, he sent a messenger to inform the governor, that if it were not immediately surrendered he would order the storming parties to advance, threatening, at the same time, to spare neither women nor children should it be taken. The governor knew that he could not resist long, but hourly hoped that the archduke would appear, and he accordingly sent some officers to inform the French marshal that he would surrender in four hours if not relieved; but Gassion placed his watch upon the edge of the trench, and replied, that if the place were not surrendered within three-quarters of an hour, he would grant neither terms nor quarter to any one. The citizens were so much intimidated by this reply, knowing as they did that Gassion was a man to execute his threat, that they put an end to the governor's hesitation, and the keys were immediately carried to the French marshal.

The capture of this city was absolutely necessary to counterbalance, in some degree, the losses which France had sustained; but, nevertheless, Mazarin evinced but little gratitude towards Gassion, whom he regarded with no slight enmity, notwithstanding the great services which he had rendered to France. The cause of such persevering hatred was, as usual, a light word. The minister, we are told, on one occasion sent directions to Gassion in regard to some of his military dispositions, which were so much opposed to every scientific rule, that Gassion threw down the letter with contempt and trod upon it. "The minister," he exclaimed, "will meddle with military matters, of which he knows nothing."

These words were, of course, repeated to Mazarin by some officious friend, and Gassion was never forgiven.

From La Bassée, Gassion hastened on to Lens, to which he laid siege also, and pushed forward the attack with vigour. It was defended gallantly; and, in the course of the siege, La Feuillade, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself, was shot in marching to the assault, and died exclaiming, "Ah! what was I running after?"

But the greatest loss which France met with at the siege of Lens was the death of Gassion himself, who was wounded at the end of the month of September, and, after lingering for several days, died with the utmost firmness on the 5th of October, leaving no officer behind him more distinguished for courage, skill, and perseverance, than he had been through life. "In gaining a hamlet," says one of the French writers, "France lost a hero;" and it may be added, that the very

lowest soldiers of his army shed tears on the grave of one who had risen from the same rank as themselves. Gassion was born at Pau, in the Pyrenees, and was the son of a president in the parliament of that town. His father intended to have educated him for the same profession as himself, but the disinclination of the youth to the study of the law was so great, that, taking his resolution with that prompt decision which characterised him through life, he absconded from his paternal mansion at fifteen years of age, with not more than thirty sous in his pocket. Putting his shoes on the end of a stick, which he carried over his shoulder, he set out barefooted, in the manner of the peasantry of Béarn, in order to seek his fortune, and lived for some time upon the public as best he might. He at length met with a body of soldiers, and enlisted, and from that moment continued in the army, rising gradually, without any interest, to the highest rank in his profession. He never flattered, nor sought the favour of ministers; nor did he ever quit his religion, though, as a Hugonot, it might have proved a great stumbling-block in his way. Nevertheless his merit had been discovered by Richelieu, who gave him his full support and esteem, and compared him, not without justice, to the famous Bertrand du Guesclin; adding, however, that Gassion was not so coarse as the constable of Charles V.

Comminges was immediately sent from the court to supply the place of Gassion for the time, and Lens surrendered on the 3rd of October. But few other successes attended the French arms during the course of the campaign, though the two armies of Gassion and Rantzau were ultimately united under the command of the latter. Dixmude was retaken by the Spaniards in the month of November; and upon the whole the campaign in Flanders was as unpropitious to the arms of France, as that of Catalonia had proved. Nor did the languid contest carried on in Italy offer any military event, during that year, to compensate for the reverses in Spain and the Low Countries. Nice was taken by the Constable of Castile; and the only favourable occurrence from which France could derive an augury of future success in Italy was the revolt of Naples and the commotions in Sicily. Such was the state of events when Condé returned from Catalonia; and his coming was hailed with joy by all the court, although the Parisian populace had by this time become so exasperated against Mazarin, that every reverse which the royal arms met with

was hailed as the misfortune of the minister; and even the failure of Condé himself, in Catalonia, became a subject of rejoicing to the Parisians, as well as of madrigals, epigrams, and satires.

During the winter and the early part of the spring of 1648, Condé remained in Paris, as we have elsewhere shown, taking a share in the struggles of the Fronde. The command of the armies in the Low Countries was again assigned to him, and early in May he set out, at the head of thirty thousand men, determined to lay siege to the large town of Ypres. The Archduke Leopold, with a considerable force, watched all his movements; but Condé contrived to deceive him, and by a skilful march left the Spanish army behind him, and invested the city in form. The archduke immediately followed, and made various attempts to relieve the place by attacking Condé in his quarters; but the prince was neither to be taken by surprise nor drawn away from his design, and his adversary was obliged to direct his efforts to gain some compensation for a loss which he saw was inevitable. The foolish intermeddling of Mazarin in military affairs soon gave him the opportunity he desired. Notwithstanding all the representations of the Prince de Condé, who was unwilling that any place possessed by France on the Flemish frontier should be weakened for the purpose of strengthening his army, Mazarin sent orders to the Count de Paluau, who since the death of Gassion had commanded in Courtray, to march with the greater part of his garrison for the purpose of reinforcing the prince beneath the walls of Ypres. No sooner did the archduke hear of this false step than he marched to Courtray, which had been left totally incapable of resistance, and took a strong and well-fortified city in the middle of the day by a coup-de-main.

After the capture of Courtray he returned to Ypres, and endeavoured to provoke Condé to battle; but the fire of the warrior was now subservient to his skill, and nothing which the archduke could do induced him to fight till he found a fitting opportunity.

After endeavouring to give success to an ill-conceived scheme of Rantzau's upon Ostend, and having manœuvred for some time with great skill in order to drive the archduke out of Picardy, into which he had made an irruption, Condé was recalled to Paris by the difficulties of the court, and by the necessity of laying out some plan for enabling a large

reinforcement of Weimarian troops, under the command of Erlach, to effect its junction with the army of Flanders. During his temporary absence the archduke, marching through the country at his will, is said to have published a mock manifesto, offering a reward to any one who would show him the army of Condé, supposed to be lost. But the prince soon returned, and putting himself at the head of his troops, determined to risk a battle, more for the purpose of giving new vigour to the court, than from any probable advantages it might produce in the Low Countries.

The archduke having approached the town of Lens in the beginning of August, laid siege to that place; and Condé, marching after him, came up a few hours before the town surrendered. On the evening of the 18th the prince had made all his dispositions for the battle, which he proposed to hazard on the following day; but the surrender of Lens at daybreak on the morning of the 19th gave the archduke advantages upon which the Spanish general did not fail to seize at once. He immediately changed his position, and, with the town on his right, his centre strengthened by some hamlets surrounded by hedges and ditches, and his left occupying a height of difficult access, he waited for the attack of Condé, not doubting that the natural impetuosity of the prince would induce him to commence the battle, even under circumstances so advantageous to his enemy.

In this estimate, however, of Condé's character Leopold was mistaken. Such indeed might have been the case some years before; but Condé had not only fought the battles of Freiburg and Nordlingen, which were enough to show him how small a grain more or less in one scale or the other of fortune's balance will make the difference between victory and defeat, but he had been repulsed from the walls of Lerida, had been frustrated in his most sanguine expectations, and had acquired the knowledge of reverse—perhaps the only thing which had been wanting to his qualities as a general. Instead of marching up inconsiderately to the strong position of the Spanish army, Condé, knowing that a defeat on the frontier of Picardy would lay open the whole of the north of France to the enemy, used every means to draw the adverse general out into the plain. He kept up a brisk cannonade upon the Spanish army; he caused parties of his cavalry to advance, to skirmish, and then to retreat as if in disorder. But all these efforts were employed in vain, and

at length Condé determined to commence a retreat, in the hope that the archduke would follow, and afford a more favourable field of battle to the French. It is clearly shown that such was the object of Condé in retreating at all; and his having chosen to effect his retreat in the full daylight, would seem to prove that he hoped as well as expected that the archduke would at once attack him in his retreat. His forces amounted to only fourteen thousand men and eighteen pieces of artillery; and shortly after daybreak on the morning of the 20th of August he proceeded to execute one of the most difficult enterprises which perhaps any general ever undertook; namely, to retreat before a superior enemy, in open day, through a vast plain, and in such a manner as to be able to engage and conquer the adverse army if it ventured to oppose his progress. It would seem that Condé had himself reconnoitred the ground, and determined upon the position in which he would halt and fight if attacked. The Marquis de Noirmontier commanded the rear-guard, and the Duke de Grammont the left wing of Condé's army; while Chatillon appeared at the head of the gendarmerie, and Erlach led the Weimarian cavalry, which had joined the prince some short time before.

No sooner did the forces of France begin to retreat, than the cavalry of Lorraine, commanded by General Bec, was seen in motion, and in a moment after, the rear-guard was charged with such vigour as to be driven in upon the rest of the army in confusion and disarray. Condé perceived the success of his plan; but the critical moment was now arrived, and while he commanded the main body to hasten forward and form upon an eminence which he had already marked for that purpose, he ordered Chatillon at the head of the gendarmerie to support the rear-guard under Noirmontier. Chatillon charged gallantly at the head of his troops, and drove back Bec and the cavalry of Lorraine, fighting hand to hand for several hundred yards. Bec, however, rallied his men, returned to the charge, and in his turn forced back the gendarmerie at the point of the sword. Condé then put himself at the head of the troops already engaged, and knowing the importance of giving the rest of the army time to form on the slope, led them back to renew the struggle with Bec.

One of those panics, however, which occasionally seize the most veteran troops, took possession of Condé's cavalry as he was leading them to the charge, and every squadron

turned and fled towards the main body. All for a moment was disarray and confusion, and the day seemed lost to France. So judged the archduke; and hastening down from the heights he had before occupied, he came forward as if to certain victory. Condé, however, had rallied the fugitives at the foot of the slope he had chosen as his position, and kept the enemy at bay. Bec halted to give the archduke time to come up, and the French general seized the important moment to restore complete order and bring forward fresh troops to all those points where he intended to make the greatest efforts. A momentary interval was all that Condé required; that interval was given him by the halt made by Bec to enable the archduke to come up, and before the enemy had time to profit by the first advantages they had gained, Condé had time to restore order amongst his forces, and to prepare once more to lead them on to victory. A few brief words, spoken with that air of confidence which is sure to communicate to those who see it the feeling which it expresses, soon gave back courage and determination to his troops, and putting himself at the head of the first line of the right wing, Condé prepared to become the assailant instead of the assailed, and to attack the archduke, whom he had now induced to quit his strong position and descend into the plain.

A brisk cannonade announced to the Spanish army that the French were no longer in retreat, and that there was no choice left but immediate battle. Condé's artillery was extremely well served, and, planted on the heights, produced a great effect amongst the advancing columns of the Spaniards. As soon as that effect was fully visible, Condé himself charged at the head of the cavalry of the first line, and encountered the fresh body of horse coming up under the archduke. Both great generals felt that their fame depended upon their exertions during that day, and both displayed valour and skill sufficient to have won the victory. The archduke exposed himself in the thickest of the fight, leading on, encouraging his men, remedying every error he saw committed, rallying his troops wherever they appeared to be shaken. Condé made equal efforts to break the squadrons opposed to him; he also was in every part of the field, he also fought hand to hand like a common soldier; but he never forgot in the fiercest of the struggle the duties of the great general, and, seeing that as yet he had produced no impression upon the Spanish line, although a number of his

troopers had fallen around him and two of his pages had been killed by his side, he despatched orders to Count d'Erlach to charge at the head of the Weimarian horse, while he kept the enemy engaged till they arrived. This was effected so vigorously by the German cavalry, that the troops of the archduke gave way at once. In vain he endeavoured to rally them, in vain he attempted to restore any degree of order—all was confusion and disarray, and Condé now displaying all that fire and impetuosity which he had so firmly restrained till the chosen moment came, gave the cavalry of Spain and Lorraine not a moment to recover from the panic and disorder into which they had been thrown.

The archduke, borne along by the rest, quitted the field, flying towards Douai, endeavouring as far as possible to repel the repeated charges of the French and Weimarian troops, and give some sort of order to the retreat. On the left wing, the Duke de Grammont had been as successful as Condé upon the right; he had driven all before him after a severe struggle, and pushing the enemy in the same direction which Condé was pursuing, the two generals met on the high road to Douai, and cast themselves into each other's arms in joy for their great victory. An immense body, however, of Spanish infantry still occupied the centre of the field, and with that serried rank for which they were famous, displayed a front on every side impenetrable to all the efforts of their enemies.

The events which took place at the end of the celebrated day of Rocroi were now almost acted over again. The left wing of the Spanish army being totally routed, Condé turned to complete the defeat of his adversaries, which was still held in doubt by the vigorous resistance of that mass of infantry. The French guards had charged the Spanish centre, and for a moment gained some slight success; but, carried on by their ardour, they had suffered themselves to be surrounded, and would have been annihilated, had it not been for the arrival of Condé at the head of the gendarmerie. The more closely, however, the Spaniards found themselves surrounded, the more closely did they press together; all intervals disappeared, man stood by man, and regiment by regiment, till the four or five thousand men of which that body of infantry was composed formed but a single battalion, presenting a firm face on every side. After a number of efforts to break this powerful phalanx, Condé ordered Desroches to make a sud-

den charge at the head of his own guards. It was effected with success; one of the fronts of the Spanish infantry was broken and thrown into confusion. No sooner was this known through the rest of the body, than, left without any support from the cavalry, and depending solely for success upon their own firm array, the Spanish infantry threw down their arms and surrendered, leaving the victory of Lens as complete as any that Condé had yet achieved. That prince caused the firing immediately to cease, and despatched the Duke de Chatillon, who had highly distinguished himself in the battle, to bear the tidings of his success to the queen-regent.

The army of the archduke may be said to have been destroyed. In killed, wounded, and taken, the Spaniards lost from eight to ten thousand men,* eight hundred officers, one hundred and twenty pair of colours, thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and the whole of the baggage of the army. Even before the battle was concluded, Condé had given orders for attacking Lens, while he proceeded in person to reduce the Spanish infantry; and as soon as the victory was complete, he directed Rantzau to lay siege to the strong town of Furnes. The garrison, however, made a vigorous resistance; Rantzau did not press the siege so firmly as Condé had expected, and the prince himself marched to the place to conduct the further operations against it with increased activity. Scarcely had he arrived there, when, in examining the works, he received a musket-shot in the loins, which in all probability would have proved fatal had it not been for the thick coat of buff leather which he wore, and which was doubled in that part. His wound consequently was very slight, and he was soon able, after the surrender of Furnes, to hasten towards Paris, in compliance with the reiterated entreaties of the queen and Mazarin, who were reduced to a state of the most imminent danger by events which we shall proceed to notice as soon as we have given some account of the military movements which had taken place during 1648 in other parts of Europe.

In Italy some small advantages had been gained by the French in an action between the Marquis of Caracena near Cremona, and the French general Du Plessis Praslin; but though the latter forced the entrenchments of Caracena, he was obliged to abandon his attempt upon Cremona, as the

* The Spaniards say eight thousand men; and probably the French account is a little exaggerated.

Spaniards still kept the field, and threw constant supplies into the place. Although the war also languished in Catalonia, yet Marshal Schomberg, who commanded in that province, laid siege to the strong town of Tortosa, and took it after a vigorous resistance.

Some of the most important efforts of the whole war, however, took place in Germany, under the command of Turenne, whom we left embarrassed by the insubordination of the Weimarian troops. Scarcely was the Duke of Bavaria freed from the presence of the French and Weimarian forces, and had learned the mutiny which had broken out amongst the latter, than he conceived that he might easily break the truce with Sweden, without incurring a fresh warfare with France. He accordingly raised considerable forces, and joined his army to that of the emperor. The united powers of Austria and Bavaria were now able to resume the offensive against Sweden; and Melander, who commanded the allied troops, drove back Wrangel into the duchy of Brunswick, and took almost all the places which the French and Swedes had acquired during the former campaign. At the same time reports were industriously spread throughout Germany that an understanding existed between France, Bavaria, and Austria, which were countenanced by the more active measures adopted by the plenipotentiaries at Münster about this period; and the Queen of Sweden demanded loudly that France should give the lie to such reports, by punishing the Duke of Bavaria for his infraction of the treaty of Ulm.

Turenne was in consequence ordered immediately to march back to the Rhine; and leaving the Luxemburg, he advanced into Hesse Darmstadt, obliging the Spanish and Imperial troops to raise the siege of Worms as he went. He then halted for some time, waiting for express orders from the court; but having received them, he made a formal declaration of war against the Duke of Bavaria; and marched at once to join Wrangel, while the Imperial troops retreated before him and took refuge under the cannon of Ingoldstadt. He easily effected his junction with the Swedish forces at Gelenhausen; but differences speedily sprang up between him and Wrangel, who sought but to secure the greatest advantages to Sweden, and laboured hard, if we may believe the French accounts, to seduce the whole of the Weimarian troops from the service of his ally.

The Bavarian generals now endeavoured to persuade

Turenne to march into Bohemia; but the French commander, perceiving their object, refused to leave such an extent of country between himself and his supplies, and, notwithstanding every artifice, remained firm in his determination. The Swedes, in order to alarm him, even affected to quit him and to march towards the higher palatinate; but it was not easy to frighten Turenne, and after having suffered them to proceed upon their course for two or three days without showing the slightest intention of joining them, he received notice that they were anxious to re-unite their army to his, and Turenne of course received them with open arms.

Having suffered the troops to refresh themselves for some short time, Turenne proposed to march towards the Imperial army and attack it, and proceeding to Lavingen, the French and Swedes there passed the Danube, and advanced upon Augsburg. Melander, the adverse general, hearing of their approach, immediately retreated before them; and Turenne and Wrangel, leaving their cannon and their infantry to follow, pursued with all speed at the head of the cavalry, and soon came up with the rear-guard of the Imperial army, commanded by Montecuculi. Turenne immediately charged at the head of the Weimarian cavalry, and drove the Imperialists in confusion before him through a wood and into a plain beyond.

Melander, who had been with the Imperial advanced guard on the other side of the plain, which was there also terminated by a large wood, returned to support his rear-guard with a large body of cavalry, leaving his infantry concealed in the wood; and the battle was renewed in the plain with redoubled fury. After a long and severe contest, however, Melander was killed at the head of his troops, and the Imperial and Bavarian cavalry, thrown into disorder, were driven across the plain into the other wood. Turenne followed fiercely; but the moment his troops quitted the plain, a tremendous fire was opened upon him from amongst the trees by the infantry, which lined the wood, and his squadrons were driven back in confusion. Wrangel, however, had, at the same time, taken a circuitous pass to another part of the wood, and took the Imperial infantry in flank. Another severe engagement took place, which ended in the Imperialists being once more driven out of the forest, with the loss of all their cannon and baggage. Prince Ulrick Wurtemberg, however, had been sent forward from the Imperial army to

take possession of the only ford across a small river which lay between the field of battle and Augsburg. The fugitive bodies of the Imperial army thus passed in safety, and when Turenne arrived at the ford he found it guarded by six or seven squadrons of cavalry, and three battalions of infantry, strongly entrenched on the other side of the river. The French and Swedish infantry were far behind; but Turenne caused the cannon which had been taken in the wood to be pointed against the division of Prince Ulrick, and opened a tremendous fire upon it, but without the effect he anticipated. That prince showed a determination to die with all his men sooner than abandon the ford before the retreat of the Imperial army was secured. One half of his troops fell around him; but he remained firmly at the head of those which remained till night closed that day of carnage, though he himself had the extraordinary number of five horses killed under him. Such is the famous running fight of Zusmarhausen, and the Imperial army was led by Montecuculi to the walls of Augsburg; but its salvation was undoubtedly effected by the heroic resolution of Ulrick of Wurtemberg.

After these engagements, which took place on the 17th of May, 1748, Konigsmark was detached from the Swedish and French army with a considerable corps of troops to penetrate into Bohemia; while Turenne and Wrangel marched towards Bavaria, and traversing the Lech, advanced, without suffering themselves to be diverted by any object till they reached the banks of the Iser, where they made themselves masters of the immense magazine that had been formed at Freising. Terror and consternation spread before them; the Duke of Bavaria quitted his capital at the age of seventy-eight, and fled to Saltzburg, while his army, which even when joined with that of the Imperialists comprised only three thousand infantry, was totally unable to oppose the French, who, from Freising and Landshut, pushed their parties to the banks of the Inn and swept the whole country of provisions.

The bridges at Freising, Landshut, and other places, had been destroyed by the Bavarians in their retreat; but Turenne occupied himself eagerly in preparing afresh the means of passing the Iser, and on the 12th of June he traversed that river by two bridges which he had constructed, and immediately attacked the town of Muldorf, which he captured. Remaining fifteen days at Muldorf, he attempted several times to pass the Inn, but found it impossible on account of

the rapidity of the river, and the want of either a bridge or boats.

In the mean while the Duke of Bavaria had written vehement letters of remonstrance to the emperor, beseeching him to send troops to his aid; and Picolomini had been recalled in all haste from Flanders. It required some time, of course, for that great general to reach the Bavarian territory; but he still advanced, gaining reinforcements on his march, till at length he reached the banks of the Danube, and crossed it at Passau, followed by an army of ten thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse. He then approached the town of Landshut, and encamped there during a whole month, watching the proceedings of Turenne and Wrangel. A variety of skirmishes took place, in one of which Prince Ulrick of Wurtemberg was taken by the French. Turenne continued to sweep the country of its produce, and on one occasion approached to the very gates of Munich itself; but it would seem that he did not venture to undertake any great effort in presence of the large force of Picolomini, which remained still very formidable, although that general had been obliged to detach a considerable corps to Bohemia, to keep in check Konigsmark, who was ravaging that country.

Forage and provisions beginning to grow scanty, and the winter approaching, Turenne and Wrangel quitted the banks of the Iser in the beginning of October, passed the Lech at Landsberg, and the Danube at Donauwerth, and brought their troops into safe and abundant quarters at Lavingen.

While laying out his plans for the succeeding campaign, a courier from the Count de Servien reached the head-quarters of the French general, announcing to him that a treaty of peace had been signed at Munster on the 24th of October, and that by a preliminary convention a suspension of arms was granted to all parties till the treaties were ratified in due form. In this arrangement both France and Sweden were comprised, and, consequently, the armies of those two countries were set free to turn their efforts in other directions. Spain, having made a separate peace with Holland, refused to take part in the pacification of Munster, and prepared to pursue the war against France unsupported by the empire, but no longer opposed by the Dutch. The contest between the two countries which remained at war would in all probability have terminated very soon, had no internal dissensions diminished the power of France; but Turenne and Condé, and all the great generals

and the veteran soldiers who had been nourished by a long and sanguinary struggle, were now destined to turn their swords against each other, and destroy the prospects of their native land by intestine strife.

CHAPTER IV.

Internal Affairs—Fair Days of the Regency—Anecdotes of the Infancy of Louis XIV.—Conduct of Mazarin—The Enemies he makes—Character of De Retz—Preparation for the Civil War—Finance—Emery—The Toisé—The Tariff—The Chambre de Domain—Opposition of the Parliament—Illness of the King—Steps of the Parliament—The Paulette—The Decree of Union—The Court yields—Declaration of the King—Rise of the Fronde—Views and Situation of Mazarin—Escape of the Duke de Beaufort—State of popular feeling throughout France.

While Condé and Turenne were carrying the arms of France into Germany and Flanders, raising the power of their own country, and depressing her enemies, the queen-regent and her minister enjoyed for several years an interval of tranquillity and success; and Louis XIV. gradually advanced from infancy to boyhood, increasing in corporeal vigour, though but little cultivated in mind. During these fair days of the regency little occurred to disturb Anne of Austria, and all who surrounded her reaped the benefit of that state of mind which is generally produced by the even current of prosperity. So placable, indeed, had she become from the very first days of the regency, that one of the witty courtiers of the day remarked that the whole French language was reduced to five little words, "The queen is so good!" Her struggle with the Importants had, it is true, soured her a little; and the dogged and persevering animosity with which her friends of former days pursued their purposes against Mazarin still continued to irritate her from time to time, as their stupidity well might, in attempting by reproaches and sarcasms to shake the hold of the favourite upon the regard of the queen.

Anne of Austria, thoroughly convinced that jealousy had full as great a share as honesty in the rude representations they thought fit to make her, continued to uphold Mazarin against their efforts, and to display but the more distaste daily towards those who thus imprudently urged her. At the head of these was Madame de Hautefort, who, having shown in former days a stern and resolute spirit against the enemies of the queen, thought that she had now every right to exert the same against her favourites; and La Porte himself, though a high admirer of that lady's character, suffers it to be apparent that she as-

sumed a tone towards her mistress which few women would have ventured to use towards one even of equal rank. By this conduct she succeeded so completely in turning the former affection of Anne of Austria into gall and bitterness, that the queen eventually entertained suspicions that Madame de Hautefort indulged the same caustic humour with which she assailed her predilection for Mazarin to her face, in conversation with other persons when she was absent.

This state of suspended hostility between the queen and her former friend was brought to an open rupture by one of those trifles which often cause great events. Having found Madame de Hautefort in her cabinet, with Monsieur de Gaboury and La Porte, warming themselves by the fire, she perceived that upon her entrance they ceased suddenly from a fit of laughter. The jest which had occasioned it would assuredly seem not to have been of a very delicate nature; but Anne of Austria wrongly suspected that it had been levelled at her and Mazarin; and, on Madame de Hautefort applying for some favour the next day, the queen refused her in a tone which brought on further words, and the quarrel was ultimately carried to such a high point that Madame de Hautefort received an immediate order to retire from the court, where she was never treated afterwards with any degree of complaisance.

The fall of one declared enemy was, of course, in no degree unpleasant to Mazarin; for, although long before the destruction of the cabal of the Importants, his favour with Anne of Austria was undoubtedly very high, yet it was now far more openly displayed; and both he himself and the queen might well fear that the parliament and the great nobles of France would very unwillingly see the whole power of the state entrusted to the hands of a foreigner.

We are told, indeed, by De Retz, that after the queen had become ashamed of the ministry of Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, she directed the turbulent young abbé to offer the post of minister to his own father, the Count de Joigni, who by this time had determined upon retiring from public life, and had shut himself up in one of the cells of the priests of the Oratory. Whether we can perfectly depend upon De Retz in regard to this statement, or not, may be doubtful; but, certainly, if ever she did offer the important post of minister to the Count de Joigni, it was her intention but to place him as a screen between Mazarin and the people, as had been the case with the Bishop of Beauvais in the latter part of his administration.

Neither the populace, the council, the parliament, nor the nobles, however, made any opposition to the elevation of Mazarin; for the arrest of the Duke of Beaufort, and the putting down at once the faction of the Importants, were acts so dazzling, that the people attributed real power as well as skill to Mazarin; whereas it was the weakness of his adversaries, more than his own strength, which assured him success on that occasion.

It is, perhaps, amongst the greatest arts of policy to choose well the opportunities for exercising vigour; for the popular mind almost always judges of us rather by the degree of our success, than by the degree of difficulty encountered in obtaining it. Secure, then, and at ease in the ministry, Mazarin devoted himself to win golden opinions by the unostentatious humbleness of his appearance, by his easy familiarity of access, and by the exertion of all those popular and pleasing talents with which he was so abundantly supplied.

The queen also did the same: taxes were taken off; favours were bestowed on all hands; everything that any one asked was granted, if it could be granted; and "The queen is so good!" was echoed from mouth to mouth throughout the city. The famous Abbé de Retz, though stained with half a dozen conspiracies, received the appointment of titular Archbishop of Corinth, with the more solid benefit of the coadjutorship to the archbishopric of Paris; while he and Mazarin, as if feeling that they would one day be engaged in a struggle mutually to destroy each other, which it would be well to put off as long as possible, displayed the greatest civility and kindness in all their communications; and he, who ere long was to levy war against Anne of Austria, and cause a price to be offered for the cardinal's head, dined every week with the queen's favourite and returned all his civilities in kind.

At the time of the arrest of the Duke de Beaufort, Louis XIV. was just upon the eve of accomplishing his fifth year; and, under the guardianship of his mother, had three subordinate grades of directors. Mazarin was superintendent of his education, the Marquis de Villeroy his governor, and the famous Perefixe, Abbé de Beaumont and historian of Henry IV., his preceptor.

In the quarrels between Anne of Austria and Madame de Hautefort, her *porte-manteau*, La Porte, had taken so direct a share, and his remonstrances in regard to Mazarin had been, according to his own account, so harsh, that he himself seems to have been astonished that he also was not dismissed

from the court. On the contrary, however, Mazarin, though acquainted with his opposition, allowed him to remain; and Anne of Austria, in gratitude for his former sufferings in her cause, appointed him first valet-de-chambre to the young king. We thus have gained some curious information regarding the early life of Louis XIV., which, when animosity towards Mazarin does not bias the historian, may, it is admitted, be fully depended upon.

At the age of seven years, the princes of the royal family were, according to the old chivalrous custom, withdrawn from the hands of women, and placed under the direction of men; and at the usual period the governor, the preceptor, and the valets-de-chambre entered upon the discharge of their various offices. At first the young monarch found the change disagreeable, and seemed surprised to find that La Porte was to sleep in his chamber; he was more annoyed still on discovering that his new companion could not tell him stories to send him to sleep as his female attendants had been in the habit of doing, and poor La Porte was equally embarrassed. He applied, however, to the queen for permission to read to the young monarch till sleep fell upon him; and, having obtained her consent, he applied to Perefixe to give him such a book as he thought proper for the purpose he proposed. The preceptor put into his hands the History of France, by Mezerai, from which La Porte continued to read to him for some time every night. At first, in order to gain the young king's attention, he affected the tone of one telling a story; but Louis soon began to take an interest in the history of his predecessors, to apply the tale to himself, and became extremely angry if any one reproached him with being a second Louis the Slothful. It appears, however, that this course of instruction, the best perhaps which by any chance could have been given to a youthful monarch, was by no means palatable to Mazarin, who saw in the development of the king's powers of mind, and in the rising up of a right ambition within him, the overthrow or diminution, at some future time, of his own authority. Amongst many proofs of this fact, we are told that, one day, at Fontainebleau, after the king had gone to bed, the cardinal passed through his chamber in order to avoid the crowd in the other apartments. La Porte was reading by the king's bed-side at the time; but, the moment that Louis saw the minister enter, he shut his eyes and pretended to be asleep. Mazarin paused for a moment, and

asked La Porte what he had been reading; on which the attendant replied, that it was the History of France which he read nightly to the king, who could not go to sleep without having some story told to him. The minister made no reply, but turned away sharply, and said to those about him, when he reached his own apartments, that La Porte chose to play the governor of the king and teach him history.

La Porte, however, was not to be deterred from what he considered his duty, and proceeded in the same course. In other respects also he assures us that he endeavoured to raise and uphold the character of the king, by correcting at once in infancy all those little errors which, if suffered to go on into youth, become great faults, and often in manhood end in vices or crimes; and having remarked that Louis in all his little games chose to play the personage of the lackey, he one day in the midst of their sport put on his hat before the monarch, and sat down in his chair.

It would appear that the feeling which led the young king to choose the valet for his favourite personage, was by no means humility, and he became so angry with La Porte for sitting down in his seat with his hat on, that he ran in haste to the queen-regent to complain of his servant's insolence. La Porte was called, and the queen demanded, with a smile, why he sat down before the king and remained covered in his presence. La Porte replied, that in all his games the king would take the character of the valet, and that, when his majesty acted the servant's part, it was but reasonable the servant should act the king's. The queen was struck, and severely reproached her son for lowness of taste. It is not improbable that this very incident guarded Louis against that shy pride of which perhaps his choice of the valet's part was a trait, which was certainly one of the great vices of his father, Louis XIII., and of which he himself gave such indications during his youth as to induce the courtiers to believe that he would always be governed by favourites or ministers.

The enmity of La Porte towards Mazarin is so evident throughout his memoirs, that we could not justly receive his accounts of the impediments which the cardinal threw in the way of effort to improve the king's mind, unless they were confirmed by the general testimony of all the writers of the time. Such, however, is the case, and many parts of the monarch's after-life confirm but too strongly such statements as the following:—"As the king grew up," says La Porte,

"the care which they took of his education increased, and spies were placed about his person, not, indeed, out of fear that he should be amused with evil things, but out of fear that he should be inspired with good sentiments; for in those days the greatest crime of which a man could render himself culpable was to make the king understand that in justice he was no further the master than inasmuch as he rendered himself worthy of being so. Good books were seen with as much suspicion in his cabinet as good people, and the beautiful Royal Catechism of Monsieur Godeau was no sooner there than it disappeared without any one knowing what had become of it." La Porte, however, does justice to Perefixe, who exerted himself, he declares, to execute his task of preceptor with zeal and fidelity; but the other persons who were about the young monarch, with the exception of Dumont, one of the sub-governors, laboured hard, it would appear, to make Louis forget as fast as possible the good instructions of his preceptor.

When the power, indeed, of Mazarin was fully established, he did not scruple openly to discountenance the efforts of Perefixe to form the mind of his pupil for the great task he was destined to execute; and the preceptor having one day been tempted to apply to the minister, as superintendent of the young king's education, begging him to remonstrate with him on his want of application, and adding that it was to be feared such a habit would in after years have its effect in the greater affairs of state, Mazarin replied, "Do not trouble yourself! Rely upon me, he will only know too much; for, when he comes to the council, he asks me a hundred questions in regard to the matter in debate."

The old Maréchal de Villeroy, his governor, gave the cardinal no apprehensions in regard to the improvement which Louis might make under his immediate instructions; for his complaisance towards the infant king was so profound that he took care to contradict him in nothing, sometimes approving the remonstrances made by others, but never venturing to lecture his royal charge himself. Louis was not blind to his sycophancy, often laughing at it openly, and remarking that, when he spoke to his governor, the reply was always, "Yes, sire!" even before it was possible for Villeroy to know what he was about to say. Nevertheless the feelings which the conduct of Villeroy inspired were very different from those which Louis conceived towards Mazarin. Though he certainly in no degree respected his governor, he showed through life much

attachment both to Villeroy and to his family. To Mazarin he might feel grateful as to a minister, and his talents and abilities he might admire and value; but there can be little doubt that he felt no personal liking towards the man.

Besides the fact which we have already mentioned, of his shutting his eyes and affecting to be asleep when the cardinal entered his chamber, various traits of his dislike for Mazarin are recorded; and all who were in any way connected with that minister seemed more or less the objects of his aversion during his early years.

Mancini, Mazarin's nephew, who had been placed with him by his uncle, was an object of extraordinary dislike to the young monarch. But a trait of resolution and firmness on the part of the infant king in not betraying one of his attendants is worthy of particular remark, as it not only displays the first signs of peculiar qualities in his own character, which were afterwards apparent, but contrasts him strongly with his father, and with his uncle, the Duke of Orleans, both of whom, though in different degrees, were guilty of yielding the interests of their dearest friends to any one who overawed them.

One day, having seen Mazarin pass along the terrace at Compiègne with an almost royal suite, Louis exclaimed, sufficiently loud for Le Plessis, one of the cardinal's creatures, to hear, "Look at the Grand Turk going along!" Le Plessis informed the cardinal, and the cardinal told the queen, who, feeling quite sure that the nickname which Louis had bestowed upon Mazarin had been suggested by some one else, insisted upon her son informing her who it was that had first applied that term to the minister. The king, however, would not tell, and neither the anger nor the persuasions of his mother would induce him to confess. He had recourse to every little childish evasion, sometimes saying it was one personage of a fairy tale, sometimes another, but never naming any one about the court; and, though all unused to see his mother angry, he held firm to the last. Neither did he fear on various occasions to show his childish aversion for Mazarin, and, if we may believe La Porte, he more than once made use of expressions which, though couched in childish terms, displayed almost more than childish acuteness in regard to the pomp and authority which Mazarin gradually assumed. The candid confession of La Porte, indeed, that he did his best to keep up these feelings in the mind of the young king, gives an air of probability to the rest of his account.

Although surrounded by officers and attendants, and accompanied by a minister who now displayed all the magnificence and luxury of an eastern potentate, Louis himself, either from the negligence of Mazarin, or from calculations on the part of that minister, the secret of which we do not know, was kept in a state of penury to which few of the sons of his nobility were exposed. The sheets upon his bed, we are told, were often in his youth so worn by age that his feet passed through them in every part; and for three years he was suffered to wear, winter and summer, the same dressing-gown, lined with the fur called miniver, which, in the end, only came half-way down his leg. His carriages were so old and so worn that the large leathern coverings over the doors were quite torn away; and when their state was one day pointed out to him, he reddened with anger. He did not fail at night to complain both to the queen and Mazarin, and, though still a boy, spoke in such strong terms as to compel them to order immediately five new carriages to be prepared for his use.

Voltaire declares that he only showed, during his youth, one trait by which the most far-seeing could have anticipated the resolution and firmness which he afterwards displayed; but it appears to me that, even in regard to his infancy, there are well-authenticated anecdotes enough to show that his character was formed very early, and that whatever means were taken to master and subdue it could only be effectual for a time.

The resolution which he displayed on various occasions, and which was so strongly contrasted with the character of his father and of his uncle, was probably derived from his mother, Anne of Austria, in whom it amounted to obstinacy. In Louis it was tempered both by the more yielding character of his father, and by the circumstances under which he was educated. But, nevertheless, from the period of his refusal to reveal the person who had applied to Mazarin a contemptuous epithet we trace the same spirit throughout his whole life, breaking out during his infancy and youth in occasional acts of determination, both in opposition to his own feelings and to the influence of others; during his manhood in the pursuit of fixed purposes, in firm adherence to those whom he esteemed, and in utter disregard of all interested attempts to shake them in his favour; and, during his age, in the firm equanimity with which he struggled with difficulties, dangers, and reverses, and maintained with generous pertinacity his attachment to the fallen and unfortunate house of Stuart.

In the mean time, while the course of Louis's early years passed in the manner which we have attempted to show, Mazarin, during the fair days of the regency, was gradually putting forth the grasping and the ambitious character which he had successfully concealed in his ascent to power. It is far more easy to veil man's native disposition in a gradual rise, than when risen. In the one, we conceal our passions and our purposes, our tastes and our designs, with a view to obtain their gratification. When risen, the moment seems come to enjoy the object of concealment accomplished: and it is hard for the mind of man to believe that that which is gained by deceit, generally requires the same deceit to retain it. Thus we have in ourselves an enemy who betrays us; but even were not that the case, and could the ambitious or the ostentatious man be convinced that it was as necessary to hide his ambition and to veil his ostentation when risen as in rising, he would still, in all probability, be discovered: for although the eyes of rivals in the paths of fame and emolument, favour and power, are always sharp-sighted for our defects, and their tongues eager to expose those faults which their penetration has discovered or their malignity invented, yet, when we have left them all behind, and stand on high, apparently above their reach, we are in fact but elevated to give them the better opportunity of demonstrating our failings, where Envy is sure to increase our enemies, where Detraction has a fair aim for every missile she chooses to cast against us, where the eyes of all men can scan us minutely with those magnifying-glasses which Jealousy and Malice are always prompt to supply for the purpose of displaying the follies and weaknesses of others.

Calmly and gradually Mazarin had engrossed all the power of the state, and he now sought to enjoy at ease the authority he had acquired and the wealth which he had at his command. His suite was increased, his manner of living became more sumptuous, he grew difficult of access, and less disposed to grant favours to those who asked them than in the times when they might be considered as the purchase-money of the post at which he aimed. The cabal of the Importants had afforded him an excuse for being careful of his person, and as early as the beginning of 1644 he employed the celebrated Fabert to organise a guard for his service. At the same time, apparently considering the administration of France as a mine of wealth of which he had acquired full and complete possession, he sent for his nephews and nieces from their native land, to share in

the good things whereof he had the sole disposition. Mazarin, nevertheless, retained for a considerable time not only the influence that he had at first acquired, but the good will of the parliament and of the people; and enjoyed at once the fruits of Richelieu's vigorous administration, and of the people's satisfaction at being delivered therefrom. "The happiness of individuals," says a graphic writer of that day, "seemed fully assured by the public prosperity. The perfect union of the royal family secured internal repose. The battle of Rocroi had annihilated the infantry of Spain for centuries; the cavalry of the Empire could no longer stand before the Weimarians. One saw upon the steps of the throne, whence the sharp and redoutable Richelieu had thundered at, rather than governed human beings, a gentle and benign successor, who had no decided will, who was in despair that his dignity as a cardinal did not permit him to humble himself as much as he could have wished before all the world, and who passed through the streets with but two little lackeys behind his carriage."

Such had been Mazarin's conduct at first, and the influence thus acquired was prolonged rather than shaken by the arrest of the Duke of Beaufort; for that act so strongly contrasted Mazarin's moderation with his power, that, to use the words of De Retz, "people felt obliged to the minister for not putting some one in prison every week, and attributed to the gentleness of his nature the want of opportunities of doing evil. It must be allowed that he seconded very skilfully his good fortune. He used every appearance requisite to cause it to be believed that he had been forced to that resolution (the arrest of Beaufort, &c.); that the councils of Monsieur and the Prince (de Condé) had prevailed in the mind of the queen against his advice. He appeared still more moderate, more civil, and more open the day after that act. Access to him was quite free; persons dined with him as with a private individual; he relaxed much even of the state of the most ordinary cardinals."

Little or no notice was taken of the establishment of his guards, and, for the time, the increasing splendour which became apparent in his manner of living passed also unremarked. But the display of wealth and luxury in the midst of a population groaning under severe taxation will in the end raise up envy; and the people began to murmur at the government they had so lately applauded.

On the eve of a great political convulsion, both Mazarin and the queen shut their eyes to the approach of those storms which were fast sweeping over the sky, and gave no heed to the number of enemies which were increasing round their path while their friends fell off or lost their zeal. Yet the course of events had greatly changed the position of the minister ere the close of the year 1647, and had introduced that spirit of disunion into the court which soon found a genial sphere of action in the commotions of the Fronde.

For the preservation of tranquillity and of his own authority, Mazarin had much to rely on; but there was, at the same time, much that he had to fear, and the dangers which threatened him were greatly attributable to the very policy which he had himself pursued. After the cabal of the Importants had been completely destroyed, and his own power fixed upon a strong basis, the council of state comprised only two persons, besides himself, who possessed any real power; these were the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince de Condé, father of the great commander. The Duke of Longueville, indeed, was sufficiently powerful in the state to be worthy of some degree of management; but his influence in the council was, as yet, only that which Mazarin suffered him to possess in order to retain him in his interests.

The Prince de Condé and the Duke of Orleans, then, were the only persons who could, at all balance the power of the queen and her minister; and they could do so only by the strictest union between themselves. Such an union was, therefore, dangerous to the individual power of the regent, and yet absolutely necessary to the welfare and tranquillity of the state; and between the horns of this dilemma, close and difficult to be passed as they were, Mazarin contrived to glide, and to keep himself in safety till the death of the elder Condé gave a new face to the relations of the court. The method that he took to steer in this difficult course, was to sow the seeds of petty dissensions between the prince and the duke, but never to suffer those dissensions to become important, tearing them up by the roots almost as soon as they had sprung up, with the same hand that had planted them. Thus he never suffered the Duke of Orleans and Condé to be so far united as to concert any great measure between themselves, nor so far divided as to induce the one to oppose the measures of the queen because they were supported by the other.*

* La Rochefoucault.

While kept thus far separate, Mazarin could easily deal with them both. The Prince de Condé was always to be led by his avarice; the Duke of Orleans always to be conquered by his irresolution: and Mazarin possessed another hold upon the latter, by the hopes and fears of his favourite the Abbé de la Rivière, whom he kept leaping continually at a cardinal's hat, which he dangled before his eyes, but never suffered him to attain.

The same policy which the cardinal pursued towards La Rivière was, we find, his common course of action towards all the greedy nobles of the French court. During the first days of the regency everything had been given away that could be given, everything had been promised that could be promised, and certainly much more than could be performed. But as soon as Mazarin felt himself secure in the seat, he gradually drew the rein tighter, and suffered the queen's generosity to run away with the light burden of novel power no longer.

As gifts, offices, and benefices fell in, Mazarin showed himself in no haste to confer them;* well knowing that the prospect of obtaining each separate advantage thus held in suspense, was a much surer bond between the various claimants and himself, than their sense of obligation when once it had been conferred. In short, he was much more willing to trust to men's sense of their own interest than to their gratitude; and while he bestowed the office on no one, he generally held out hopes to those who had the best claim, if combined with the greatest power of serving him.

It was one of Mazarin's great mistakes to believe that interest was the sole mover of human beings: he made no allowance for the starts and plunges of the other passions, but fancied that by interest he could guide a whole people in whatsoever way he thought fit. Thus, while even with his friends he retained every gift as long as possible in order to make it the interest of all the claimants to oblige him, he threw a portion of the same powerful essence into the cup of those he made his enemies, in order to temper and mitigate their hatred, and prevent it from fermenting into revenge.

Every person who was banished, very soon heard rumours that the cardinal was pleased with his demeanour under misfortune, and intended to recal him, if he continued to act discreetly:† to the friends of all those who were cast into

* Bussy Rabutin. † La Porte.

prison, hopes were held out of their emancipation, as soon as the cardinal's mind should be tranquillised in regard to their purposes by the complete submission of their family and adherents.

There was, nevertheless, a number of persons who either consulted the dictates of passion rather than of interest, or who, being as shrewd calculators as Mazarin himself, saw through his objects, learned to disbelieve his promises, and to give no ear to the hopes or fears that he held out. This incredulity was, of course, greatly increased as time went on, and as it was discovered that the minister, having attained power, was far less anxious to gratify than when he had been seeking it. Men gradually learned, too, to forget the stern rule of Richelieu, to lose sight of the beneficial change which they had felt strongly at first under the milder administration of Mazarin, to look upon that very mildness as a proof of weakness, and to ask themselves whether they could not snatch from the tardy hands of the cardinal those good things which he seemed in no hurry to bestow.

For nearly two years the state of things remained very much as De Retz has depicted it when he says, "Monsieur (the Duke of Orleans) thought himself above taking warning; the Prince de Condé, attached to the court by his avarice, was willing to believe so likewise; the Duke d'Enguien was just at the age to go to sleep easily under the shadow of his laurels; the Duke de Longueville opened his eyes, but it was only to shut them again; the Duke of Vendôme thought himself too happy *only* to have been exiled; the Duke of Nemours was but a child; the Duke of Guise, newly come back from Brussels, was ruled by Madame de Pons, and believed that he ruled all the court; the Duke of Bouillon fancied that they would give him back Sedan every day; Turenne was more than satisfied to command the army in Germany; the Duke of Epernon was enchanted to have got back into his government and into his post; Schomberg had been all his life inseparable from everything that was well with the court; Grammont was its slave; and Messieurs De Retz, De Vitri, and De Bassompierre, believed themselves to be absolutely in favour, because they were no longer either prisoners or exiles. The parliament, delivered from the Cardinal de Richelieu, who had kept it at a very low ebb, imagined that the age of gold must be that of a minister who told them every day that the queen would be guided only by their counsels."

These things, however, speedily began to change; and each of the persons who, so strongly joined together, had been the support of the regent and of the state, began to feel a tendency towards separation. The Duke of Orleans had very early had a sharp dispute with the queen and Mazarin upon the appointment of Brienne to the post of secretary of state, and the dismissal of his own adherent Chavigni.* That wound, however, had soon been healed. Mazarin had bestowed upon the discontented prince the government of Languedoc, and various other advantages; but ere long a quarrel broke out between him and the house of Condé, which was more difficult to cure. On the occasion of some insolence, or some misconstruction, the fiery Duke d'Enguien broke the baton of office of one of the duke's officers, and was with difficulty withheld from quarrelling with the court and plunging into revolt.

In the following year, the death of the Duke de Brézé left the post of superintendent of the seas† vacant; and it was at once eagerly demanded by the victor of Rocroi, whose connexion with the deceased officer, as well as his important services, certainly gave him a claim superior, perhaps, to that of anybody else. There were other fish, however, to be caught in the political stream; and Mazarin had baited his hook for the family of Vendôme with the very object which had attracted the eyes of D'Enguien. His application was, consequently, met by refusal; and the queen, to give time for consideration and negotiation, caused the patent of the office to be made out for herself. Though certainly not satisfied, D'Enguien did not show the same degree of heat which he had displayed in his quarrel with the Duke of Orleans; and although his father the Prince de Condé urged him boldly to take arms against the minister who refused him an office to which he had so just a title, the young duke remained tranquil, retaining, nevertheless, a natural feeling of indignation in his heart.

It afterwards appeared that Mazarin intended to make the post of superintendent, or of admiral, not only the means of reconciling the house of Vendôme to the crown, but also of uniting himself to that high family in such a manner as to secure himself support in any moment of need. His purpose was to marry his niece to the Duke of Mercœur, eldest son of the Duke of Vendôme. The admiralty was to be given to

* Brienne. † He was called Admiral of France, by courtesy.

the father, with the survivorship assured to the second son, the Duke of Beaufort; and thus both gratitude and interest would bind the son and grandsons of Henry IV. to the interests of the minister. This purpose, however, was kept secret at the time, and not divulged, it would seem, till after the war of Paris. It was, then, however, communicated to Condé, and was so evidently against the policy of his house that it met with immediate and severe opposition.*

The Duke of Longueville, also, was greatly offended, not long after, by being refused the important post of colonel of the Swiss, which became vacant by the death of Bassompierre, and which was bestowed upon the Maréchal de Schomberg.

The differences of Mazarin with the Duke de Bouillon were of much older standing. That prince, deeply implicated in the conspiracy of Cinqmars, had consented, in order to save his life, to sacrifice his independent principality of Sedan, receiving a promise of full compensation by territories to be given him within the kingdom of France itself. These territories had never yet been assigned, the Duke of Bouillon himself raising as many obstacles as the court of France, and hoping after the death of Richelieu to recover, from what he wrongly imagined the less tenacious hands of his successor, the restitution of his independent sovereignty. For this he continually wrought both openly and privately; he negotiated with Mazarin, he kept up communications with the inhabitants of Sedan and the neighbouring territories, and, at length finding these means unsuccessful, he withdrew from the court of France, and threw himself upon the protection of the Roman see. An officer, however, had been placed in Sedan, whose prompt and vigorous character, and clearsighted political views, not only enabled Mazarin to turn the duke's proceedings against himself, but gave the minister the strongest encouragement and support in his purpose of holding fast that important fortress for the crown of France. This officer was Fabert; and no sooner had the Duke de Bouillon retired to Rome than he and Mazarin seized the

* For these statements regarding the Prince de Condé, see Bussy, Lenet, and De Retz, each throwing some light upon the other; likewise the account of the Count de Brienne, who was charged to communicate the queen's refusal to the old Prince de Condé, and to soften it, as far as possible, to him and to his son. The prince, however, became vehemently enraged, and retired to Dijon; after which he only once more appeared at court while the royal family were at Fontainebleau

occasion of exacting from the citizen of Sedan the oath of allegiance to the Kings of France—an oath which they had never yet taken.*

This proceeding, of course, alienated more than ever the Duke de Bouillon, and naturally had a tendency to irritate his brother Turenne. Neither of them, however, were sufficiently strong, even if they were disposed, at that time to enter into open rebellion against the court of France. Nevertheless, the great and extraordinary talents of each, both political and military, rendered them even of more importance than they would have been merely on account of their high rank, possessions, or connexions; and thus, before the commencement of serious disputes with the parliament, Mazarin had alienated some of the most talented and most influential men in France.

Condé, Turenne, and Longueville, were at best doubtful friends; while the faction comprising Vendôme, Mercœur, Beaufort, Nemours, Chevreuse, Montbazon, and a thousand other celebrated names, with more than one-half the wit and beauty of the capital, was openly arrayed against him.

The destruction of the feudal system had by this time been rendered so far complete, that although wealth, rank, and favour were sure to find followers, yet much of the influence of the great leaders depended upon their popularity. They could no longer bring their own vassals and tenantry, willing or unwilling, to serve even against the crown itself, but were obliged to depend for their retinue on a number of inferior nobles, who in the present case were of course biassed by their feelings towards the minister. Amongst these Mazarin had rendered himself anything but popular. He had, we are informed by Bussy, acquired the mean habit of exacting a certain pecuniary fine upon every appointment made by the crown, which disgusted even those for whom he obtained favours, and made them consider anything he granted as sold, not given. His extreme and predetermined slowness, also, was another cause of great complaint and irritation, and of much animosity towards him.

Whenever anything was demanded at Mazarin's hands, his first thought appeared to be how he could evade granting it till such time as he had insured, by so doing, the greatest portion of benefit to himself that could be thence derived. It used to be one of his common sayings, "*Time and I* will bring

* Vie de Fabert.

it about." But though procrastination may, doubtless, be very useful to every minister on particular occasions, nothing was so well calculated to make him generally hated by an impatient and irritable nation like the French, as the constant habit of delaying, and the refusal of all explicit answer on matters in which the deepest interests of individuals were concerned.

Another point in the character of Mazarin which was soon perceived by the French people was a degree of timidity, not reaching the height of personal cowardice, but sufficient to make him yield to clamour and outcry. His determinations were not always sustained with vigour; and it would seem that this want of resolution did not proceed from any doubt or hesitation in regard to the soundness of his own views, but from a consciousness of his own ignorance in regard to the laws and manners of France, and from an apprehension of putting himself in circumstances of danger and difficulty without knowing it. A few instances of this timidity were sufficient to convince the swarms of courtiers which infested the French capital that means might always be found of driving Mazarin, by fear, to any object which they might have in view, and at the same time tended to render him contemptible—the most sure means of increasing the number of his enemies.

People now began to demand with insolence, and to bear any refusal with loud and angry murmurs. Every voice that was raised called out of silence ten or twelve more. Nothing was heard but the most acrimonious epithets applied to the minister; and every complaint and tale of grievances, whether true or false, was greedily listened to, and added another shade to the deepening enmity against the cardinal. Thus the greater part of the court, which, but a few years before, had been, to use the expression of De Retz, *all Mazarin*, had now abandoned the idol of the day, and made a devil out of the same materials which they had been willing for a time to frame into a god.

There are two methods of obtaining public enmity. The first and most obvious is by committing those obnoxious acts which affect the whole body of the public in general, or some very large portion thereof. The second is by making such a great number of individual enemies as to spread a general feeling of dislike through the public; for enmity towards a minister is ever more or less an infectious disease; and in the days of Mazarin, when the country in general was led by a number of nobles and their adherents, the disease might

amount to a pestilence, communicated from master to man through a thousand different branches. I have now attempted to show that Mazarin, partly by his own fault, though partly, undoubtedly, by the faults and exactions of others, had already raised up against himself a large portion of the most talented and most influential men at the court of France, and, by courting or incurring the enmity of individuals, had drawn upon himself a torrent of public odium.

It further remains to be shown how, by committing acts which affected the whole public, and especially several large and important bodies thereof, he drew upon himself another kind of detestation still more general and more dangerous. Before I proceed to notice those acts, however, it will be necessary to speak of one individual, between whom and Mazarin grew up a sort of enmity apart, and who may be considered the sun of the system round which revolved all the minor orbs which shone upon that civil war which was known under the name of the War of the Fronde. This was Gondi, afterwards Cardinal de Retz, who saw the ranks of his faction filled at different times by the most opposite characters, who beheld swords drawn for him one day which were drawn against him the next, and who lived to witness all the most implacable enemies of Mazarin become that minister's friends and very humble servants, while he himself retained his enmity to the last, expiated it in exile and poverty, and recorded it in many a pungent sarcasm almost with his dying hand.

During the latter five or six years of the rule of Richelieu, a young man of high and influential family, named the Abbé de Retz, had been struggling to be a conspirator, and had laid out various plans of revolt, which were to begin in assassination, and go on to civil war, without having attained, with all his efforts, the distinction either of the dungeon or the block. With equal zeal, but equal disappointment, he had laboured to drive the ecclesiastical authorities, by the display of a licentious course of life, which was congenial to his tastes and wishes, and by the affectation of a sanguinary spirit, which was not so, to strip off the clerical robe which had been forced upon him against his will. But the churchman's gown adhered to him like the garment of Nessus to Hercules of old; and, notwithstanding duels and intrigues, he found himself still the Abbé de Retz at the commencement of the regency, with no prospect before him but the life of an ecclesiastic. Under these circumstances he made up his mind to resist his

fate no longer, and obtained from the queen an office which had been solicited for him even before the death of Louis XIII., and was now at once granted by the regent. He was appointed, as I have elsewhere said, titular Archbishop of Corinth, and coadjutor to his own uncle, the Archbishop of Paris. This office rendered him, in fact, Metropolitan, whenever his uncle, a man eaten up with vices and foibles, and incapacitated by age, was absent from his post; gave him, even when the archbishop was in Paris, power only second to his throughout the diocese; and insured to him the reversion of the dignity on hisuncle's death.

For some time after his nomination De Retz remained apparently grateful to the regent, and attached to Mazarin. He dined every week with the minister, wisely refused to take any part in the cabal of the Importants, and demeaned himself in all things towards the government with due reverence and propriety. His daring and intriguing character, however, were well known, and it soon became apparent to Mazarin that De Retz was seeking to raise the station of Archbishop of Paris from the dust, into which the weakness of his uncle had cast it, and to increase his own influence and power throughout the diocese.

Such objects, had they gone no further, might have been looked upon as laudable; but Mazarin seems to have understood the factious and ambitious character of the prelate at once, and to have known that with De Retz the possession of power could only lead to the attempt to obtain more. An effort made to ameliorate the state of spiritual instruction in the metropolis, by examining all the priests of the diocese, retaining those who proved themselves capable of their high ministry, instructing those who were likely to become capable by care, and removing those who were absolutely incapable to houses of religious retreat, attracted the attention of the court; and though no measure could have been devised that was likely to prove more salutary, yet the lustre which it shed upon its projector was so great, and the influence likely to follow was so important, that jealousy and suspicion were awakened in the bosom of Mazarin. Believing, perhaps rightly, that an increase of authority was what De Retz really aimed at, he induced the prelate's feeble uncle to stop the very beneficial proceedings which were already going on, and to forbid their renewal for the future.

De Retz was naturally piqued at the opposition shown to his

best designs; and it was not long ere an opportunity presented itself of mortifying the court in return. In a general assembly of the clergy, which took place in 1645, De Retz appeared as diocesan, and a question was very soon agitated —whether by his suggestion or not, does not appear—which was well calculated to give pain to the regent and offence to the minister. In a former assembly, at Mantes, Richelieu, not finding the clergy quite so complaisant as he could have desired, took summary means of reducing it to obedience, by exiling six of the most intractable prelates.

This proceeding was justly looked upon by the clergy of France as a notorious violation of their rights and privileges, and it was proposed at the meeting in 1645 to pay a tribute to the integrity of the six who had been exiled, by inviting them to take a seat in the existing assembly, although they had not been sent thither as deputies. With whom the proposal originated, as I have before said, does not appear; but certain it is, that De Retz was the person who moved it in public assembly, in a long and elaborate speech: and there can be little doubt that he was well aware that the measure would be displeasing to the queen, and still more so to Mazarin, whose interest of course it was that all the arbitrary acts of his predecessor, whether he followed the same course of policy or not, should remain as unimpugned precedents in case of necessity.

Such an act of course brought down upon the head of De Retz the indignation of the court, which was greatly increased by the conduct of the prelate in regard to the marriage of the beautiful Marie de Gonzaga to the King of Poland. In the absence of his uncle, De Retz refused the use of the cathedral for that ceremony, if performed by any one but the archbishop or coadjutor.

After some very sharp disputes, Mazarin and the queen kept the prelate amused with fair words, while they obtained from his uncle an express order for the use of the cathedral. Not satisfied with this, however, De Retz instigated the chapter, who claimed a distinct right over the choir, to refuse to give it up; and Mazarin, finding difficulties increase, determined to have the marriage celebrated in the chapel of the palace, declaring that the grand almoner was bishop thereof. This brought a still more important point into discussion. De Retz asserted the right of the Archbishops of Paris, and

declaring that no other bishop had power within their diocese, notified to Marie de Gonzaga, that, if she married without his license, he would declare her marriage null. His resistance was crowned with success: the court was obliged to yield; and the Polish bishop, who had been sent to perform the ceremony, was forced to apply to De Retz for a written permission to officiate in the Palais Royal.

To have humbled the government was a great and gratifying triumph to De Retz, and an act which of course raised him high in the esteem of the clergy of Paris. He lost himself, however, for ever with the court. No future services could efface the impression of his victory, but rather, on the contrary, aggravated the offence; for if it be difficult to triumph over our equals and efface the act by after obligations, it is impossible to triumph over our superiors without rendering every after service done to them an addition to our triumph and their mortification.

The queen and Mazarin could of course never forget this proceeding; and the support which the coadjutor gave them shortly after, in regard to the gratuitous gift of the clergy to the crown, only made them hate De Retz the more, and entertain a greater degree of jealousy towards him from the power that it showed him to possess. Having thus made enemies of the regent and her minister, De Retz proceeded to call upon himself the enmity of the Duke of Orleans, in regard to a point of precedence in the cathedral.

The duke, fluctuating and uncertain, had at first treated the matter as a trifle, as it deserved; but he himself—being in fact nothing but a case for other men's passions, in a moment blown up, and in a moment reduced to nothing—was speedily stimulated by La Rivière to take up the question with De Retz in a very high tone, to insist upon his going to Notre Dame for the purpose of yielding him precedence before the public, and to threaten, if he resisted, to have him forcibly carried off by his guards, and compelled to make the submission required. This threat brought forth that trait in the character of De Retz which is the only point that renders the quarrel worthy of record. He was known to be factious, turbulent, and determined; but how far his daring spirit would carry him had not yet been fully ascertained. No sooner did he hear this threat on the part of the Duke of Orleans, than he assembled a multitude of gentlemen attached to himself,

kept them armed in his house, and prepared to oppose force to force in his quarrel with the duke.

The young and impetuous D'Enguien, who was at that time in a state of suspended hostility with the Duke of Orleans, took part with De Retz, and publicly declared that he would not suffer him to be ill-treated; and his father the Prince de Condé, terrified at an open rupture between his son and the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, proceeded to the house of De Retz in order to use his eloquence for the purpose of persuading the prelate to make some apology to the duke. He found the coadjutor's residence filled with armed men; which more than ever alarmed him in regard to his son.

De Retz affected to yield to his devotion for the royal family, and declared that sooner than cause a division amongst them, he would do anything that did not imply an abandonment of the rights of the archbishopric. He accordingly agreed to go to the duke and explain to him, that he was only defending the order of the church; and that though he was obliged to maintain his pre-eminence in the cathedral, he was ready to yield him precedence on every other occasion.

The duke received this apology in very good part, and declared himself perfectly satisfied; but Mazarin and the queen, who had taken an active share in the discussion, were by no means equally contented; and the promptitude and determination with which De Retz had armed his house and prepared for resistance were forgotten by no party, and had a due effect upon the minds of all.

Another occasion of quarrel between the coadjutor and Mazarin took place about the same time, in regard to the re-establishment of the Bishop of Leon in the see of which he had been dispossessed by the Cardinal de Richelieu; and the former again triumphed by the aid of the Duke d'Enguien. All this took place while the court was otherwise in perfect tranquillity; so that by the time that Mazarin, by his public acts—as well those committed, as those sanctioned by his authority—had brought upon himself and upon the queen-regent the animosity of large bodies in the state and of the people in general, he and De Retz had cleared away all the mists of apparent co-operation and friendship between them with which the regency had begun, and stood forth, like the elephant and rhinoceros, the natural enemies of each other; the one possessing the greater bulk and strength, but the other covered with an impenetrable armour of subtle and persevering policy, and armed with a weapon, the royal favour,

which, though single, was at least equal to all the tusks and trunk of his adversary.

Voltaire declares that the wars of the Fronde commenced about a little money: but the little money was merely the pretext. The real question was one of very much greater importance. Each age has its characteristic event; some movement, some struggle, some effort in the field of policy, literature, science, or social improvement. That age was the age of struggle between the royal prerogative and the liberties of the people—or, to put it in more general terms, between the portion of power lent by great masses to individuals for the preservation and regulation of the whole, and the inherent power of the masses exerted to recal a part of that which had been confided or yielded to individuals.

In Spain, the revolt of Catalonia, the resistance of Arragon, the insurrection of Portugal, all bore more or less the same character. In Germany, though the people were but little concerned, the struggle was taking place a step above—between the princes of the confederation and their head.

In England, Naseby and Newbury, and Marston Moor, the imprisonment of Charles, the mock trial, and the block at Whitehall, showed where the struggle was carried on by a reasoning, determined, and fearless people, till the settlement of the question for the time was written in the blood of *the martyr to his prerogative.* It is a great misfortune, that in all forms of government which have yet been invented, except that of a pure despotism or a state of barbarism, the public welfare has always been obliged to be held so nicely suspended, like the fabled coffin of Mahomet, between two contending powers, that the least disturbance of the balance produces a violent concussion, and engenders the necessity of a new adjustment. Through the whole world, up to the period of which we speak, the prerogative of the crown had either increased by the grasping of various monarchs, and by the fall of intermediate powers; or had been left at the point where it had been placed in former ages, while the moral authority of the people had become greater: and in either case the balance was destroyed, and a struggle could not be avoided.

This was peculiarly the case with France. There the extent of the royal authority was uncertain, and the rights of the people disallowed, except inasmuch as one body in the state had always, from time to time, claimed a power of resisting on one point the sovereign will, but that point being the great and important one on which turned the whole ma-

chine of state—namely, the power of imposing taxes. The parliament of Paris had claimed a right of verifying, registering, and discussing previous to registration, the royal edicts regarding new burdens imposed upon the public; and this was, in fact, the only particular in which—if we except the remote, difficult, and almost useless resource of the states-general—France, at the end of the reign of Louis XIII., differed from a purely despotic monarchy.

The Duke de Rohan observed of that king, that he was jealous of his authority because he did not know its extent. But in this respect the king differed in no degree from his subjects, inasmuch as all the records of the time, the declarations of the monarchs to their parliaments, the replies of the parliaments to the monarchs, and the expositions of the most learned lawyers of France, show distinctly that there was not one man throughout the whole land who had the slightest idea of what were the real limits of the royal authority. Nor was this at all extraordinary, as it proceeded from the simple fact that no limit had ever been fixed to the royal authority at all.

The feudal system had been its only restraint. That system was done away. The recourse to the states-general, which had been a part of that system, and one of its most obnoxious parts to the monarchs, had never been had since 1614, when the ruin of that system had proceeded so far as to be irremediable; and even then it was held by the best French lawyers that the states had no real power, and could only make remonstrance and supplication, the maxim being recognised and admitted, "Qui veut le roi, si veut la loi"*—a maxim which left the government of France despotic according to doctrine, though not according to fact.

In the struggle between doctrine and fact, Richelieu had established the despotic authority of the king. But fact can only be stunned, not slain; and it merely lay dormant till the hand which had cast it down was removed, and then prepared once again to wage war with its more mortal antagonist. The parliament of Paris then, which had been forced to yield to Richelieu, and tacitly to obey his will, without, however, subscribing to his doctrine, now prepared to assert the fact of the people's rights, led on, undoubtedly, by passions, intrigues, selfishness, vanity, and every petty interest, but still none the less influenced in direction, in progress, and in object by the great spirit of the epoch.

* See the President de Henault, and the pleadings of Blancmesnil cited by him.

The parliament, on the commencement of the new reign, had, as we have seen, exercised a power of very great importance, but which it had constantly claimed, of nominating to the regency without the slightest regard to the will of the last monarch. But it had by no means forgotten the many severe lessons which it had received from Richelieu, nor had yet learned that there were powers in the state, to which it could apply, sufficiently strong to give it support in all just opposition to any minister whatsoever.

For fully three years the impression of Richelieu's authority remained in force, and probably might have endured longer, had not Mazarin taken especial pains to show the parliament his apprehension of its powers by frequently assuring it that the queen would rule by its counsel and advice alone. Great and severe grievances, however, were required to make the parliament take the first step against the minister, although it contained within its bosom a number of members who had been rendered inimical to Mazarin as individuals by many of his public acts. Amongst the rest were several near relations of Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, who, having expected great advantages from his administration, had been, of course, enraged and disappointed by his fall.

The circumstances in which Mazarin was placed soon brought about those great and severe grievances which were necessary to array the parliament against him. The whole fiscal system of France at that period was corrupt and full of abuse. It seemed as if it had been framed for the purpose of giving the collectors and administrators of the revenue the greatest possible opportunity of plundering both the monarch and his subjects, exacting from the people more than was due, and paying to the king less than was his right. At the same time it rendered it the interest of every one who meddled with finance, from the lowest farmer of the revenue to the superintendent-general, to involve the affairs committed to their direction in so much mystery, obscurity, and confusion, that no one else could unravel the details, which indeed were very often quite inexplicable to themselves.

The revenue of France at that time is said to have amounted to very near 75,000,000 of livres, which, according to the value of money at that time, was, of course, considerably greater than it appears at present, especially as the debt was a mere trifle. At the same time, however, an expensive war, which had already lasted for many years, and for the support of which the

taxes had been increased to an extraordinary extent, was still proceeding on every point of the frontier, and was carried on upon a very extravagant plan.

There can be no doubt, also, that both Richelieu and Mazarin had found there was no unguent which made the wheels of their foreign policy move so rapidly as gold; and it would appear that large sums had found their way into Holland, as well as into Germany, for civil as well as for military purposes. Such drains of course required either very great economy, or very large supplies; and the queen, in the first bountiful moments of her accession to power, had not only remitted a part of the duties, but had emptied the royal treasury to the bottom, in order to give to all who asked her The consequence naturally was a difficulty in procuring the means absolutely necessary for the support of the state; and a financier named Particelli, but commonly called Emery, a countryman of Mazarin's, and a devoted servant of his will, was employed to rule the finances of a country, from which Frenchmen found a difficulty of extorting any more.

The lamentable confusion which existed in this department of public business, even at a very early period of the regency, is displayed by the statements of the celebrated Fabert; which show that the pay of the soldiery, the salaries of officers, magistrates, and governors of cities, and the necessary sums appointed for the annual maintenance of fortresses, were all in arrear; that to many of the principal commanders the state was indebted for large sums advanced by them; and that the assignments made by the minister himself upon particular funds were often refused payment by Emery and others, who frankly acknowledged that there was not a livre in the treasury.*

Such a state, of course, required extraordinary exertions; but Emery, unfortunately, did not employ those talents which he really possessed in seeking the rational and certain mode of relieving the state: he introduced no better system of collecting the revenue, no clearer method of keeping the public accounts, no economical plan of administering the finances. In order to hide their dilapidated state, and perhaps to cover peculation, he involved them in greater confusion and obscurity than ever, and directed the whole powers of his mind to discover new burdens to be imposed upon the people. The superintendent Emery has come down to us painted in the

* Vie de Fabert, vol. i.

blackest colours,—represented as luxurious, debauched, cold, hard-hearted, and repulsive; and we are told, that on a needy author offering him some flattering poem, he replied, without rewarding him, "Instead of praising me, manage to make men forget me! Superintendents were made to be cursed!"

In such a speech, one might have found traces of that noble fortitude which despises the clamour and reprobation of fools and multitudes, had he been at the same time labouring to ameliorate the condition of the people who assailed him: but when, on the contrary, he was every day seeking for fresh means of burdening the nation, such words evince both the hardened daring of an unfeeling oppressor, and the licentious levity of a vain and greedy adventurer.

That he had talents of a particular character, and courage of the most determined kind, there can be no doubt; but that he wanted judgment in many of the most straightforward proceedings, is clearly proved by his public acts. De Retz paints him as "the most corrupted spirit of the age;" and adds, that he cannot better express the bottom of Emery's heart than by saying, he declared in open council, that good faith was only made for shopkeepers. He states, moreover, that ere his rise to power, Emery had been condemned to be hanged at Lyons; but it is not improbable that the spirit of the Fronde—and it was a lying spirit—there spoke out by the mouth of its great leader.

Bussy furnishes a more favourable picture of the superintendent of finance. "Emery was," he says, "harsh, proud, clever, intelligent in matters of business, ingenious in the creation of new subsidies to provide for the expenses of the war; he exercised a rigorous inquisition upon property of all kinds, and was never tired of trampling upon the subjects of the king." By Madame de Motteville he is represented as witty, talented, and amusing,—but so far as to have acquired the name of the "witty hog,"

Such speeches as those which have been attributed to Emery of course but added to the public detestation which was already gathering over the superintendent's head; and every day some fresh act of unprincipled extortion awoke the general indignation. No man, perhaps, ever contrived to mingle so much levity with such bitter exactions, or showed the French people so strongly that he scoffed at them while he trampled on them.

All the new offices and charges which he created, and

which—according to the vicious system at that time followed in France—were sold to the highest bidder, conveyed ridicule by their very names. Besides granting letters patent of nobility to all the wealthy citizens who had the folly to buy an empty epithet, which in their case could convey no honour or distinction, he created posts of Comptrollers of fagots, of sworn Sellers of hay, of King's Counsellors criers of wine; he tampered with the fund called *Rentes de l'Hôtel de Ville*, and contrived to plunder the fundholders by means of charges of entry, retention of dividends, and other acts which were little else than public robbery. His luxury, his ostentation, caused the people to attribute these acts as much to the desire of private peculation as to the necessity of providing for the state; and when it was known that he took advantage of the evil system of political economy existing in France to grant favours and confer fortunes upon his creatures and dependents, of course the suspicion and the odium became more powerful.

An instance is recorded by Gourville, of his having himself obtained from Emery a passport, as it was termed in those times, in order to move a thousand tons of wheat from Poitou; and the infamy of the whole system is at once shown by the fact, that this passport for a thousand tons produced no less a premium to Gourville than ten thousand livres, more than ten shillings a ton of our present money, besides all the profits which the speculators to whom he sold the use of the passport could derive from it.*

It was about the period at which these events took place that Henry Prince of Condé died,† leaving his rank, his vast fortune, and his great influence to a prince of twenty-five years of age, whose military genius and uninterrupted succession of victories had already cast into his hands a very great share of authority. The elder Condé was at the time of his death upon bad terms with the court; but, nevertheless, his decease produced a very detrimental effect upon the state of parties in France. His son, possessing infinitely greater talents, wanted his experience and caution, qualities the best suited to the epoch, and appeared upon the scene, impetuous, bold even to rashness, not altogether disinterested, yet thoughtless of consequences; a mere youth in everything but genius, and as yet possessing judgment only in the battle-field.

Condé was certainly not calculated to bring any elements of

* Gourville, vol. i.

† December, 1646.

tranquillity into the great mass of political parties which were beginning to ferment in the capital. What the caution, prudence, and calculating cupidity of his father might have done to calm and keep down the factions that were springing up, was sure to be left undone, or reversed by the impetuous general, too much accustomed to command, to obey, too much accustomed to conquer, to yield. The moment he heard of his father's death, having been previously warned by Brienne, in the affair of the admiralty, that the queen was determined not to consider posts and offices as hereditary, he hastened to Paris, in order to obtain what share he could of the places which had been held by the last prince.

In the mean time, Mazarin looked forward to his coming with a considerable degree of apprehension. He knew that he had been offended by the rejection of his pretensions to succeed the Duke de Brézé; and he foresaw, that whereas it had been comparatively easy to manage the Prince de Condé, first prince of the blood, and the Duke d'Enguien, the first warrior of the day, when they were two, it would be a most difficult task to resist the person in whom those two characters were united. His fears got the better of his policy, and, instead of attempting to retain a part of the power which the late prince had possessed by virtue of his offices, of adding it to the power of the queen, and of satisfying Condé, as might easily have been done, with a part of what his father had enjoyed—by which means he would both have fortified the regent's authority, and have avoided superadding to that of him she had to fear—Mazarin determined to prostrate himself at the feet of Condé, and to give him at once entrance into all the posts and offices which his father had held.

Mazarin and the prince met, in short, as two men not knowing in the slightest degree the power or expectations of the other, and each ready to make great concessions. Mazarin, however, was first in the race of apprehension, and he at once put a stop to the demands of the prince, while he astonished him with a great astonishment, by announcing the queen's determination to put him in possession of all the charges, offices, and governments with which his father had been invested. That he was completely taken by surprise is shown by his reply to Mazarin, to whom he said, that being now overwhelmed by the bounty of the queen, he had nothing more to demand.* Not contented, however, with having gone

* Brienne, vol. iii.

so far as he had gone, and not yet aware of the mistake he had committed, Mazarin still continued to hold out to Condé hopes of greater favours, as a compensation for the refusal of the admiralty.

Such was the state of affairs when the parliament of Paris first began to make strenuous opposition to the fiscal measures of the court by a number of petty acts, which might well have shown the minister that the war was beginning, and might have taught him to prepare himself more fully than he had hitherto done, either at once to put down the spirit of resistance, by some well-judged stroke of authority, while that spirit was neither vigorous nor general, or to evade the contest by such willing concessions as might remove all immediate cause of complaint.

Mazarin, however, was quite ignorant of the danger of his situation. All the accounts of the time show this to have been the case. Brienne, one of his ministry, points it out strongly; La Rochefoucault implies it; and De Retz represents him as an ignorant physician looking upon a sick man fallen into a lethargy from which he is about to awake in frenzy, and regarding his state as but a sweet sleep, the sign and prognostication of restored health. In his first dealings with the parliament, however, he was certainly more like a boy stretching his arm through the bars of a cage to pull the mane of a sleeping lion, and disregarding all the half-awakened growls of the powerful beast till it arose in anger to tear him.

Four measures, each extremely obnoxious, most of them unwise and impolitic, and all calculated to irritate various important bodies of people, were urged forward one after another, and began the first serious disputes which led to the wars of the Fronde. The first of these is known by the name of the *toisé*, and was certainly justified by law; but was founded upon principles so absurd, that the regulation had not been acted upon, I am led to believe, in any case since the edict which authorised it had been promulgated, just one hundred years before.

At a time when it appeared to the legislators of the sixteenth century, that the capitals of European kingdoms were growing too large, they attempted to cure the political hydrocephalus by putting iron bands round the heads of their patients. In other words, forgetting, or not knowing, that we may direct and guide, but can never stop the natural

course of events; the French politicians determined to make a law which should restrict the capital within certain limits, and an edict was promulgated by the king, and registered by the parliament, forbidding all persons to extend the suburbs of the city of Paris beyond certain limits, upon pain of demolition of the houses built, confiscation of the materials, and an unlimited fine at the discretion of the judges.

Previous to the invasion of the Roman Empire by the barbarians, the character of society placed cities in a very different position from that which they have occupied since the fall of Rome. A town was the nucleus round which a province, a kingdom, an empire was gathered together; the soul, the spirit, from which the will emanated to every extreme part. Men went to conquer cities, not countries; and it is much more the cities of Rome, Babylon, Jerusalem, Carthage, that we consider, than the tracts of land attached to, or under the dominion of those great heads, and which were principally serviceable to them in supplying them with food, soldiers, and servants. The principle of those times was expansion; the city was formed, and then spread its power around, adding province after province to its dominion, and subduing inferior towns beneath its sway: in fact, the waters of society were then supplied by great fountains which swelled on into rivers.

After the inundation of the barbarians, the matter was reversed, and it has ever since been like a vast flood, subsiding into defined channels, or gathering into large lakes. The spirit of the time has been that of concentration; and the natural tendency has been, as the feudal system decayed—a system absolutely and entirely of rural government,—to gather together into cities, to extend their limits, and gradually to bring the most remote parts of the state to depend upon and have reference to the capital.

Under these circumstances, it must be very evident that at no period, since the enfranchisement of the communes effected the first great flaw in the feudal edifice, could any law be at all effectual, the direct object of which was to limit the increase of a capital. However that may be, such a law had been passed in France in 1548, and Emery, thinking himself blessed in having discovered such a means of extortion, drew it forth from the dust in which it had lain, and proceeded to put it in execution against the inhabitants of Paris. It is true, he did not pretend to pull down the houses which had been built, or to fill the queen's coffers with the stones thereof.

but he determined to have the space which had been built over, beyond the limits, exactly measured, and to compel the proprietors of houses so situated to pay a fine proportionate to their possessions, in order to save their dwellings from the pickaxe and the hammer.

Terror and consternation spread through all the proprietors of buildings in the suburbs. It was not alone that each house would thus be taxed, but a thousand difficulties arose as to the person on whom the tax would fall. Those who had built the houses no longer possessed them: in many instances they had been sold, in many they had descended through a thousand collateral channels to those in whose hands they now rested. Nothing but law, and prospects of law, was to be met with all through Paris.

The poorer people of the suburbs met together in mobs, insulted the officers charged with the measurement, and threatened to kill the surveyors employed; troops were brought up to defend the royal officers, and the survey was carried on at the point of the pike: but the people most interested now brought their complaints before the parliament, and though that body could not positively condemn the execution of a law that it had authorised, yet it made vigorous remonstrances with the court on its revival; and after having obtained some small supplies, Emery suffered the business to drop. How much he obtained by these means I do not know; but whatever it was, it was only a price which the people of Paris paid for the first important lesson in the science of resistance, in which they made rapid and unceasing progress from that hour.

The affair of the *toisé* was very speedily followed by a still more serious grievance. There had long existed in France an impost, which still forms a part of their fiscal system, upon the entrance of various commodities into cities; a method of taxation always burdensome, and which is amongst the last remnants of those evil checks which embarrassed all commercial transactions during the dark ages of political science. On this tax Emery determined to raise a very large addition, and he published a new tariff of duties upon the entry of all articles of the first necessity into Paris. This was the true means, could it have been carried into effect, to have restricted Paris to very narrow limits. But this evil was of course still more generally felt than that of the *toisé*. The edict had indeed been carried to the chamber of aids during the pre-

ceding year; and that court had verified it at a period when resistance to the government was yet scarcely thought of, and the impulsion of Richelieu's rule had not come to an end. The execution of this law, however, now raised a very great outcry; and the people, taught to look up to the parliament as their natural defenders, and seeing, from the example of its proceedings regarding the *toisé*, that it was willing to throw off the supineness under which it had so long laboured, carried vehement complaints to the bar of that tribunal, which, in the month of August, 1647, took the subject into deliberation, and it became apparent to the court that a decree would be speedily given against the execution of the tariff.

Under these circumstances Mazarin and Emery determined boldly to lay the edict for the tariff before the parliament, and command it to verify the act, not doubting to be able to evade or overcome opposition, as they had done before. In this, however, they found themselves mistaken: the parliament determined to reject the edict, the queen commanded that body to repair to her presence, and the chancellor, in her name, asserted that the right of verification was in the court of aids; but finding that the parliament still persisted, after various meetings and many contestations the edict was withdrawn, only to prepare the way for others more burdensome still.

This stratagem had in some degree its effect. When compared with the new edicts, that of the tariff appeared light. To refuse to verify all the acts of the king would have hurried the parliament of Paris on into a contest for which, notwithstanding the example of England, it was in no degree morally prepared; and in this dilemma it returned to the tariff, verifying it with certain modifications. The court rejected the modifications, and the parliament would not admit of their being evaded: so that, sooner than absolutely compromise the royal authority, the tariff was again thrown on one side. Emery, however, had still a hold upon the parliament, and he applied himself to find out and revive all the most burdensome and irritating taxes to which the parliament had given their sanction within such a space of time as to bar the plea of desuetude. Upon some of these, especially upon what was called the *chambre de domain*, the people rose, maltreated several of the officers of the parliament itself, and forced that body to issue decrees against the sedition.

Fancying that the parliament and the people were now fully committed in opposition to each other, the court determined upon a vigorous effort. While these proceedings were taking place, however, an event occurred which cast new matter of intrigue into the mass which was already fermenting in Paris. Towards the beginning of November, 1647, the young king was observed to be unwell, and on the 10th of that month it was announced that decided symptoms had shown themselves of small-pox; a disease which, under the hands of the unskilful physicians of that period, assumed the character of a pestilence. Hopes, fears, anxieties were awakened in the breasts of all men; the people and the court in general regretted the probable fate of a young monarch; but the opponents of the queen and Mazarin saw with satisfaction the likelihood of a new struggle for authority, and the parliament prepared to take advantage of the crisis to seize upon any share of power which circumstances placed within its reach. The king's disease at first appeared of a very malignant kind; but the strength of Louis's constitution triumphed over it, and apprehensions were soon removed and intrigues quelled by the announcement of his convalescence. This was the moment that the court chose for putting in execution a stroke of state policy.

At the period of the king's recovery, the parliament and the populace were at open variance, and the officers of the former body were frequently insulted and maltreated by the people. Taking advantage of the popular movements, and the anticipated support of the parliament, the court introduced the strong argument of military force into the discussion, and the French and Swiss guards were seen occupying various posts in the Rue St. Denis. The people, however, already agitated, were gathered together in a moment, took possession of the steeples of the three churches which commanded the street wherein the guards had appeared, and the *prévôt des marchands* notified to the court of the Palais Royal that all Paris was upon the eve of taking arms. The guards were immediately withdrawn, and the court sent word to the *prévôt*, and spread amongst the people, that the appearance of the soldiery had only been occasioned by the king's intention of going to Notre Dame, to return thanks for his recovery. On the following day, the 15th of January, 1648, he did indeed proceed to the cathedral in great pomp, and testified his

gratitude to the Almighty for his restoration to health;* and the next morning, early, scarcely giving any notice to the members, he appeared in the parliament, and laid before it six edicts, which had not been communicated previously even to the law officers of the crown.

One of these edicts created twelve new places of *maîtres des requêtes*, with the intention of selling them as usual; which, though it lowered the value of the other masterships, would have brought in a considerable sum to the coffers of the state. Another edict ordered the retention of a considerable part of the salaries of officers belonging to the chamber of accounts and the great council. Both of these edicts were calculated to produce the most violent animosity towards the court amongst several very large and very important bodies of men.

The *maîtres des requêtes* formed a corps of young magistrates of the greatest promise and influence in France, who were all of them aspirants to the highest offices in the law, who were animated by all the fire of youth, and who were bound, both by vanity and interest, to render themselves either beloved by the people, or favoured by the court, according to the preponderance of power in the hands of one or the other. The creation of twelve new masters, of course, greatly diminished the value of the offices which they held, and for which they had all paid very considerable sums.

As soon as the edicts had been read and the king had withdrawn, they retired into their own particular court, where their indignation burst forth, and prompt measures were adopted for vigorously opposing the will of the government. The next day they presented to the assembled parliament a solemn protest against the edict which added to their number; and though this course was undoubtedly a direct attack upon the acknowledged prerogative of the crown, yet the parliament received their protest, and inserted it in the records.

The queen now sent for the refractory magistrates, and remonstrated with them in sharp terms upon the hardihood of their proceeding. She received nothing, however, but answers verging upon insolence; and on the same day the

* Bussy and some others declare that he went from the cathedral at once to the palace of the parliament; but I have preferred the account of De Retz, who places it upon the following day, as we know that his visit to the parliament took place early in the morning, and that the thanksgiving in Notre Dame was later in the day.

parliament assembled to examine the edicts which the king himself had brought down and caused to be verified. Its proceedings, however, were stopped by an order from the queen to repair to her presence; and on the appearance of the deputies of the parliament before her, the chancellor, speaking in the queen's name, chid them severely for attempting to meddle with edicts the verification of which had been consecrated by the presence of the king.

The parliament, however, had now arrived at that stage of resistance when the high-sounding expressions of the chancellor received little attention. The first president defended the conduct of the parliament, showing that the suffrages of that body could not be considered free in the presence of the king; and therefore, that though, out of respect the edicts were verified in his presence, it was necessary to examine them after his departure.

Precedents, indeed, were not wanting to prove that the kings of France had always contested this right of the parliament, nor to show that the parliament had itself very frequently yielded it; but, as usual in such cases, there were precedents on the other side also, and the queen could not, of course, dispute the question with the first lawyers in France. She therefore dismissed the deputies, and suffered them to proceed with their examination; but as she found, after several days' discussion, that the modifications proposed would totally nullify the edicts, she expressed her determination to have them executed without any modification at all; and the Prince de Conti was directed to carry down the edicts which affected the court of aids to that body, while the Duke of Orleans proceeded to the chamber of accounts with those which were within its cognizance.

Both those bodies, however, showed their determination to resist; and as soon as the princes had left them, the court of aids sent deputies to the chamber of accounts, to require a union with it for their mutual support. This was agreed to at once, and the great council, a body which had become of very little use, and of very little importance, except by the dead weight which it afforded in one scale or the other, was easily induced to join the two other superior courts. This was probably what the queen had expected when she had issued an edict for retaining part of the salaries of the officers of those courts; but she, or Mazarin rather, had expected another result also, which did not follow.

Many years before, a tax had been invented by Charles Paulet for the purpose of rendering the system followed in

France with regard to the sale of public offices permanently profitable to the revenue. The persons who had purchased a particular office had, of course, purchased it only for life; but by the plan of Paulet, the king, of his especial grace, offered every nine years certain conditions, on which any officer could secure to his family a property in the post he held, if he died within the nine years ensuing; so that if none of his children or relations were in a condition to apply for it to the king themselves, it might be sold to any one who could acquire the royal consent. The condition was, that every one having bought an office should pay, as an annual due to the king, the sixtieth part of the price of purchase. If this were paid regularly, and the officer died within the year, his family could dispose of the post; if he failed, and died within the year, the post fell to the king.

This most absurd and abusive imposthume upon an absurd and abusive system was called the *Paulette;* and the last term for which it had been granted had now come to a conclusion. It was therefore expected, as a matter of course, that the king would renew the term as usual; but Emery determined that he would draw some money from the renewal, at least in form of a loan, and Mazarin and the superintendent both wrongly imagined that they could set the parliament at variance with the other courts of law, by making an exception in favour of one body, while the purses of the others were thus attacked. Thus, one of the edicts went to announce that the king would grant the renewal of the Paulette; but that the wants of the government required that four years of the salaries of all the sovereign courts, except the parliament, should be retained by the monarch as a loan. We have said that Mazarin was disappointed in his expectation: that expectation was, that the parliament of Paris would abandon the three other courts, in consideration of the favour shown to itself; and that such a separation would produce divisions, in the midst of which he could re-establish the authority he had lost.

Although even De Retz, in some of these proceedings, makes a sort of sinister defence for his adversary Mazarin, it must be evident to any one that the minister, in his ignorance of the French character and customs, threw away the only effectual weapon he possessed—the renewal of the Paulette—in order to grasp at another, which he was more accustomed to use, indeed—the division of his enemies—but which, in the present case, was totally out of his reach.

Had Mazarin made the price of the renewal of the Paulette the complaisance and good behaviour of the parliament, every member of the magistrature, having a vast interest in the question, and being, in the present instance, totally and entirely in the hands of the minister, would naturally have felt the strongest inclination to support everything which that minister proposed, unless it were in the most gross and open violation of right and justice. If out of the number there were twenty, ten, five, of those disinterested spirits who, in a matter which, as in this case, admitted no fury or passion, would calmly and deliberately sit down to sacrifice their own most important interests for the remote benefit of their country, we probably allow more than ever were found in such an assembly; and, most certainly, to counterbalance them, there would have been ten times the number who would have sacrificed the most immediate benefit for their country even to a remote interest of their own.

As it was, the Paulette being promised, the parliament, though favoured, had no future motive for supporting the court. The great council, the court of aids, and the chamber of accounts deputed members to confer with the parliament, to represent to that body that its exemption from this new and burdensome tax had been merely granted in order to divide those corps upon whose union the safety of the state depended, and to propose that they should make common cause, in order to reform the abuses of the state.

The parliament was speedily convinced that what the other chambers asserted was the case, and that what they proposed was its just and natural course of policy. Accordingly, on the 13th of May, 1648, a solemn Decree of Union was passed, by which it was declared that two counsellors should be chosen from each chamber of the parliament, who should be charged to confer from time to time with the deputies from the other high courts, and to make their report to the assembled chambers, which would thereupon take order as was befitting.

This was the most important step which had yet been taken in the opposition which was fast increasing against the court, and was, indeed, that step on which depended the whole after-events of the wars of the Fronde. No sooner did the court hear of this declaration of union, than its fears and indignation were equally excited, and every effort was used by all members of the government to put a stop to such proceedings for the future. The Decree of Union was formally declared

null by a royal edict, the courts were forbidden to assemble, and the parliament was commanded to appear before the queen. The question was even put to it straightforwardly, whether it pretended or not to circumscribe the royal authority.

The parliament was so little accustomed at that time to resist even the most arbitrary measures of the government—indeed, the whole people of France were still so ignorant in regard to the nature of political rights—that the parliament showed itself in no degree prepared to reply to the bold question of the council, and protested that they only pretended to remove the evils which had crept into the administration, but in no degree to circumscribe the royal authority.

Mazarin, as usual, gave way, and shifted his ground; and, unsuccessful in dividing the sovereign courts among themselves, he attempted to separate them from the people, by giving out that they were now acting alone for their own interests, because a part of their salaries had been taken from them. This artifice, however, was not more successful than those which had gone before. The intention of seeking the public good, and pure motives in everything which bears the name of reform in the state, have always been willingly attributed by the populace to those who resist the existing government; and in the present instance, as in most others, the people only seemed to think that the parliament did not proceed rapidly enough.

It would be tedious to follow all the minute turns of the contest between the parliament and the court. On the one hand, the friends and counsellors of the queen looked upon their opponents as the direct assailants of the authority of the crown, and advised the most rigorous measures against them; while, on the other, the parliament proceeded from step to step, showing the most thorough contempt for all those edicts and decrees to which they had shown as much servile deference during the sterner and more powerful rule of Richelieu.

After having resisted, remonstrated, and threatened for some weeks, Mazarin and the court began to perceive that the mind of the populace was becoming irritated to a very dangerous degree, and, in consequence, they suddenly yielded everything for which they had struggled, with a display of weakness which, as De Retz justly observes, would have been contemptible had any other course been left for the minister to pursue. Emery was dismissed and exiled from the court to one of his estates; but the people were not satisfied. The

parliament continued to assemble, and although the Maréchal de Meilleraie, who succeeded Emery as superintendent of finance, was personally popular, from his fiery courage, and frank and gallant bearing, yet, embarrassed on all hands, he could do nothing to supply the court from a treasury utterly exhausted, or to relieve the people from the burden under which they groaned, in the midst of unparalleled state exigence.

Several of the most factious members of the different courts had been arrested by order of the queen, and enfranchised again at the remonstrance of the parliament; but, at length, Mazarin having reduced himself to a position in which, to use the words of one of his adversaries, he could take no step without committing a fault, gave way on the last point of importance, and sanctioned the meetings of the deputies in the Chamber of St. Louis, according to the long-resisted Decree of Union. The parliament now showed a determination to seek not only an amelioration of the financial system, but vengeance upon those under whom it had lately been conducted.

The principal objects of animosity, putting Emery and Mazarin out of the question, were the local intendants, who managed the finances of the country in the provinces: and these the parliament determined to dismiss, proceeding against them, at the same time, with the utmost strictness, upon the slightest suspicion of extortion or malversation. The danger of these proceedings was manifest to every one: the country was still in the midst of a severe war; large armies were on foot, which required to be supported; various successes had been lately gained by Spain; and if, on the one hand, France was delivered from the assaults of the German branch of the house of Austria, the Spanish branch of that family, following the wise measures of Don Louis de Haro, had just freed itself from that long and disastrous war with the Dutch, which, more than anything else, had served to debase the monarchy of Spain from the high pre-eminence which it had attained scarcely two centuries before.

All the resources of France were required to enable her to carry on the contest with success; the union of her people, the support of her magistrates, the unshackled energy of her government, seemed all absolutely necessary at that moment. But the financial difficulties which the parliament threw in the way threatened not only to keep all supplies from the

armies, but, by overthrowing at once the whole financial system, by alarming all those capitalists who lent money to the state, and by leaving the fabric of the administration in equal derangement with the system of collection, to entail upon the country a period of the chaotic confusion from which it would be very difficult to extricate the state for years.

Under these circumstances, the Duke of Orleans exerted himself strenuously to persuade the parliament to more moderate measures. All he could obtain, however, was a delay of three days in the promulgation of the parliamentary edicts against the intendants, in order that the act of their dismissal might come from the king himself, so as to preserve the semblance of authority intact. In presenting the king's declaration to that effect, the Duke of Orleans endeavoured to evade the prosecution of the proposed investigation into the conduct of the provincial financiers; but the parliament insisted upon its being pursued, and it was found necessary to establish a particular tribunal of inquiry. As it was contrived, however, that the king should retain the nomination of the members of this court, the government was satisfied that it could render its proceedings very nearly ineffectual.

Thus, between the errors of both parties,—the feebleness and subtlety of the court, and the feebleness and factiousness of the parliament,—all that was evil in the measure, namely its effect upon public credit, was preserved; while all that was good was done away. Having carried this point, and perceiving that the parliament was determined to proceed to others still more difficult and dangerous to meddle with, Anne of Austria and her ministers resolved to see whether they could disarm the parliament by granting spontaneously all that it could reasonably demand, and only requiring, in return, that the assemblies in the Chamber of St. Louis, which under the decree of union had already produced so much dissension, should be thenceforth put a stop to.

Accordingly, on the 31st of July, the king proceeded in state to the parliament, and held what was called "a bed of justice," in which the chancellor read a declaration, which the leader of the Fronde long afterwards represented as composed of the finest words in the world, of a few articles of public utility, and a great number very obscure and very ambiguous. The truth, however, was, that the declaration con-

tained everything that was calculated, if not to put a stop to faction for the time, at least to show the factious to be in the wrong. It announced the remission of one fourth of the taxes called *tailles* for the succeeding year, the revocation of a great many imposts upon different kinds of merchandise, the suppression of the twelve new offices of *maîtres des requêtes*, the repeal of the edict of the *toisé*, and a number of regulations, as well devised as could be expected from the shortness of time and Mazarin's want of experience in such matters, to prevent peculation and extortion in any of the branches of finance.

The chancellor having announced these great concessions on the part of the government, prohibited the chambers, in the king's name, from proceeding with the assemblies under the decree of union; and also commanded them to return without further delay to the execution of their ordinary functions, and the administration of justice to the subjects of the king. The latter part of this command was important in many respects. It, in the first place, reminded the parliament indirectly of its original purposes and true functions; it also might be considered a reproach to the various chambers for having neglected so long the multitude of causes which were pending in the courts; and it was calculated, in case of further negligence, to irritate all the suitors and their relations against that body which refused to administer justice, though originally established for that sole purpose, and thus gradually to call public odium upon the party opposed to the court. In this, however, the ministry were unsuccessful, as in almost all their other measures. The parliament, as soon as the king's back was turned, proceeded to examine the declaration which he had left them; and their sole consideration seems to have been, what objections they could raise against it, and how they might best evade giving obedience to the reasonable commands of the monarch.

The very next day the chambers assembled and recommenced their discussions. The chief president, Matthew Molé, the most intrepid man perhaps that ever lived, who had always hitherto supported with his eloquence and his influence the proceedings of the parliament against the court, now endeavoured to persuade the chambers that the period of their reasonable opposition was over, that they could no longer continue their assemblies, and that it was their duty to follow the orders of the king, and return to the important

function of rendering justice to the people, which they had so long abandoned. It was in vain that he did so; it was in vain that the Duke of Orleans came down again to reiterate the king's commands—those commands were disobeyed. The young magistrates forming the inferior courts found much greater pleasure and amusement in discussing the various questions of policy, in tasting the excitement of faction and intrigue, and in gratifying their vanity by well-turned and high-sounding harangues upon the vices and follies of the court, and the necessity of reforming its abuses, than in plodding through the dull causes of litigious citizens, and weighing in the fine balance of equity the minute interests of suitor and defendant.

It was urged, that justice to the country at large was much more important than justice to a few individuals. But such specious fallacies would not have blinded the eyes sharpened by self-interest, nor appeased the eager appetite for law of a thousand greedy litigants, except under the particular circumstances of the time. The truth, however, is, if we may believe the memoirs of the time, that the same spirit which actuated the younger magistracy and the whole bar had, by various causes, been rendered general through the whole city of Paris, and pervaded the suitors just as much as the judges.

Those who originally had come to the halls of the Palais de Justice full of their own individual causes, now flocked thither to hear the discussions upon matters of political importance; each grew a fiery politician as he listened—each filled the outer halls with his own opinions, his own harangues, his own sallies against, or his own jests upon one party or the other; and we have every reason to believe that ere three months of these political dissensions were over, a suitor in any of the courts would have thought it a most importunate interruption if any of the ushers had informed him, that his own cause was called on for hearing.

Such a state of things might probably have been produced by natural causes; but in the present instance it was rendered much more general, and hurried forward to the point at which I have represented it, by artificial means. The powerful engine which for the next five years gave a peculiar impulsion to the whole course of events was now being busily constructed by one of the greatest and most scientific artificers of dissension that ever troubled the face of the globe. It may be

necessary, therefore, here to give some general idea of the first formation of that engine called the Fronde: and we cannot do so better than in making use of the confessions and admissions of De Retz himself; elucidating his own views and purposes by the comments of several of his friends and co-operators, and moderating his account of those to whom he was opposed, by the opinions of others less tinctured with animosity individually, and less imbued in general with gall.

The number of persons whose enmity Mazarin had attracted was, as I have before said, great; but for a considerable time these persons remained scattered abroad without any general bond of union amongst them, and with no one who could give them direction and guidance in carrying forward, upon an organized plan, their operations against the minister they all detested.

Chavigni, the first protector and patron of Mazarin in France, had seen himself not only neglected by the fortunate minister who had risen above his head, but had been obliged to bear the dismissal of his father from office, and his own removal from the post of secretary of state, with Mazarin's connivance at least, if not by his advice. Possessing considerable influence in the parliament, and a great number of relations or attached friends in the various chambers, Chavigni threw himself upon that body for support, and, it is probable, prompted or directed, without seeming to do so, many of its operations against the government of which he was still a member. It would not appear, however, that he attempted to form any party for himself without the walls of the parliament; and it was left for De Retz to endeavour to raise himself to power by obtaining unlimited authority over the populace, by uniting that populace to a strong body in the parliament, and by giving, through the clamours and appeals of the people, the tone and direction which suited his own purposes to the proceedings of the parliament itself. By populace, I mean, not alone the lower classes of all, nor even what was then generally called in France the *classe bourgeoise;* but I wish to include therein all that inferior rank of nobility which had already multiplied in France in the most extraordinary manner, considering the checks placed upon it—which was prevented from seeking to obtain a livelihood by any other paths than the church, the army, or the law—and which was in general daring, reckless, and excitable, by nature, by habit, and by circumstances.

The populace thus composed was the principal material of

the engine with which De Retz proposed to work. The party in the parliament united to it was but a lever added to the machine for the purpose of moving that body against the court; and though it was undoubtedly De Retz's object to give solidity and importance in the eyes of the government itself to his faction, by calling into it such discontented nobles, of a higher class and more extensive possessions, as their facility of character or want of intellect might render manageable in his hands; yet there is equally no doubt that, by accidental circumstances which he could not control, more and more powerful personages of high rank, than he either wished or contemplated at first, were obliged to be courted to the Fronde, although he well knew that they would render the machine less easy to direct.

It may be asked what was the precise object of De Retz in the plan that he was pursuing; and whether he presented to himself that plan at once as an organised system, or only was driven to it by degrees, in the desultory manner in which he has himself detailed it? The general object of the prelate was undoubtedly to advance himself: there cannot be entertained the slightest doubt that the mainspring of all his actions was ambition. It is true that he had a natural love for faction and intrigue of every kind; and that the vanity of ruling and directing in troublous times had also its share, is equally clear; but that the great purpose, the end and object of all, was self-advancement, few people who consider all his proceedings will doubt. He had long wished the government of Paris, without having been able to attain it: but that was merely a small part of what he proposed ultimately to arrive at. Feeling within himself talents far more brilliant than those of Mazarin, powers more extended, penetration as acute, if not more so, with the advantages of high race, powerful connexions, and of being born in France, he thought himself every way qualified to compete for the supreme power with a minister whose real talents he undervalued, who was a foreigner by birth, and who was lamentably ignorant of the laws and customs, if not of the character of the French people.*

* Of his own ignorance of the laws and customs of France, Mazarin was not only well aware, but used to make it, as Madame de Motteville terms it, his shameful excuse for any illegal acts that he committed. From such acts the Chancellor Seguier could have preserved him by his skill and knowledge; but Seguier had been so terrified at the idea of losing his place, when the first changes took place under the regency, that he never ventured to contradict the minister in anything. Of his submission Mazarin often felt the ill effects, and complained loudly.

It is impossible absolutely to say that he aimed from the first at the office of prime minister, but such is the general conviction left by reading his memoirs. It would appear that his immediate object was, in the beginning of the Fronde, so to shake and disorganise the government then established, as to compel the queen and Mazarin to lean upon him for support, and to admit him to share their power; or otherwise, to compel Anne of Austria absolutely to dismiss her minister, and by driving him from France, leave a post vacant which the regent might be naturally inclined to fill in such a manner as to bind to her interests a man who had gained a complete ascendancy over the populace of Paris. Whether he did or did not proceed upon a regular system, may be judged by any one who hears that from the 28th of March to the 25th of August, 1648, a period of five months, he expended, by his own account, thirty-six thousand crowns in what he calls alms and liberalities; that he made it a point to cultivate the greatest intimacy with all the inferior clergy of his diocese, entertaining them constantly at his table, and giving up a great portion of his time to men for whom he does not scruple to confess in various places a sovereign contempt, but who ruled the consciences, the purses, and, in most instances, the passions of all the commons of Paris; that he kept up a friendly communication in his own person with all the burgesses and city officers, making his paternal character as a bishop a veil for conduct which would otherwise have been considered in those times derogatory to his rank; and that he was constantly surrounded by such persons as St. Ibal, Fontrailles, Montressor, and Laigues;—the two latter of whom he mentions himself in the most lowering terms; and the two former he depicts, from the beginning of his memoirs, as the most unscrupulous incendiaries in France.

He tells us that he had replied, on a former occasion, when one of his friends spoke to him of his debts, "Cæsar at h., age owed six times as much;" and he adds, "Monsieur Servien repeated the words to the cardinal. He laughed at them, and he was in the right; but he remarked them, and he was not in the wrong;" evidently implying, that at the very period which he speaks of, the plans for his self-aggrandisement were already in some degree prepared.

He kept up a constant correspondence also with all persons in disgrace at the court: the houses of Vendôme, Mont-

bazon, Chevreuse, were those to which he particularly attached himself; and although he evidently always feared the shrewd good sense and thoughtful policy of the Duke of Bouillon, and could effect little with the homely but determined and intelligent Turenne, yet he took care to keep well with two men whose influence was vast, and whose situation was likely, sooner or later, to place them in open opposition to the government.

The engine having once been put in motion by the events of May, 1648, two distinct methods of attack were kept up by the party of the Fronde upon the regent and her minister. One was, by constantly exciting the people, by giving them false impressions in regard to every act of the council, by filling their minds with hatred and contempt for the minister through every sort of libel, pasquinade, squib, tract, and oration; and by boldly fabricating charges, which, though easily disproved, remained upon the minds of multitudes who never heard the defence, and which even with those who did, left behind a feeling and habit of suspicion very often more detrimental to a minister than open hatred. The other attack was conducted through the parliament; and—as the older and more experienced members of that body were not in general disposed to proceed to violent measures, as they would not suffer themselves to be made the instrument of conveying wild and vehement accusations against the court, or of mingling with just opposition all the party rage, angry declamation, and factious aggression which it was the object of the Fronde to produce—three or four persons were selected to make every violent speech, to support every violent measure, and to rail, or cavil, or sneer at every step which the court took either to gratify or to oppose the parliament.

Some of the most celebrated of these were the President Potier de Blancmesnil, the President Charton, and the Counsellor Broussel; but not less vehement against the court was Viole, the intimate friend of Chavigni and Longueil, to whom La Rochefoucault attributes the task of diffusing the venom of the Fronde with careful art through all the members of the chambers. Gourville calls him "*insigne frondeur;*" and there can be no doubt whatever that he afforded the chief channel of communication between the parliament and the leaders of the Fronde.

The origin of the name of that celebrated party remains to be noticed.—The boys of the French capital were in the custom of assembling under the walls, and dividing themselves

into regular bodies of slingers (*frondeurs*); between which bodies serious engagements used to take place, often producing severe injury to the children themselves, from the deadly nature of the weapon (the *fronde*, or sling), which they were suffered to employ. At length the police were forced to interfere, in order to stop the mischief which daily took place; but the boys contrived to evade their superintendence, dispersing the moment they appeared, and reassembling again the moment after. Some one of the parliamentary orators discovered a similarity between the conduct of the slingers or *frondeurs* under the walls of Paris and the opponents of the court, and applied to the latter that name, by which they were ever after known. People were amused at the comparison; the easily-excited populace of Paris took it up with glee; the *fronde* became the fashion of the day, and from that moment everything, even to small articles of dress, only needed to be called *à la fronde* to render them the mode.

In the mean time, while this great machine was in preparation and lay ready to be brought more fully into action against the court, the minister, ignorant of the extent and strength of the party opposed to him, but yet conscious that his own danger and that of the state itself were extreme, was placed in a most painful and difficult situation. In judging of the acts of Mazarin at this crisis, we must remember all the disadvantages under which he laboured. In the first place, he was a foreigner, and conscious of ignorance regarding the laws and customs of the people he was called upon to rule: in the next place, he was obliged to rely for his sole support upon the queen—a woman fearless to the extreme of rashness, and opposed in everything to the yielding policy which he was himself inclined to pursue; while there is also a perfect certainty that not one individual at the court of Anne of Austria if we except Le Tellier, was disposed to give the minister that counsel and support which might effectually maintain him in power. Madame de Motteville, indeed, makes no exception whatever. She declares that all the courtiers wished and sought his destruction, and says, in speaking of those who advised the cardinal to pursue more vigorous measures against the malcontents, "If that way had been a certain remedy for this evil, they would not have pointed it out; because they all desired his fall, and would have been in despair if he had done what was really necessary to do in order to prevent the misfortunes which might make them hope for it."

That this was in a degree the case Mazarin was well aware, and, most probably, in the state of suspicion into which such a consciousness of being generally obnoxious naturally produced, he doubted the sincerity even of those who advised him well. Left to his own judgment alone, then, he seems to have known and appreciated justly the characters of his several opponents, and to have seen the various strong parties formed against him, but not to have seen or known the link which united them together. He saw the parliament as one factious body; he looked upon De Retz and his friends as another nest of demagogues; he feared the house of Vendôme and the rallying bands of the Importants as a third class of malcontents: but he was not aware of how much the parliament was moved by the Fronde, and how completely the sentiments it uttered were the suggestions of the cabal of De Retz; nor did he see that the scattered members of the Importants, in the parliament and the city, formed but a part of the faction of the Fronde, and that their former leaders were soon to be called in to act their parts as puppets in the hands of the turbulent coadjutor.

The mystery of these intrigues was still to be developed; and although in the present day we can trace them with sufficient accuracy from the confessions of a multitude of persons interested therein, it is not at all wonderful that, at the time, Mazarin, notwithstanding all his acuteness, was unable to trace the various ramifications into which the opposing faction divided itself, or to discover the fine links of union between various bodies of his adversaries—links of which they were insensible in many instances themselves. Nor was it more surprising that, although he feared and doubted that the faction of the Importants might again rise up to annoy him, he should miss its connexion with De Retz and with the parliament; for although Laigues, Montressor, and others appeared in close union with the coadjutor, yet that had always been the case, and the influential heads of the party had remained till the middle of the year 1648 either scattered abroad in disgrace with the court, or in prison at Vincennes. On the 1st of June, however, the empty leader of that empty party, who in the hands of the skilful and penetrating archbishop was destined to become of real importance in all the transactions of the time, put in execution a plan for extricating himself from the state of imprisonment in which he had been held for nearly five years, and, to the consternation of his enemies, appeared once more free upon the political scene.

The governor of the castle of Vincennes was Chavigni, to whom Mazarin was under great obligations, which he had but ill repaid: but the Duke de Beaufort had been as much his enemy as Mazarin's, and the cardinal felt sure that the former secretary of state would do nothing to liberate the prisoner. He had taken especial care, however, that the duke should be guarded in his imprisonment by people quite independent of the governor of Vincennes, and an officer of the king's body-guard, named Ramée, with six or seven of the guards, slept constantly in his apartments, never losing sight of him. He had none of his own servants in attendance upon him, and no apparent means whatsoever of effecting an escape; but the officer who immediately had charge of him was induced to take into his service, in order to attend personally upon the duke, a man who pretended to be anxious to avoid public observation on account of having killed another in a duel. It is very evident that this person had been put forward by the friends of the prisoner; and though he affected to be more eager for his detention than any one, and even to treat him with insolent rudeness, he was soon upon such terms with the duke as to concert and execute a plan for his deliverance.

The day of Pentecost was chosen as that on which a number of the officers and soldiers would be occupied at the mass; and the Duke of Beaufort, having requested permission of La Ramée to walk in a gallery which overlooked the moat and was considerably lower than his own apartments, proceeded thither, in company with that gentleman alone. The valet pretended to go to dinner with the rest; but, feigning to be taken ill, he quitted the table, and returned towards the gallery, shutting and locking the door upon his companions, as well as several other doors which were between the gallery and the rest of the building. He then proceeded to join the duke, whom he found walking up and down with the officer of the gardes-du-corps; but as soon as the valet appeared, Beaufort, strong and resolute, threw himself upon his unconscious companion, and, with the aid of his accomplice, overpowering him in a moment, gagged his mouth, and tied his hands and feet. Ropes which had been prepared were immediately produced, fastened to the bars of the window, and the prisoner and his valet proceeded to descend towards the moat, the valet going first, according to Beaufort's promise, as the danger in case of detection was of course greater to him than to the prisoner.

In the mean time, five or six men, who had been stationed to favour the duke's escape on the outside of the moat, waited with impatience in the park for the appearance of their lord, and were put to some embarrassment by the arrival of the gardener's wife and son, who came just at the most unfortunate moment to gather herbs in the little garden which had been run along the edge of the moat. Some of Beaufort's attendants, however, issuing forth from their concealment, caught hold of the woman and the boy, and so terrified them by menaces of instant death, that they agreed not to utter a word till the prisoner was in safety; and a moment after, first the valet, and then the duke, were seen descending by cords from the window of the gallery.

The surprise and consternation of the two, however, were great, when, after letting themselves down a considerable way, they found the ropes to be greatly too short. The valet, whose life was at stake, let himself drop at once, and the duke followed his example; but the height was still great, and the powerful and heavy form of the prisoner fell so sharply upon the edge of the moat as to hurt him severely. The pain caused him to faint, and for some moments again all was suspense and apprehension. At length he revived; and a cord having been thrown to him from the other side of the moat, he was drawn across by his attendants, and, though still suffering, hurried on to a neighbouring wood, where he was met by fifty armed men on horseback. This put his safety beyond all doubt; and, springing on a horse that was prepared for him, he galloped away from the neighbourhood of Paris, forgetting all his sufferings in the joy of his deliverance.

News immediately spread both to the court and to Vincennes of the evasion of the Duke of Beaufort; but it was by that time useless to pursue him, and the queen, we are told, was but little afflicted at the escape of a man who had once stood high in her regard. Mazarin, on the contrary, was terrified, but not at the dangers which were in reality destined to ensue from the flight of the Duke of Beaufort, for he does not in the slightest degree appear to have foreseen them. He did not at all anticipate that the King of the Markets, as the duke was called, would return to Paris and assume greater influence with the people than ever; or that, ruled himself by De Retz, he would rule the parliament like slaves by the clamour of the mob that he commanded. His apprehensions were either that the duke would proceed into Brittany, where

the principal estates and territorial influence of his family lay, and endeavour to seduce that province into revolt; or that he would employ the knife of the assassin to rid himself of the minister who had overthrown his schemes and doomed him to a long confinement.

The queen and the court treated the fears of Mazarin as they deserved; but in the mean time much more real dangers were springing up, and that most perilous state for a French population was gradually making itself apparent, in which it becomes a mode, a fashion, a distinction to be at enmity with the government. With nations where the rule of fashion is not so strong, the evil of such a state is not very great; but in a country where no extravagance is too extravagant to become agreeable to the worshippers of fashion, the law of the painted idol has often proved a sanguinary law, and *the mode* has been as much consulted in bloodshed as in rings or snuff-boxes. An instance may be given to show how completely it had become the fashion to oppose the government in everything, and what sacrifices would be made to obtain this kind of celebrity.

Some of the titular treasurers of France, who conceived themselves aggrieved by the proceedings of the court in regard to the retention of part of the salaries, wrote circular letters to their brethren in various parts of the kingdom, exhorting them to unite for the purposes of resistance, and to pay themselves out of the money that passed through their hands. This was so open and illegal an attack upon the royal authority, that five of these personages were arrested and committed to prison. A sixth, however, of the name of Frotté, who on some account had been overlooked, but who, it would appear, had drawn up the letter, presented himself immediately to the superintendent of finance, and complained bitterly of having been deprived of the distinction which his fellow treasurers had obtained. The superintendent and the minister suffered this applicant for imprisonment to depart unpunished, treating him as a fool, and his application as folly; but, in reality, such conduct afforded serious and menacing signs of the times, as Mazarin was soon after taught to perceive.

Such was the state of things in Paris in the commencement of August, 1648; but a variety of other coincident events rendered the political horizon dark and stormy on every side to which Mazarin could turn his eyes. The spirit of the Fronde had been industriously diffused through the provinces; the

local parliaments had caught fire from that of the capital. Every one was ready to oppose the government; every one was willing to resist the payment of taxes and imposts; every one was making some demand and proposing some change—demands and changes sometimes just and reasonable, abstractedly speaking, but dangerous or impossible at that moment, sometimes as frivolous and vexatious as it is in the power of a discontented people to devise. Nor were the external affairs of France more prosperous at that moment. The Prince de Condé had been called to Paris for a short time, in order to give some weight to the councils of the queen; and the archduke commanding the Spanish armies in the Low Countries had taken advantage of his absence, and obtained several successes, while the French forces remained inactive.

Various domestic occurrences also gave warning that even amongst the courtiers themselves, as well as amongst the people, the authority of the regent and her minister was rapidly declining. The young king, as a great honour to the city of Paris, had proceeded, on the eve of St. John, to light the annual bonfire in the Place de Grève, in place of the governor of Paris, who usually performed that office; but little or no gratulations met the youthful monarch in return for his condescension, and the people seemed to imagine that he came more to amuse himself than to do honour to the popular fête. When he proceeded in state to carry down to the parliament a declaration full of concessions, no voice was heard to cry "Long live the king." And shortly afterwards, having gone to vespers at the church of the Feuillans, on the day of the Assumption, a dispute, in regard to who should keep the ground, took place between the guards of the king and the guards of the *grand prévôt*. The captain of the royal guard on duty was applied to by his lieutenant for orders in a moment of difficulty, and gave those orders, which unfortunately ended in bloodshed in the presence of the king himself. Complaints were made by the *grand prévôt;* and the Queen, instigated by Mazarin, declared that the captain of the guard was in the wrong, that to draw a sword in the presence of the king was high treason, and that the prime minister, being present, should have been appealed to in the first instance. She thereupon commanded the captain of the guard to give up his wand of office to one of his comrades. It so happened, however, that the officer who had been on duty was only acting as substitute for his father, the Count de Trêmes, who instantly hastened

to the palace, took possession of the wand of office, and refused to give it up, asserting that his son had merely done his duty, had defended the rights of the king's guard, and maintained the dignity of his person by preventing any other guards but his own from occupying a spot where he was present.

There could be no doubt that the count was right; but the real offence given had been in not consulting Mazarin. The queen persisted that the rod of office should be given up, and was obeyed; but none of the other officers would take it, or would perform the functions of him whom they believed to be unjustly disgraced. The queen was met by an instant refusal from every one to whom she applied, and for some time the king was without a captain of the guard altogether. The officers who had refused were immediately dismissed, and their places filled by others. But this event only served the more to divide the court, though it also might have shown Mazarin that the spirit of resistance was up and active through the whole land, and that nothing but the most skilful policy and the wisest moderation, invigorated by the most resolute firmness, could save him—even if that itself were capable of producing such an effect.

The crisis was now arrived. The court opposed by the parliament in every step, just or unjust; the king's commands not only neglected, but disobeyed, after formal deliberations held upon them; the records of the parliament bearing written on their face so extraordinary a precedent as that afforded by the declaration that the king's edict should be of no effect, but that the decree of the parliament should stand; the provincial parliaments all equally in opposition to the government; the people of the capital universally disaffected; a strong and enterprising party forming from all classes, under a factious, ambitious, fearless, talented leader; the whole court itself, with the exception of the queen and Le Tellier, opposed to the minister; the royal treasury completely empty; the finances in a state of inextricable confusion; the Spaniards resuming the preponderance they had lost upon the frontier of Flanders, and declaring that they would publish monitories, offering a reward to any one who would give information of where the army of the Prince de Condé was, as they had sought for it for a month in all the places where it ought to have been, without being able to find it;—such were the circumstances of the times towards the end of the fifth year of Mazarin's ministry; and no one who remarked them could doubt that

a moment of more severe struggle still was approaching, which must give him a complete triumph over all his enemies, or hurl him down at once from that height to which he had risen by such a rapid but silent and unostentatious progress.

The events of the next month, however, are most important, and deserve a separate investigation, as all that had hitherto taken place might be considered as merely the skirmishing of light troops before the commencement of a general battle.

CHAPTER V.

Conduct of the Duke of Beaufort—Arrest of his Messenger—And its Consequences—News of the Victory of Lens arrives—Conduct and Resolution of the Court—Arrest of Broussel and Blancmesnil—Tumults—Conduct of De Retz—The Tumult abates towards Night—Conduct of the Court—Apprehensions and Views of De Retz—Day of the Barricades.

In the beginning of the month of August, an incident occurred which added fresh elements of discord to those which already existed, and afforded to the parliament a new and far more legitimate cause of remonstrance,—or rather, called into notice an existing abuse which furnished a happy opportunity for protracting the obnoxious assemblies of the chambers.

The Duke of Beaufort, having fled to one of the estates of his father the Duke of Vendôme, received and entertained, with not disinterested hospitality, all persons who were ill-disposed towards the court, waiting impatiently till some severe collision between the contending parties in Paris afforded an opening for his return to the capital, in order to lead his friends in their operations against Mazarin. Creatures of the cardinal were, it is said, sent down into the neighbourhood to act as spies upon the proceedings of the house of Vendôme; but whenever they were discovered, the Duke of Beaufort employed means not very respectful towards the government to drive them from his vicinity. Following up his purpose, a messenger was despatched by the duke to Paris, for the purpose of offering co-operation on the part of his powerful family in all the movements of the parliament. Information, however, of this design was gained by Mazarin, and the messenger was arrested and conveyed to the Bastile. Although the gates of that prison were generally effectual in stopping the remonstrances or complaints of those who once became its inmates, a petition was presented to the parliament, either falsely or really said to be drawn up by the prisoner, in which he demanded to be set at liberty, or interrogated and judged

according to law. This document was presented in the presence of the Duke of Orleans himself; and though the prisoner was removed in haste to Vincennes lest he should be forcibly liberated, the parliament showed a determination to insist upon that great and important law, the basis of all civil freedom, that no man should be arrested without instant notice being given to his natural judges in order to his immediate trial.

The Duke of Orleans proceeded, however, to remonstrate sharply with the parliament on its disobedience to the last expressed will of the king; and as he had rendered himself popular with that body by various concessions, he obtained, as a boon, that they should suspend their assemblies till after the middle of August. As soon as the day of the Assumption was passed, the chambers recommenced their deliberations, and being summoned to attend the duke, they persuaded him of the moderation of their designs; and he, in turn, assured the queen that all would go well. Nevertheless, they still continued to meet. The speeches of various members became more and more inflammatory: Broussel, one of the counsellors of the great chamber, Charton and Blancmesnil, presidents, distinguished themselves from the rest by the violence of their counsels and the disrespectful virulence of their language, and measures more and more severe were evidently upon the eve of being taken against the court, when, on the 20th, a rumour spread through Paris of a great and decisive victory having been gained by the Prince de Condé over the Spanish army commanded by the archduke in person. The rumour, as usual, came before any definite tidings: but, shortly after, the Duke de Chatillon arrived in haste, bringing with him full accounts of the battle of Lens, at which he had been present, and showing that Condé had once more given the Spaniards a defeat as signal and complete as that of Rocroi.

The spirits of the queen and her friends immediately rose; and all regarded the victory, less as affecting the relative position of France and her enemies, than as affecting the situation of the government and the parliament. When the tidings were told to the young king, he exclaimed, "How mortified the parliament will be!" showing clearly that he had been industriously taught to consider the proceedings of that body, not as directed against the minister, or even against the government of his mother, but as against the tranquillity of France in general, and the feelings and pur-

poses of the whole corps of magistrates to be such as even to render a victory over the enemies of the country painful and unpalatable to them. The same undoubtedly was the view of the queen, whose determined nature and arbitrary principles led her to imagine the slightest resistance to her authority an act approaching almost to treason. That she had yielded so far as she had done, was entirely to be attributed to the persuasions of the mild and pacific Mazarin: but even the minister had by this time become convinced that concessions to the parliament only led to fresh demands, and that a moment had arrived when decided measures of severity were absolutely requisite.

The queen gladly availed herself of this change in his views; the Duke of Orleans was brought to coincide in opinion with the cardinal and the queen, and after various councils it was determined to arrest Charton, Blancmesnil, and Broussel, the three most conspicuous opponents of the government. This being determined, the arrangements were soon made for carrying the proposed measures into effect; but we cannot say that those arrangements were such as prudence absolutely required. The number of troops in Paris was very small, and no means were taken to increase that force, so as to render it sufficient to overawe the disaffected, and put down opposition at its commencement. In other respects the plan was arranged with some skill, and Mazarin, who was a great master in the art of covering his designs, affected to be anything but elevated by the victory of Lens.

Chavigni was the only person who appeared to divine the nature of the minister's feelings, and to anticipate his movements. He indicated them, indeed, with sufficient accuracy to De Retz, to induce that prelate to go to the palace, in order to ascertain by his own observation what were the purposes of the minister; but Mazarin was upon his guard, and deceived even the keen-sighted coadjutor himself, who left him satisfied that the success of the royal army in the field had served to moderate rather than to exaggerate the feelings of the court towards the parliament.

The day of St. Louis, the 25th of August, passed over in peace, and no indication of any immediate movement on the part of the court alarmed the popular party. The following day, however, had been appointed for celebrating a *Te Deum* in the cathedral for the victory just obtained, and early in the orning the streets from Notre Dame to the Palais Royal

were lined with soldiers, according to invariable custom. Nothing appeared to cause any apprehension, and the principal members of the parliament, as well as the whole court, were present in the cathedral. The queen, however, had previously given her orders to Comminges, lieutenant of her guards, and as soon as the ceremony was concluded, and the royal family prepared to return to the palace, she whispered to that officer, "Go, and God give you aid!"

Comminges suffered the royal party to depart, lingering in the porch of Notre Dame, in order to give time for the arrangements he had previously made to be executed. To arrest Blancmesnil he had deputed one of the exempts, and had sent another to perform the same function in regard to Charton; but the capture of Broussel he reserved for himself, as more dangerous and important. The two former, indeed, were personages of much higher station and fortune; for Broussel was poor, not highly esteemed in his profession, and had gone on to a very advanced age without rising above the rank of counsellor to the great chamber. He was a man of strict integrity, however, and of stern democratic principles: and with views too narrow to perceive that the age and country in which he lived were not adapted to their promulgation, he continued to put them forth on every occasion. This was the man on whom the Frondeurs had fixed to announce everything that was wild, rash, harsh, or turbulent, which they might think necessary to intimidate or to rule the court. There was nothing which Broussel scrupled to say—no proposal too rash, no measure too violent for him to advocate. But he had thus, of course, obtained the love and affection of an oppressed and suffering people. The enmity of the court was incurred on their account, all his zeal was for their service; his poverty was a proof of his disinterestedness, his unflinching courage of his virtue; and fine but borrowed words, a fluent tongue, and the white hair of age were easily construed into wisdom. The people called him their father; but the more wise and temperate of all parties compared him to one of those tribunes of the people, who often without talent, and still oftener without respectability, ruled so long and so potently the mobs of ancient Rome.

Comminges well knew that, in all probability, great danger as well as great odium would be attached to the arrest of Broussel, and, as we have said, he determined to reserve that task for himself. He had directed the guards to be

drawn up into three battalions, which remained upon the Pont Neuf and in the Place Dauphine, while his exempts at once proceeded to arrest Blancmesnil and Charton; the former of whom was taken without any difficulty. The appearance, however, of the queen's guard lingering at the door of Notre Dame, the line of soldiers forming themselves into battalions in the neighbourhood, with various other indications of something more than ordinary, had caused a degree of apprehension which spread rapidly amongst all the members of the parliament who had assisted at the *Te Deum*, and who, struck with immediate panic, began to hurry away so fast that the doors of the cathedral were too few to give them exit.

The tidings reached Charton, with a hint to provide for his safety, and ere the exempt reached his house, he had made his escape. In the mean while, Comminges, accompanied by one page only, proceeded to the street in which Broussel lived, in the immediate neighbourhood of Notre Dame. He had previously sent forward his carriage, however, with a small party of the guards, ordering them, as soon as they saw him enter the street on foot and approach a house therein, to draw up to the door, and prepare to give him assistance if needful. He gave orders also, for the large heavy coverings of wood and leather, which at that time closed in the sides of a carriage so as to prevent any one within from seeing or being seen, to be kept down, in order that if attacked, as he felt sure he should be, he might have a view of his assailants, and the opportunity of defending himself.

All these arrangements were executed promptly and punctually, and having reached the house of the old counsellor, he knocked at the door, which was immediately opened by a little lackey. Comminges placed two guards to keep the door, and then, followed by two others, ran up stairs to the chamber in which Broussel was seated at dinner. To him the officer at once announced that he had an order for his arrest; and Comminges afterwards declared, that notwithstanding all the boldness which Broussel usually displayed, he now showed no slight apprehension, making various excuses in order to gain time; while an old woman, said to be the only female servant in the house, began screaming from the windows for aid, shouting to the neighbours the event that had taken place, and mingling the whole with abuse of Comminges, and with intimations that the people would not suffer him to execute his

orders. Her cries, indeed, soon filled the street with people, who attempted to cut the traces of the carriage, but were prevented by the gallant defence made by the guards, and by the officer's little page, who displayed extraordinary courage and coolness through the whole affair.

In the mean while, Comminges himself insisted upon Broussel following him immediately; and, threatening to kill him if he resisted, he forced him down the stairs and into the carriage, notwithstanding the resistance of the people. Nevertheless, the cry went forth from mouth to mouth, and travelled on upon the way which Comminges was following, faster than his slow carriage could proceed; chains were drawn across the streets, barriers raised to impede his progress, and the drivers were obliged to turn hither and thither through such by-streets as had not been rendered impassable, in order to proceed at all.

At length, opposite the house of the chief president, in endeavouring to make its way along the quay the carriage was overturned and broke to pieces. Luckily for Comminges, however, it happened that a battalion of the guards was near, and came to his assistance. The guards surrounded the officer and his prisoner; the people surrounded the guards; but the soldiers behaved with patience and moderation, and a carriage conveying some ladies having been stopped in the midst of the crowd for the service of the king, its denizens were turned out, and Comminges and Broussel placed therein, in order to proceed upon their way. His own carriage remained upon the spot, and in a very short time not a piece of it was left together. In the Rue St. Honore the new carriage broke down; but it luckily so happened that at that very spot the lieutenant of the guard was met by another vehicle, which the foresight of his uncle Guitaut, who was also his superior officer, had sent forward to be ready in case of need.

No other accident occurred, and Comminges then carried his prisoner safely out of Paris: but the events of the day were only just commencing when that part thereof was executed. The news that Broussel and another member of the parliament were arrested spread through Paris in every direction. The lower orders poured forth from the manufactory, the workshop, and the booth, excited to fury by the imprisonment of one whom they looked upon as their defender and father; and the more respectable citizens, equally enraged with the artisans, but more cautious in their anger,

poured forth likewise, with weapons in their hands, declaring that they were driven to take arms in defence of their lives and property, exposed to the fury of the rabble by the rash measures of the government.

To the parliament itself, and to the archbishopric, the news was also carried: and while the magistracy assembled to take counsel, De Retz issued forth into the streets, clothed in his archiepiscopal dress, in order to proceed to the palace, determined, he says, to place himself at the side of the regent, and do his duty, notwithstanding the imposition which had been put upon him with regard to the intentions of the court. The particulars of his conduct during that day are related differently by different people, but the principal facts are the same; and in regard to his motives, Madame de Motteville, attached as she was to the other party, and viewing the conduct of the coadjutor from an opposite point, forms nearly the same opinion concerning them which any one would form from reading the memoirs of De Retz himself, though those memoirs were not published till long after her death.

"Perhaps," she says, examining the views of the coadjutor with much simple shrewdness,—"Perhaps he acted with good faith in this business; because, as his desire was solely to have a share in great affairs by any means that might be, if by those means he could get into the good graces of the queen and render himself necessary to the state, his ambition being thus satisfied, he would not have taken any other." We shall, therefore, very nearly follow his own account of his proceedings during that eventful day in which he acted so conspicuous a part. Having quitted the lesser archbishopric, accompanied by several attendants, he proceeded towards the Palais Royal, met at the very door of his dwelling by an immense crowd of people, howling rather than crying for the liberty of Broussel.

On the Pont Neuf he found the Maréchal de Meilleraie, at the head of the guards, endeavouring to restrain the people, who were assailing him and his soldiers with stones. The multitudes were increasing every moment, and Meilleraie, who saw that with the handful of troops which he had under his command, it would be impossible to stem the torrent much longer, besought the archbishop coadjutor to let the queen know the truth, offering to go with him to the Palais Royal for that purpose. De Retz received the proposal with joy, and, accompanied by the general, proceeded to the palace,

where they were immediately admitted to the regent's presence.

The queen, however, could not be brought to believe that the evil had arrived at the point which the coadjutor and De Meilleraie wished to persuade her it had attained. De Meilleraie, having spoken first, appealed to the coadjutor, who rendered full justice to his accuracy, and likewise described the excited state of the people. The queen still, however, was incredulous; and it is more than probable she was already persuaded that De Retz had taken means, as he passed along the streets, rather to inflame the passions of the multitude than to allay them. The report that such had been the case was very general at the time; and even Joly declares that the coadjutor went through the crowd bestowing his benediction upon the people, and exhorting them to peace and tranquillity in terms the most likely on earth to have an effect directly contrary to that which the bare words seem to imply. However that may be, Anne of Austria certainly did not judge favourably of his motives, and treated him in a manner which naturally irritated him to a great degree.

Mazarin, on the contrary, attempted to soften matters, labouring to cajole the coadjutor, and to prevent the queen from displaying too plainly the sentiments which the court entertained towards him. "Every one in the room," says De Retz himself, "was acting a part. I was playing the innocent; which I certainly was not, at least in this point: the cardinal was playing the courageous; which he was not so much as he seemed: from time to time the queen affected the sweet; and she was never more sour: the Duke de Longueville appeared sad; and felt, in truth, considerable joy, because of all men in the world he the most loved the commencement of all pieces of business: the Duke of Orleans acted the energetic and impassioned in speaking to the queen; yet I have never seen him whistle with greater indifference than he whistled for half an hour while gossiping with Guerchi in the little grey chamber: Marshal Villeroy acted the gay, to pay his court to the minister; and he confessed to me in private, with the tears in his eyes, that the state was upon the brink of a precipice. Beautru and Nugent acted the buffoon, and represented, to please the queen, the nurse of old Broussel (remark, I beg, that he was eighty years old), animating the people to sedition; although they both very

well knew that the tragedy was likely not to be far off from the farce."

In the midst of this comedy, the lieutenant-colonel of the guards appeared, to inform the queen that the mob threatened to force the guard. Thereupon De Meilleraie, mortified at the reception which his information had met with, suddenly changed his tone, and exclaiming, "It were better to die than suffer such insolence," he begged to be permitted to take the guards, the officers of the household, and all the courtiers who were in the ante-chambers, in order to make one great effort to put down the mob at once.

The queen, who was herself incapable of fear, was very willing to grant him permission; but no other person approved the proposal, and at that moment Seguier, the chancellor, entered the room, and gave such a description of what he had seen in the streets, that Mazarin, of whom he stood in the greatest awe, and who had never heard him boldly tell the truth before, became convinced that the danger must be extreme, from the hardihood with which it had so suddenly inspired the supple and subservient chancellor. Others however coming in effaced the impression, and what to be done was again discussed.

De Retz strongly advised the queen to yield Broussel to the people; but she declared that she would rather strangle him with her own hands. There were not wanting others, too, who advised her to have the demagogue immediately put to death.* But at length the entrance of the civil lieutenant, with a mortal paleness in his face, and all the signs and symptoms of the most dastardly fear in his demeanour, communicated that infectious disease to the cardinal, and even to the queen; so that at length it was determined, in order to gain time, to send out De Retz and the Maréchal de Meilleraie for the purpose of telling the people that if they would separate, and not continue to demand the liberty of Broussel in crowds, the queen would grant it to them.

De Retz, who perceived that no real intention was entertained of giving up the prisoner, requested the queen to furnish him with a promise to that effect under her hand, that he might display it to the populace: but his demand was evaded, and he was assured that the queen's word was better than all the writings in the world. The queen then quitted the room; the Duke of Orleans pushed De Retz gently towards the door with his two hands, beseeching him to restore

* Madame de Motteville.

tranquillity to the state; De Meilleraie dragged him forward; all the gardes-du-corps carried him lovingly in their arms, crying, "There is no one but you who can remedy the evil:" and thus he was driven out, to promise the people, in the name of the queen, a concession which he well knew was not likely to be granted.

Between the chamber where the coadjutor had received his audience and the court, De Meilleraie left him, and giving way to his impetuous nature, put himself at the head of the light-horse of the guard, and rode forward towards the people with his sword drawn, crying, "Long live the king! liberty for Broussel!"

As he was seen in this attitude by a great many more persons than could hear his voice, the populace naturally concluded that they were about to be charged by the light-horse, and a porter suddenly drew a sword and attacked De Meilleraie, who in return shot him with a pistol. The people recoiled, and the marshal, with his blood up, pushed them on down the street to the famous place of execution called the Croix du Trahoir. De Retz, coming out of the palace, found a multitude of people in the rear of De Meilleraie, and the unfortunate porter stretched dying in the midst of the street. The pontifical robes of the coadjutor gained for him respect and attention for a time; and he was immediately surrounded by the crowd, with whom his popularity was immense, and was carried by them onward towards the place where De Meilleraie was contending with the rest of the mob. Never forgetful, however, of performing any act which might dazzle and astonish the multitude, De Retz paused at the dying man, and kneeling down beside him in the gutter, received his confession in the midst of the street.*

Hurrying up to the spot where De Meilleraie, now brought to a halt, was surrounded by a crowd of armed burghers, upon whom the light-horse were firing from time to time, De Retz endeavoured to interpose between the two bodies, and not without success. For a moment or two both parties ceased firing; but a number of other crowds coming down the cross streets, without seeing or recognising De Retz, made a sudden discharge upon the light-horse, both with fire-arms and stones.

One of De Meilleraie's officers was wounded, as well as one of the pages of the coadjutor, by musket-shots; and De Retz

* Guy Joly.

himself was brought to the ground by the blow of a stone just above the ear. As he was rising, one of the mob pointed a gun at his head; but the archbishop, whose presence of mind had not left him, exclaimed, although he had never beheld the man before, "Ah, wretch! if your father saw you!" The man paused, imagining that he had nearly killed his father's best friend, and looking at him more closely, beheld the episcopal robes of the prelate. The name of De Retz was now shouted forth aloud; a thousand voices took up the same cry; a multitude gathered round the spot where he stood; others, seeing the direction which their neighbours followed, flocked after him also; and De Meilleraie, finding his opponents diverted from their attack upon him, made the best of his way back to the Palais Royal. De Retz, in the mean while, led the people in another direction, and, by all those arts which he knew so well how to practise, he at length persuaded the multitude to lay down their arms, and follow him peaceably back to the Palais Royal, in order to demand in more respectful terms the liberty of him whom they considered as a victim to despotic power.

The queen and her courtiers, believing all danger to be over, merely laughed at the application, with the exception of the Maréchal de Meilleraie, who strongly joined his voice to that of the coadjutor; but the news that the mob was unarmed was quite sufficient to satisfy the regent, and De Retz was sent back without an answer. As his natural inclination led him towards faction, and the playthings of his imagination from childhood had been revolts and conspiracies, it is probable that he was not displeased, as soon as it became evident that his services were despised by the government, to see that the regent and her advisers pushed their measures to such an extreme as to give him a fair excuse for putting himself at the head of the popular party. He declares, that though undoubtedly angry at the treatment he had received, he left the palace with the intention of still doing nothing contrary to the dictates of gratitude towards the regent, who had bestowed upon him the dignity he held in Paris. He once more harangued the people, and besought them to retire; but the hour of supper coming on, operated more powerfully, according to his own confession, than all his exhortations. Group after group disappeared from the streets, the shouts died away, the turbulent lost the support of the multitude, and ere night the French capital was as tranquil as if nothing had happened.

The court from time to time received news of what was passing; but many, of whom the Maréchal de Meilleraie was one, could not believe that the predictions of the queen and the hopes of the cardinal were really verified, till they had been out into the streets and found them perfectly peaceful. The courage of the timid rose, the resolution of the more daring was confirmed, and Mazarin and the queen, believing that they were now on the right track to recover the authority which weaker measures had lost, prepared to proceed, and, while the impression was still strong, to crush the opposition of the parliament, as they had triumphed over the ebullition of popular indignation. It is by no means impossible that they might have been successful, had not accidental circumstances led the coadjutor to believe that the purposes of the court were directly hostile towards himself.

De Retz, who in consequence of the irregularity of his life was in bad health when these events took place, had returned to the lesser archbishopric completely exhausted, and so much hurt by the blow he had received, that he found it necessary to be bled. From time to time during the evening, however, a number of his friends came to him, bringing him news of what was passing at the palace: but, as many of these friends, though admitted to the circle of the queen, were suspected on account of their attachment to De Retz, it is probable that they obtained no greater knowledge of what was passing than that which they gathered from the ordinary conversation of the court.

The first news that reached the coadjutor was, that he was turned into ridicule, that Beautru and Nogent were amusing the queen at his expense; next came the tidings that all he had done had been misinterpreted, and that the court was perfectly convinced he had both excited in the first instance, and prolonged in the second, the tumults which he affected to appease. At length, when irritated to the highest pitch by this information, and about to retire to bed to digest it as well as he could, Argenteuil, who had been long attached to the Count de Soissons, came to him direct from the court, and informed him that all the world there were mad with exultation; that the cardinal and the queen, thinking that the way was open before them, were determined to use their advantage to the utmost. Argenteuil bore him also a message from the Maréchal de Meilleraie, which confirmed this account, and which exhorted him to provide for his personal

security as fast as possible by flight; telling him it was clear that the first indignation of the court would fall upon him, and that it had been already proposed to send him to prison at Quimper Corentin, in the very depths of Brittany. At the same time, it was notified to him that Broussel was to be sent to Havre-de-Grace, and that the parliament itself was to be interdicted, and exiled in a body to Montargis.

Such is De Retz's own account of the information he received, and on which he proceeded to act. It has never been contradicted; but whether he may not have heightened the colouring, and in some degree exaggerated the representations made to him by his friends, in order to justify his after conduct, may in some degree be doubted. The news, however, which was conveyed to him was not very far distant from the truth; though I have not been able to discover that the queen or Mazarin had any real design against the person of the coadjutor.

Although such information came upon him suddenly and took him by surprise, it relieved him from doubt, and he determined at once to show the court the extent of that power, by using it against the government, which the government had neglected to engage in its own support.

On hearing the tidings borne to him by Argenteuil, Montressor and Laigues, who were with him, reproached him for not following earlier their advice in regard to adopting vigourous measures against the court, seeming to think that his hour of power was past, and that he could now only be an object of pity in the persecutions to which his weakness and indecision had exposed him. De Retz, however, requested to be left alone for a quarter of an hour, giving his friends to understand that their pity was not yet deserved; and on their return, they found that he had arranged a plan for not only opposing whatever measures the queen and the cardinal might take in the course which they were then pursuing, but might force them, by popular violence, to resign every advantage which they thought they had obtained by their late stroke of authority.

That plan was founded upon De Retz's intimate acquaintance with the feelings and views of the whole population of Paris; which acquaintance did not alone extend to the knowledge that such and such classes were divided between different political opinions, and that the preponderance lay in this or that direction, but he knew precisely who were the most

influential men in all the parties of all the classes; and amongst each class he had his own devoted agents, ready to convey to the people whatever sentiments he chose to inspire, to spread any rumours or tidings that he thought fit to invent or propagate, and to excite to any act that he pleased to dictate.

Setting aside the nobility and their retainers, the citizens of Paris may be divided into two classes, the burghers and the artisans. The latter were almost universally, as was natural, opposed to the court, hating it and the minister with a blind antipathy, believing everything that was told them against the government, seeking eagerly for any change, and ready, both from real sufferings and imaginary grievances, to commit any act that gave them the chance of amelioration. With more prudence, with greater selfishness, but with juster reasons, the minds of the burgher classes (*black mantles*, as De Retz calls them) were equally disposed to oppose the regent and her minister. They were perfectly well inclined, in general, to see that minister overthrown by any political convulsion or popular ebullition, with but one proviso,—that their own property and comforts should not in the slightest degree be sacrificed.

Nothing was necessary, therefore, but to show them the means of securing their dwellings, their goods, and their families, in order to render them willing to countenance and assist in any insurrectionary movement which might produce a change, if not a reform, in the state. So long as the minister enjoyed full command of all the royal authority—so long as the first steps taken by the parliament had left his power unabated—so long as he had even avoided a crisis which committed the great body of the magistracy to support and justify every person in the strongest opposition to the court—so long the burghers of Paris might each anticipate some evil effects from any very violent demonstration of hostility towards Mazarin. They had therefore, as a mass, affected a great degree of moderation; and we are told by Joly that the queen and the cardinal were fully convinced the middle classes of Paris were well-disposed towards the government.*

* Anquetil takes a different view of the state of this class, declaring that but few of the middle classes were attached to De Retz, or to his partisans, and that the great part were willing to maintain the royal authority. Whence he derived this opinion I do not know; but the account of Joly, of De Retz himself, of Madame de Motteville, and of a number of other contemporaries, is directly against him; while it appears to me that even were such not the case, we might come to the same conclusion, inasmuch as the whole scene of the barricades and the events of the 27th of August could hardly have taken place without the connivance and assistance of the middle classes.

Such was anything but the case, however, as De Retz well knew; and he now prepared not only to point out to them how the security of their property might be united with vigorous resistance to the government and a general popular movement, but also to supply them, as well as the lower classes, with fresh incentives to insurrection by the rumours which he caused to be spread. Having sent for some of the principal persons in whom he could trust to influence the citizens, he informed them that the queen and her minister had determined, early on the following morning, to make a display of the royal authority which might well dismay every lover of his country; and he immediately arranged with them a general plan for keeping a wary eye upon the movements of the court, for calling the people to arms upon the slightest alarm, and for rendering resistance effectual by turning every street into a fortified defile.

The friends and relations of Broussel, Charton, and Blancmesnil exerted themselves at the same time to rouse the people to resistance; and the plan devised by De Retz was so well executed, that before dawn on the following morning more than four hundred of the most respectable citizens of Paris had been arranged in groups, in the principal parts of the town, for the purpose of watching the movements of the court. They were without arms; but other bodies, composed of inferior classes, and led by friends of De Retz, were held in ambush, ready to seize upon particular posts on the first alarm, and erect barricades against the troops of the royal household. Everything having been thus arranged—with the principal tradesmen ready to take arms, and, while defending their own property, to secure the general safety of the city—with the artisans prepared to pour forth and attack the royal troops, or fight at the barricades; and with the materials for forming those barricades themselves collected near the spots where they were to be raised, the people of Paris waited in a solemn calm for the first movement which was to call down the threatening storm.

In the mean time, according to the decision of a council held at the Palais Royal the night before, the chancellor Seguier prepared to proceed in state to the Palais de Justice as early as possible in the morning. What was the real purpose for which he was sent thither still remains a matter of doubt. It is probable, however, that it was as De Retz had been informed, to forbid the parliament from assembling with the other chambers any more, and in case of an appearance

of resistance, to exile it to Montargis. That the mission with which he was charged was of a severe and arbitrary nature, may be inferred from the danger which he evidently anticipated in its execution.

Supple and fawning as Seguier had always shown himself towards Mazarin, alarmed at the least appearance of his favour diminishing, and in continual terror lest Châteauneuf should snatch the seals from his possession, the chancellor was nevertheless personally courageous, and felt far less fear of losing his life than his place. He knew that the task he had to perform was one of imminent danger, that he had many personal enemies, that the public mind was exasperated to a high degree, and that he was very likely to be torn to pieces before he reached the halls of the parliament. Nevertheless, he determined without the slightest hesitation or resistance to undertake the dangerous task proposed to him; and at five o'clock in the morning, by which early hour the parliament had assembled, everything was prepared at his house to set out.

His friends and family were as well aware as he was of the risk that he ran: his brother, the Bishop of Meaux, insisted upon accompanying him; and his daughter, the Duchess of Sully, young, beautiful, and courageous, threw herself into her father's carriage, and refused, notwithstanding all his entreaties, to quit it, till she had accompanied him to the parliament, and had seen him return in safety. It had been already notified to him that groups of people had assembled at different points of the way to the Pont Neuf, and the Maréchal de Meilleraie had despatched a few parties of light horse to reconnoitre.

All was perfectly quiet, however; the burghers maintained their stations in silence, the soldiery did not attempt to dislodge them, and the chancellor, beginning his procession, met with no great opposition till he arrived upon the Pont Neuf.* In the mean while, two companies of Swiss advanced from the Faubourg, towards the Porte de Nesle; and at that moment, the train laid on the night before was fired.

* My account will be found to be very different from that of Anquetil, who took his apparently from the Memoirs of Guy Joly. I have, on the contrary, preferred the statement of Madame de Motteville in this instance, because Joly has confused, in his narrative of the proceedings of these two days, various events in such a manner as to show that he was not accurately informed in regard to this period of the Fronde, and also because Madame de Motteville had her account from the chancellor himself.

The Swiss were attacked by a band of men under the command of Argenteuil, who had been stationed there on purpose by De Retz, and who now concealed a form well known at the court under the garb of a common mason. The soldiers, taken by surprise, were dispersed in a moment, with the loss of several killed and wounded. The tocsin began to sound, the drum beat to arms in all the different quarters of the city; the burghers poured forth and lined the streets; the artisans, all armed with whatever implements they could find, rushed forward to raise barricades; and the carriage of the chancellor was soon surrounded by people, who began to assail him with stones, and with the most virulent abuse. Finding the mob increasing every moment, he ordered his coachman, instead of turning through the narrow streets which lead from the Pont Neuf to the Palais de Justice, to cross over to the Quai des Augustins, and go on to the Hotel de Luisnes, where he intended to leave his carriage and his family, and to proceed on foot by the Pont Notre Dame, trusting that the substantial burghers whom he saw already lining the streets would not suffer him to be massacred before their eyes.

On his approach to the Hotel de Luisnes, the crowd had in some degree dispersed, or gone in other directions; and he had already left his carriage in the court-yard, and taken several steps on foot, when he was met by a still more furious mob than before, who instantly attacked him with the most vehement threats, and he was forced to return to the hotel, flying actually for his life. His pursuers were close at his heels; but before they could force the gates he had been led, together with his daughter and brother, to a place of concealment, by an old woman, who at that early hour was the only person up in the Hotel de Luisnes.

As was frequently the case in old French houses, some of the chambers had small slips, like closets, taken off them, and separated from the room of which they really formed part by a wooden partition. One of these in the Hotel de Luisnes was apparently so contrived as not to let the door between the two be apparent, and in this narrow chamber the chancellor, the Bishop of Meaux, and the beautiful Duchess de Sully awaited their fate, while the sound of the populace forcing their way into the house, and running from room to room eager for their blood, reached their ears through the thin frail boards, which were the only barriers between them and death. The mob entered the room, and even struck the

wainscot, to ascertain if any place of concealment lay beyond. The chancellor at that moment felt all the agony of death but the last pang, and, turning his thoughts to another world, made confession to his brother, and prepared to die.

The crowd quitted the hall the next moment, however, some vowing, if they found him, that they would keep him to exchange against Broussel, but the greater part declaring that he should be put instantly to death; while the more furious still proposed to quarter him on the spot, and to hang his bleeding limbs in the public places, as a warning to the government. Pillaging as they went, they proceeded through the house; and we are told, that, disappointed of finding their victim, yet certain that he had entered that dwelling, they were about to set the building on fire, when the timely arrival of the Maréchal de Meilleraie, at the head of a considerable body of troops, rescued the chancellor and his family from the imminent peril to which they were exposed.

The news of his danger had also reached the ears of his relation Aubrai, the civil lieutenant, who had instantly prepared a carriage, and hurried to assist him, accompanied by a number of the officers of justice. The chancellor, his brother, and daughter were immediately placed in the vehicle; and, surrounded by the police, with the guards bringing up the rear, they hastened as fast as they could towards the Palais Royal, seeing the crowd increasing around them, and an inclination to attack them in their retreat becoming every moment more manifest.

Whether Meilleraie perceived that the people would not suffer the carriage to proceed without force; whether, indignant at the insults they received as they proceeded, he lost command of his temper, which was at all times somewhat ungovernable; or whether the people actually commenced the first attack, it is impossible to ascertain amongst conflicting accounts. Certain it is, however, that the soldiery and the people mutually fired upon each other as the carriage crossed the Place Dauphine; and it would appear, indeed, from the fact of the insurgents firing from the upper windows, that they had predetermined to make a great effort to stop the carriage at that spot.

Joly declares that the Maréchal de Meilleraie himself, in the first instance, turned round and killed an old woman with a pistol-shot. But Joly was too furious and inveterate a partisan to be relied upon in regard to such events; and all that

is certain is, that several persons were killed and wounded on both sides; that one of the exempts of the court was shot at the back of the carriage; and that a ball, the force of which was fortunately lessened by passing through the side of the vehicle, slightly wounded the heroic Duchess of Sully. The terrified party proceeded to the Palais Royal as fast as possible, and Meilleraie with the greatest difficulty extricated his troops from the increasing crowds of people, and prepared to defend the palace, which was each moment threatened with attack.

From every quarter of the city, from the suburbs—even from the country round—the people were pouring in towards the Place St. Honoré. Butchers and boatmen, tanners, printers, wine-coopers, sawers of wood, and gardeners, but principally masons and sellers of charcoal, with a multitude of the disaffected of the higher classes, disguised in habiliments similar to their own, and giving them counsel, direction and assistance, were now to be seen labouring to raise barricades in all the principal streets. Chains were drawn across, and carts and carriages overturned, while barrels filled with dirt and sand, large logs of wood, woolpacks, and bales of merchandise, were piled up as breastworks against the soldiery. Arms of every sort and kind—the modern musquetoon and carbine, the pike, the sword, the halbert; lances that had seen the French and English contest for the French crown, and gorgets which had been sanctified in the times of the league by the image of Jacques Clément—made their appearance in the streets, drawn forth from places where they had lain concealed during more peaceable times, once more to act their part in scenes of faction and civil war. More than two hundred barricades were raised in the space of two hours, and floating above these were displayed the banners of different companies, and flags which should only have been carried forth in the service of the king.

Although some degree of resistance, perhaps, had been anticipated by the court, this extraordinary ebullition of popular indignation, the sudden and simultaneous rising of the whole people of Paris, and the regular state of organisation and preparation which all their proceedings manifested, revived with double force the apprehensions of the former day, and even caused some degree of terror in the queen herself. She had slept tranquilly, indeed, while the storm was gathering round her; and when, at nine o'clock, she at length awoke,

it was to hear that the whole city was in actual revolt. The first thing that struck her, we are told, was the evil effect which such an event would have upon the relations of France with foreign courts, and especially upon the treaties then in progress at Munster and Osnabruck.

When the queen heard all the facts, she seems instantly to have divined, with a degree of acuteness which does honour to her political discrimination, whose was the hand which had so completely organised the movements of the people; and she instantly sent for De Retz, in order, if possible, to induce him to undo the evil that he had done. At first, it would appear, he had determined to affect illness, and kept his bed; but a misunderstanding between two of his agents, which brought them to open blows in the Rue Neuve Notre Dame, obliged him to go out to prevent petty uproars from dividing the general tumult, and he had just re-entered the archbishopric when the queen's messenger arrived.

That messenger besought De Retz, and commanded him, in the queen's name, to go forth and endeavour to allay the passions of the people; but he replied coldly, that it was impossible for him to do so, as the part which the court had obliged him to take in the business of the preceding day had rendered him so obnoxious to the people, that he had that very morning run much risk in showing himself for a moment. He added a thousand formal speeches, expressive of his respect for and devotion to the queen, which the messenger well knew to be false, as well as the reasons he assigned for not attempting to calm the sedition; and on this occasion De Retz makes that most true and eloquent observation, "The favourites of the last two centuries knew not what they did, when they reduced the active affection which kings ought to have for their subjects into a matter of mere words. There are conjunctures, as you may see, in which, by a necessary consequence, men reduce the active obedience which they owe to their kings, into a matter of mere words also." He resisted all persuasions, and the messenger returned unsatisfied.

In the mean while, a still more important scene was enacting within the walls of the Palace of Justice. The parliament had assembled there, as we have seen, at a very early hour in the morning, for the purpose of taking into consideration the steps necessary to be adopted in consequence of the arrest of their brethren. The tumult which took place around them was of course soon known within the walls of the chambers,

and every step of the insurrection was reported as it proceeded. Those who, when they first assembled there in the morning, were terrified at the sudden vigour of the court, and dismayed at seeing themselves abandoned by the people on the preceding night, now became the most vehement and eager in their declamations against the government, seeing themselves supported by the populace in so daring, well-organised, and successful a manner.

The most extreme resolutions were proposed, and, after some debate, it was determined that the whole body of the parliament should proceed on foot to the palace, and demand that the imprisoned members should be immediately set at liberty: that a warrant should be issued for the apprehension of Comminges, the lieutenant of the queen's guards, who had arrested Broussel; that a decree should be pronounced, forbidding all military men for the future from undertaking such commissions on pain of death; and that formal informations should be laid against those who had advised the late acts of the government, as disturbers of the public peace. The resolution of going in procession to the palace they proceeded to put in execution immediately, to the number of one hundred and sixty members. They were received by the people with loud acclamations, the barricades opened before them, and an immense multitude followed, waving their hats and shouting applause, but mingling every other word with loud demands for the liberty of Broussel.

Thus accompanied, the parliament arrived at the Palais Royal, and were immediately admitted to the presence of the queen, who had just risen.* After being introduced, Matthew Molé, the chief president, addressed her upon the state of the country and the government, with the quick, clear, and unaffected eloquence for which he was celebrated. He represented to her, that the royal word had in many instances been used as a mere matter of sport, and that every sort of deception had been practised in order to evade the just demands of the people; he showed her that the time for trifling was past,

* The best authorities for the transactions of the eventful days of the barricades appear to me to be the Memoirs of De Retz, Omer Talon, Madame de Motteville, and Joly. De Retz forms the basis of all statements regarding the popular movements, as Madame de Motteville gives the best picture of what took place at the court, and Talon in the parliament: Joly supplies a number of names and interesting particulars with which De Retz does not choose to embarrass his relation, as well as others which the coadjutor had various reasons for withholding for though candid in many respects, the egregious vanity of De Retz prevented him from being candid upon all.

and that the capital city of the empire demanded in arms, that those who had been unjustly imprisoned for doing their duty to their country should be immediately restored to their liberty, their family, and their functions.

We must pause for a moment upon the character of Matthew Molé, as that of one of the most extraordinary men of his age. He combined, perhaps, more than any other man that ever existed, all the qualities requisite to form an upright and distinguished magistrate: clear-sighted, learned, thoroughly versed in all the forms of procedure, in all the rights and privileges of the magistracy, and in the laws of the land, he was never embarrassed on any sudden emergency by the slightest hesitation in regard to how he should act; his eloquence was terse, vigorous, and natural—his judgment profound and decisive; and although attached to the existence of legitimate authority, and unwilling to see it stripped of any of those attributes which might render it respected, he was sternly opposed to its abuse, and resolute in maintaining all barriers against its excess. The most striking quality of his mind, however, was one of the most necessary of all in troublous times, and which shone out conspicuously in those of the Fronde:—it was intrepidity. Through the whole of the terrible and dangerous scenes in which he was engaged through life, he was never once known to hesitate, or waver in regard to his conduct—he was never once known to display the slightest symptom of apprehension. He might have his foibles undoubtedly, and the populace regarded him rather as a favourer of the court: he was not without ambition, he was not without a fondness for court favour; but he never in any instance, as far as I have been able to trace, sacrificed to those propensities any of the rights or privileges of his corps, any of the duties of his office, any of the real interests of the people. In looking at his conduct alone, one would be rather led to imagine that he sacrificed many of his own feelings, and sometimes a part of his own judgment, to the passions and interests of the popular party; but the impression certainly is, that whatever he did sacrifice was only in order to choose between two evils, and that his object was to do the best for his country under circumstances the most difficult, painful, and embarrassing.

To the chief president's address the queen replied, by every account, sharply and severely. The substance of her answer, as given by Madame de Motteville, does not show much power of reason; and certainly it was filled with reproaches which

were then ill-timed, and with threats which she had no power to execute. Several of the members addressed her afterwards, beseeching her to consider the state of the country at the moment, and to take the only step which could free them from actual peril. She positively refused, however, to set Broussel at liberty; and her last reply, as she turned somewhat abruptly to quit them, imported, that if they on their part did what they ought, and testified for the future more respect for the will of the king, on her part she would show them all that favour which they could justly expect at her hands.

On this very ambiguous speech, the chancellor proceeded to read a comment, as soon as the queen was gone, to the effect, that she meant to release Broussel if they would promise to cease their deliberations in regard to the king's last declaration, and to assemble no more upon affairs of state.

Although it would appear that the chancellor's interpretation was not quite authentic, the parliament was obliged to receive it as such, and, but little contented with the result of their audience, to return to deliberate thereupon in their own court. They accordingly proceeded into the street; but at each barricade they found the people expecting to hear an announcement of the immediate liberation of Broussel. At the first barricade, some little difficulty was made to let them pass; but the calm tone in which the chief president assured them that they should have justice, induced the multitude to give way; as was also the case at the second barrier. Not so, however, at the third; for there, one of the leaders of the mob, followed by a considerable number of armed men, advanced upon the first president, and dropping the spear-point of his halbert to Molé's breast, demanded if he had brought a positive order for Broussel's liberation. On finding that he had not done so, he showered a thousand insults upon him, exclaiming, "Turn, traitor, and bring us back Broussel, or Mazarin and the chancellor for hostages, if you would escape being massacred!"

Terror took possession of the greater part of the parliament; a number threw themselves amongst the mob and effected their escape, and confusion, outcry, and tumult succeeded, during which various acts of violence were offered to the parliament itself. Molé, among the rest, was very roughly treated: he was one of the last of those who adhered to the fashions of a former day, and wore his beard at its natural length, which gave the populace an opportunity of marking and insulting him more particularly. Nevertheless,

in the midst of indignities and menaces he maintained the same firm, calm dignity; never forgot, for one moment, his station or his character, replied powerfully and deliberately to the people, rallied and reassured the various terrified members of the parliament; and finding that it was in vain to attempt to pass onward, he turned upon his steps and led his diminished train back to the palace, amidst shouts and cries, and blasphemies of every description.

The return of the parliament both disconcerted and enraged the queen. There can be no doubt whatever that hitherto she had not entertained the slightest intention of liberating Broussel; and it would seem that many persons about her recommended her to order his instant decapitation, while others advised her to arrest a certain number of the parliament as hostages for the good behaviour of the rest, who were to be sent forth to quiet the tumult. More violent counsels still were urged by some; but Mazarin and the Duke of Orleans persuaded the regent to adopt pacific measures.

The chief president harangued the regent once more on the state of Paris; the princesses, who formed the circle round her, threw themselves at her feet; the Duke of Orleans affected to do the same; and even Mazarin joined his voice to the rest, and besought her to yield something to the application of her faithful subjects. On her right hand stood one who could have told her, from bitter experience, how dangerous it is to meet, without full preparation, the just or unjust indignation of a nation. Henrietta, the unwise and unfortunate queen of Charles I. of England, entreated her to listen to the remonstrances addressed to her; but all the answer which could be drawn from the queen was, "Well, gentlemen of the parliament, see then what is necessary to be done."

On this reply, however, scanty as it was, the parliament resolved to retire to another apartment and deliberate; and a hasty sort of court was prepared for them in the great gallery of the Palais Royal. There they were furnished with some refreshment, not having tasted anything during the day. The chancellor presided in right of his office; the Duke of Orleans took his seat, and urged upon them moderate counsels; and Mazarin presented himself for a few minutes, but only excited merriment amongst the lighter members of the body, who though magistrates were still Parisians, by

repeating several times a few short and insignificant sentences with a strong foreign accent. The parliament implied from the queen's words, that she was prepared to give liberty to Broussel; but, well knowing that she would not do so without some concession on their part, they determined, after many hours' deliberation, to thank her majesty for the liberation of their brethren, and to promise to suspend, till after the feast of St. Martin, all their deliberations upon matters of state, except regarding the *rentes* and the tariff.

Although this promise afforded but a suspension of hostilities, the queen was obliged to content herself with not having been absolutely defeated, and perhaps shared in Mazarin's reliance upon the power of time in removing the difficulties of her situation, and enabling her to put a stop altogether to those proceedings which she had now only been enabled to delay. The *lettres-de-cachet* for the release of the prisoners were immediately granted, and their friends and relations amongst the parliament were despatched to bring them back in two of the royal carriages. Matthew Molé and the rest of the magistrates, after having thanked the queen for the concession which they had extorted, once more left the Palais Royal, and issued forth amongst the populace, who instantly assailed them with questions.

The first president showed them copies of the *lettres-de-cachet*, which had been granted for the release of Broussel and Blancmesnil; and, satisfied that the parliament had done its best for the liberation of the prisoners, they suffered that body to pass quietly on its way. The populace, however, refused to lay down their arms till they saw Broussel amidst them with their own eyes; and the armed burghers continued to guard the streets countenancing the people in the menacing attitude which they still maintained. "Never were there disorders," says Madame de Motteville, "so well ordered; a sedition so great and so impetuous as this being likely naturally to cause more evil than it did cause. But the burghers, who had taken arms very willingly to save the town from pillage, were not a bit more moderate than the people, and demanded Broussel as heartily as the porters."

The alarms, however, of that day were not terminated with the attainment of their object by the parliament. The queen, insensible to fear, had kept her circle round her the whole day, treating the insurrection of the capital as a mere casual tumult, and, in the intervals of graver deliberation, laughing

and talking with the ladies of her court, and maintaining an air of serenity which was only disturbed by brief fits of anger. The rest of the circle found it necessary or expedient to imitate the demeanour of the regent; and Mazarin himself, though well aware that he was one of the principal objects of popular hatred, maintained the appearance of perfect tranquillity. As night came on, however, and the people did not disperse, as the barricades were still maintained and guarded, as the shouts and sounds of guns going off in different parts of the town continued unabated, the fears of the minister could no longer be sufficiently restrained to prevent them from betraying themselves; and even the queen showed some signs of disquiet. Mazarin, indeed, proceeded to take precautions which evinced the full extent of his apprehensions. He caused a body of cavalry to wait for him throughout the night in the Bois de Boulogne, in order to escort him across the country if obliged to fly; he remained during the whole period of darkness booted and spurred, and with his horses saddled; he had a regular corps-de-garde established in the part of the building that he inhabited; and he filled a part of his tables with muskets, in order to arm his attendants if attacked. In this state, he passed, as may be conceived, a very unpleasant night.

The following morning found the multitude still in the streets: a thousand rumours agitated the people; some declared they had been cheated and deceived; some supposed that the promise to liberate Broussel had only been given in order to gain time to march troops upon Paris, and in this opinion the appearance of the cavalry in the Bois de Boulogne greatly tended to confirm them. Till past eight o'clock, no appearance of Broussel led them to believe that the court would keep its word; and threats of sacking the Palais Royal, of sending for the Duke of Beaufort, and other vague menaces, to which any designing person might soon have given a direction, were beginning to spread abroad, when at length a carriage conveying the prisoner was seen approaching the capital. Multitudes of the principal citizens went forth to meet him, and the old man was brought into Paris in triumph, amidst shouts, acclamations, and general discharges of musquetry. He was led, in the first instance, to the cathedral at Notre Dame, and thence to the Palais de Justice, where he took his accustomed place, and was publicly harangued by the chief president. The parliament then issued a decree,

enjoining the citizens to lay down their arms and return to their usual employment. In a moment the chains were unhooked, the barricades removed, the arms, which had so suddenly appeared from various secret receptacles, disappeared again as rapidly; and, to use the words of an eye-witness, "two hours after the decree of the parliament was given, one could walk in Paris as in the most peaceable times, and everything became calm, in such a manner that it seemed as if the past had been nothing but a dream."

Such was the celebrated day of the barricades, the first act in the great tragic farce of the Fronde; and the whole of that first act seemed naturally concluded on the morning of the 28th of August; so much so, indeed, that many thought the drama itself was over. Others, who saw more deeply, however, knew that it was only beginning; and, even while the events just related were proceeding through their regular course to their close, some of the performers on the scene were making preparations for the various after-acts, which they were well aware must ensue. Of these preparations we must now take some notice, as well as of several interludes which occupied the time till the recommencement of the real and active business of the stage.

CHAPTER VI.

Proceedings of De Retz—Disunion at Court—Riots renewed—The Regent tries to soothe De Retz—Violent Proceedings of the Parliament—Libels—The Court quits Paris—Consternation of the Parisians—Châteauneuf banished—Arrest of Chavigny—Condé at the Court—He treats with the Fronde—The Court forced to yield—It returns to Paris—Breach with the Duke of Orleans—Reconciliation—Rupture between Condé and the Parliament—Violent Proceedings—The Court retires to St. Germain—Terror of the Parliament—Preparations for Civil War—Intrigues of the Fronde—The Prince de Conti, Generalissimo of the Parisians—Civil War begun.

SHUT up in the lesser archbishopric, and foreseeing, with clear discrimination, that the court would be obliged to yield Broussel to the entreaties of the parliament and the threats of the mob, the coadjutor had passed the leisure time which remained upon his hands, while he suffered the multitude to pursue to its conclusion the impulse he had given, in laying out, as far as the vague uncertainty of events will permit, his plan of operations for the future, and in making preparations for guiding the unwieldy machines which he had set in motion. He had already learned, as he acknowledges in more than one place, that the parliament, divided by separate inte-

rests, yet moved by one general principle, could not be calculated upon with any degree of certainty;—that it was, in short, one of those instruments, the operations of which might always be rendered powerful by a powerful hand, but could by no skill be regulated with precision, or directed with certainty.

The people, on the contrary, he could always calculate upon so long as they could be roused into action at all. There are certain cabalistic words, as he well knew, by which all mobs may be governed, and the only thing he had to fear was that state of apathy which, with a multitude, generally follows great excitement. The time of indifference, however, he had every reason to believe was far off; and all that he had now to do, was so to organise a party to be placed at the head of the populace as to give the united faction a weight and authority which it could not possess while composed alone of the lower orders directed by himself. His plan required that peers and princes should take part with the people, and, either really or apparently, identify themselves with the classes which he had at command. Under such circumstances, his faction, he saw, would become much more powerful, not only as regarded the court, but as regarded the parliament also; and that body, which might lead or repress the people as it thought fit, so long as the people remained unsupported, would fall into a mere instrument in the people's hands, as soon as a great portion of the rank, the wealth, the influence, and the talent of the capital was arrayed on the popular side.

I have before pointed out how many of the highest families in France had been estranged from the court by various causes, and had lent the inert power of their tacit disaffection to the rising party of the Fronde. It now became necessary, however, that they should more actively display their co-operation, and that they should be taught to which party they belonged, a matter upon which they were generally ignorant. Although there had been much intrigue amongst them, there had hitherto been little cabal; each had worked separately towards the gratification of his own passions, and what De Retz had now to do, was to display to all the bonds, hitherto unseen, which united them firmly together. The first person he applied to was by no means the one most adverse to the court. This was the Duke of Longueville, who had been employed and favoured by Mazarin, but who had lately discovered or imagined some causes of complaint too petty to be dwelt upon

here. He also had some thirst for popularity; but that quality of his mind which De Retz most calculated upon to bring him over at once to the Fronde, was what he calls "his love for the commencement of all pieces of business;" and therefore it was that the wily coadjutor applied to the duke, as the first noble to be gained over to espouse the cause of the people.

Shortly after the formation of the barricades, the coadjutor, remaining firmly entrenched in his archbishopric, despatched a messenger* to the Duke of Longueville, to request an interview; and so eager was that prince to enter actively into the proceedings which were taking place, that, not being able to pass through the streets on account of the barricades, he threw himself into a small boat and dropped down the Seine to the archbishopric. He there held a long conference with De Retz and several of his friends, and very violent counsels were proposed by some; but neither the coadjutor nor the Duke of Longueville were disposed towards extreme measures, and the only result was, that which De Retz intended,—the absolute engagement of the duke on the part of the Fronde. This was quite enough to satisfy the coadjutor; for the importance of Longueville's rank, wealth, and connexions was all that he desired in order to lure others of equal or greater influence over to the faction.

Far from wishing to hurry on the parliament further than they were inclined to go, De Retz felt secured by the passions of various leading individuals amongst them, that the chambers would push their operations against Mazarin, for the time at least, fully as fast as he could wish them to be carried on. The passions of the leading members, which he thus held as security, were by no means those springing from even mistaken patriotism or a desire of popularity. They have in general been traced, by the Frondeurs themselves, to the sordid and selfish motives of interest or revenge.† Broussel, the tribune of the people, as he is usually called, had been refused a company of the guards for his son, and thenceforth became a patriot. Blancmesnil, nearly related to Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, and under the administration of that prelate looking up to the highest offices in the state, had plunged into popularity as soon as his relative was disgraced. The president De Longueil, qualified by De Retz himself as a man of a dark, decisive, and dangerous spirit, had been disappointed of obtaining the post

* Guy Joly.

† See Memoirs of the Duchess de Nemours, p. 224, De Retz, vol. i., p. 194

of chancellor to the queen, and openly aspired to establish his brother, the president De Maisons, as superintendent of finance. Viole was the intimate friend and relation of Chavigni, now the declared enemy of the minister; and though Longueil was the only person of any great talent amongst them, we are too well acquainted in the present day with the mechanism by which great bodies of men are moved, to be surprised that the parliament was led by some of its rashest, weakest, and most ignorant members; while the vigour and discrimination of Molé, and the genius and eloquence of Talon, had little or no effect in calming their turbulence or directing their course.

In turning his eyes towards the court, also, De Retz had every reason to be satisfied with what he there beheld; for of course, next to union in his own faction, the thing to be most desired was divisions amongst his opponents. So long as the royal family continued to support each other with vigour and sincerity, the resistance of the court to the encroachments of the parliament would naturally be powerful, and, in all probability, ultimately successful; but the events which had preceded the barricades had opened to the eyes of the Duke of Orleans a prospect of increasing his power, and had infected him also with a desire of popularity, which had been one of his old maladies, and which returning upon him now, affected him through the whole of the rest of his days with a shivering and feverish patriotism, which only showed his native feebleness more strongly.

"The Duke of Orleans," says Madame de Motteville, "who had hitherto appeared so much attached to the queen, could not regard the state of the court without feeling at his heart some movements of hope that, the hatred which people felt towards the queen augmenting every day, they would oblige her to restore to his hands the authority which he had yielded to her, or at least to give him a greater share than that with which he had been as yet contented. His favourite (De la Rivière), who saw the facility with which the power of his master might be augmented, could not prevent himself from wishing it in order to augment his own; and as it is difficult not to display that which one has upon the mind, it was easy for the queen to perceive in the council that the duke did not act so vigorously for her as he had done in times past. The queen, therefore, did not employ him so often to remedy her misfortunes, for fear the physician should aggravate the malady."

In this state of embarrassment, not knowing where to look for aid or support, new apprehensions were cast into the lot of Anne of Austria on the very day the barricades were removed. The populace were still in a state of excitement; and wandering rumours of a design to chastise them for their late revolt spread through the city. The cavalry posted in the Bois de Boulogne was magnified into an army; and popular passions, which have little regard for geography, instantly invested a handful of light-horse with the quality of the host of Christina Queen of Sweden, come to aid her sister queen in punishing her revolted subjects. Two tumbrels of powder for the use of the regiment of the guards, who were totally without ammunition, happened most unfortunately to be drawn through the gates of Paris before the eyes of the excited people at this critical time, and naturally produced an immediate tumult. The evil designs of the court now appeared clear; the tumbrels were seized upon, torn to pieces, and the powder plundered; the people flew to arms; the voice of the magistrates who attempted to quiet the affray was unheard; and so quickly did the fire spread, that in half an hour the whole of Paris was raised, and resumed the same appearance that it had displayed in the morning.

News of this new insurrection of course reached the Palais Royal very soon; and the queen-regent immediately took the only means in her power to convince the people that she had no intentions whatsoever of using any hostile measures towards them. The guards, which had been doubled at the Palais Royal on the former day, were marched off to their quarters, leaving none but two sentinels before the gates; and the Prévôt des Marchands was sent for to the Palais Royal. To him the queen explained the cause of the arrival of the powder; gave him the fullest assurances of her pacific intentions towards the people; and to prove to them that she had no design of carrying off the young king, and giving up Paris to pillage, as had been reported, she consented that the keys of the city gates should remain in the hands of the populace for the night.

It was already late in the day when these events happened; but, after another short interval of calm, the tumult again increased, and the people were heard to utter threats of sacking the Palais Royal. Terror now took possession of the court; the building was indefensible; no force was present but an ordinary guard and a handful of the gardes de corps,

the commander of which only served to increase the alarm of all parties by assuring the queen that they were willing to die for her at the door of her apartments. Mazarin was so full of perturbation and alarm that he could neither afford the regent advice or support; and the only person who appears to have maintained any degree of presence of mind, was Anne of Austria herself, who replied to those that repeated to her the menaces of the people, "Fear not, God will not abandon the innocence of the king. Let us confide in him." The cardinal, however, well knowing that he was the object of all animosity, and feeling himself unsupported by any one with sincere affection, gave way to all the alarm he felt, and not only took the same precautions as the night before, but casting off the Roman purple, disguised himself in grey, and went out incognito to one of the corps de garde which the burghers had established in the street, to learn from his own observations the views and intentions of the people. This state of apprehension lasted till midnight, but then the sight of but two simple sentries pacing up and down before the palace, the silence and tranquillity of the building itself, the absence of all signs and indications of movement or preparation, at length began to have an effect upon the minds of the people: group by group dropped away, the artisan retired to rest, the burgher laid by his arms and recounted his exploits, and the streets of Paris gradually became silent and deserted, while the alarms of the court disappeared with the menacing signs which had occasioned them.

These events, however, had made an impression upon Anne of Austria. Although her courage had not abandoned her, yet she had learned to know what danger is; and she looked round her on every side in order to seek means of avoiding a renewal of such perils, till she should be able to oppose to her assailants a more potent resistance. We have seen that she could no longer rely upon the Duke of Orleans: Seguier, the chancellor, was too supple to give her any advice but such as he thought would be pleasing to her or to Mazarin; and Mazarin himself, what between a disposition naturally pacific, and the want of all feeling of certainty and security in the foreign land which he governed, was too timid to afford her any vigorous counsels at a moment when decision, at least, was requisite. She fixed then her hopes upon the return of the Prince de Condé, in whom she thought she could trust for support, in case of any very outrageous proceedings on the

part of the people or the parliament. In order, however, to insure that the people should be kept tranquil till the return of Condé, it was necessary to gain the coadjutor; and Mazarin and the regent determined to send for that prelate for the purpose of softening him with sweet words.

It is an extraordinary failing of cunning people to deceive themselves in the first place in regard to the power of their own arts; and Mazarin and the queen seem entirely to have forgotten that they had to deal with one of the most acute and subtle men of his time. De Retz came to the palace at their bidding, and was treated by the queen with the very highest distinction. She acknowledged that, if she had believed his words, she should not have fallen into the difficulties that surrounded her; she assured him that it was not the fault of the cardinal, who had always pressed her to follow his (De Retz's) advice, and to lean upon his opinions; and she wondered that the coadjutor did not cause some of his people to cane the buffoon Beautrie, who had ridiculed him on the day preceding the barricades. But she let fall a much more important hint, to which however, De Retz does not seem to have attached so much importance as it deserved. She declared that all the evils had arisen from the bad counsels of Chavigni, to whom she had given ear, instead of listening to the cardinal.

From the apartments of the queen De Retz proceeded to those of Mazarin, who exaggerated all the friendly expressions of Anne of Austria, assured the coadjutor that for the future he would guide himself by his counsels, and declared he was the only honest man in France. Such was the language of the court; but De Retz was an adept at translating this kind of tongue, and having put the expressions of the queen and her minister into ordinary terms, he found that they implied that all his proceedings with the people and with the parliament were perfectly well known and understood, and that nothing was wanting but time and opportunity to punish him accordingly. He affected, however, to be as innocent and tractable as a pet lamb; and after suffering the queen and her minister to fondle him as much as they thought proper, he returned home to guard against any surprise on the part of the court, which he had discovered to be never more dangerous than when it appeared most affectionate.

In looking round him as to his future proceedings, he too directed his attention to the return of the Prince de Condé; and, strange to say, he also looked for support and aid to the

same prince on whom Anne of Austria had fixed her hopes. Strange is it, also, that De Retz, whose purpose was now to carry on the most decided opposition to the court, was most anxious for the same events which were desired by Anne of Austria; that his hopes of the parliament keeping the promise that they had made, and suspending, for a time, all discussions upon affairs of state, and his anxiety for the vacation, which, he trusted, would give an interval of calm and tranquillity to all parties, were as great as those of the queen. Nevertheless, so it was; for a period of repose was as necessary to him as to the court. His faction was not so completely formed as to enable him to act independent of the parliament; with the parliament alone he did not choose to act any further, well knowing that it was likely, in the heat of its new enthusiasms, to drag forward to rash and illegal acts those whom it might prosecute for committing them shortly afterwards; and he, consequently, determined to labour assiduously till Condé's return, for the consolidation of a party ready to receive him; and at the same time to keep up merely a sufficient degree of fire in the parliament to be raised into a flame whenever he liked, but not to burst out till required.

The eagerness and vehemence, however, of the body with which he had to deal, frustrated his purposes of moderation. At first the parliament affected to keep within the limits which it had prescribed to itself at the time it obtained Broussel's release, but gradually the engagements which it had made were forgotten; and although it had promised to examine nothing but the business of the Rentes and the Tariff, it returned to its old deliberations upon the king's declaration, and made demand upon demand, carrying its exactions to a point in regard to which the queen could by no means satisfy them. The chambers continued their attacks so warmly, that, at length, as if to drive the regent to extremity and to force her to have recourse to violent means, they demanded permission to continue their sittings during the vacation, which deprived her of her last hope of repose. At the same time the capital had been rendered odious to Anne of Austria by the libels which were daily circulated in regard to her; in most of which it has been generally suspected, and with a great degree of probability, that De Retz or his agents had a principal share.* Every insinuation to which the queen's par-

* See the "Causes de la Guerre," the "Frondeur compatissant," "L'heureux couple," &c., for the infamous libels current in those days.

tiality for her minister gave an appearance of probability was circulated eagerly against her. The people were taught to believe that she meditated nothing but to punish them for their last revolt, and to take away from them the means of resistance. German, Swiss, Flemish troops were said to be in the neighbourhood of Paris. It was declared that she had caused the chains, which in those days hung at the principal corners of the streets, and which usually served as the first foundation for a barricade, to be secretly filed through in the night, in order to deprive the people of that defence; and astrologers were engaged to predict that, on the eighth of September, a terrible catastrophe would happen, and that a repetition of the famous massacre of St. Bartholomew's day would then take place in Paris.

Pained, angry, and dispirited, Anne of Austria now applied to the parliament itself for protection. She represented to that body of magistrates that daily libels were circulated against her; and she called upon them to take measures for putting a stop to such proceedings, and punishing the authors thereof. The parliament, however, treated her appeal with the most mortifying contempt. Old Broussel proposed that her complaint should be registered, more for the sake of recording formally the humiliating act to which they had reduced the queen, than of granting her the justice she demanded. The only other notice taken of her appeal was a vague, impotent, and almost laughable decree against all astrologers and other disturbers of the public peace; and at the same time the chambers proceeded to urge the queen and her minister, more violently than ever, upon those points where it was not only difficult but impossible to afford any immediate satisfaction.

All these vehement measures were as much opposed by De Retz as by the court. He had held secret meetings with the principal demagogues of the parliament, in order to suggest to the chambers the measures which he wanted them to adopt; but he now found the full difficulty, not only of managing the parliament in a body, but of managing even his own agents therein. Blancmesnil became frightened at the air of conspiracy which their secret meetings assumed; and the president De Novions fancied that he saw in the moderate measures recommended by De Retz a concealed partiality for the court, which the coadjutor declares put him in mind of the good Calvinist minister who suspected the

Admiral Coligni, the great leader of the Huguenots, of having been to confession with a cordelier of Niort.

Such, however, was the effect of the proceedings of the parliament upon the queen, that after having, most unwillingly, granted them permission to continue their sittings for fifteen days during the vacations, she lost patience at their demands, and determined to carry the young king out of Paris. This purpose required to be effected with some degree of precaution, as it was not at all improbable that the multitude would rise and attempt to prevent the exit of the royal family from the capital. Mazarin, indeed, entertained no slight alarm upon the occasion; but the queen's courage and presence of mind carried through with ease a project which, in all probability, would have failed entirely in his more timid hands.

On the night previous to her departure from Paris she spoke openly of her purpose of going to Ruel, in order to allow the palace to be thoroughly cleaned, as of a thing of course, in regard to which no will was to be consulted but her own; and on the following morning, at six o'clock, the young king, accompanied by Cardinal Mazarin, with very few guards, and very few attendants, quitted the Palais Royal, and took his way towards Ruel. "The queen herself, as the most valiant of the party," says Madame de Motteville, remained to cover the retreat of her minister and her son; and, in order to display that sort of calm unconcern, which she well knew was the best means of quieting the Parisians, she drove to various parts of Paris, going openly to confession, and visiting the nuns of the Val de Grace before she set out. She was thus suffered to go on without the slightest interruption, although in the morning some of the artisans near the gates had endeavoured to create a mob for the purpose of stopping the young king, and had actually attempted to plunder the carts carrying the baggage of the minister; but the royal party had proceeded too far, and the streets were too thin of people for the call to arms to be attended with any effect. Mazarin went forward on his way, the guards were sufficient to protect the baggage, and the queen, after having visited the Cordeliers, the Val de Grace, and her second son, who was ill of the small-pox, held a conference with the Prévôt des Marchands, and then proceeded to Ruel.

The news of these transactions threw the parliament and the Fronde into a state of the greatest terror and consterna-

tion. A thousand reports were instantly spread, in regard to the intentions of the queen; but the most prevalent rumour was, that she intended to recal the Prince de Condé and his army from Flanders, and, by blockading the city of Paris, at once punish it for its past offences and reduce it to obedience for the future. There can be no doubt whatever that such a project was discussed by the court; but various motives prevented it from being absolutely adopted at the time. The feelings and determinations of Condé himself were also to be consulted, and as yet they were very doubtful. The only thing that was resolved upon under these circumstances was to recal that prince himself; for, doubtful as the queen was of the views and purposes of the Duke of Orleans, she saw that something would, at all events, be gained by balancing his power with that of the Prince de Condé. The young warrior was, therefore, at once summoned to the court; and returned as soon as the military proceedings in which he was engaged would permit.

In the mean time, however, in the court at Ruel, and in the city of Paris, several events took place of no slight importance. De Retz and his friends, as well as the parliament, were astounded, as we have said, at the departure of the royal family, and the coadjutor would have been still more so, had he not confidently counted upon gaining Condé himself to his party—a confidence based upon the friendly feeling which that prince had always displayed towards him, upon his personal dislike to Mazarin, and upon the probable results of a scheme, which the coadjutor proposed to chalk out for the young general, with a view gradually to overthrow the queen's minister, and assume himself the power, of which Mazarin would thus be deprived. Two pieces of intelligence, however, reached Paris almost immediately after the queen's departure, which, for a time, seemed to check all these hopes. The first was, that the Baron d'Erlac had passed the Somme at the head of a large body of German troops (the forces of the late Duke of Weimar); and the second, that Condé had been wounded at the siege of Furnes, by a musket-shot in the loins.

These two circumstances threw the coadjutor into a state of great embarrassment, which was increased by the consternation and depression of the parliament. Prompt and decided, however, in all his movements, De Retz soon fixed upon a plan, which was, indeed, so dangerous, that he admits

it was only expedient because there was none other he could pursue. He knew that the extremes of fear and daring meet, or, in other words, that courage is sometimes born of despair. Under this view, he saw that the parliament, though it was already terrified to the greatest degree by the king's departure, and, if suffered to continue in that state, would fall back into the timid inactivity it had shown under Richelieu, only required to be pushed a little further to rise into fury, and renew its former opposition to the court with more vehemence than ever. He determined to proceed accordingly, and doubted not soon to rouse once more into activity the stunned passions which he destined to work out his ends.

In the mean time the court had recovered its calmness, and Mazarin his resolution. Surveying with more tranquillity than he had hitherto been able to obtain, all the late transactions, and probably directed in his judgment by various private intimations which are now lost to us, he became convinced that the severe opposition which the court had encountered, the daring encroachment upon the royal authority lately made by the parliament, and the rapid and skilful combinations displayed by all the movements of that body, were to be attributed not alone to itself, but to the suggestions, hints, and directions of other persons, who had quick and certain information concerning the designs and views of the court.

In looking round to ascertain who these persons were, everything combined to fix suspicion upon Chavigni, Châteauneuf, and Goulas. The first, still retaining his post of privy counsellor, was notoriously dissatisfied and hostile towards the court; the second, living at Mont-rouge, was known to be in constant communication with the disaffected members of the parliament, to be the mortal enemy of Seguier, the chancellor, and eager to deprive him of the seals by any means. He had been protected hitherto by the Duke of Orleans, but the duke himself was now suspected; and there was every reason to believe that Goulas, that prince's secretary, conveyed all sorts of information to Châteauneuf and De Retz, and entered into every cabal for overthrowing the minister. Having come to these conclusions, Mazarin believed that, as all these persons were totally distinct and separate from the parliament, he might act against them with vigour; and the news that he daily received of the terror that had spread through Paris gave him courage to do so at once.

Châteauneuf and Goulas were exiled; but Chavigni had been his friend, he had treated Chavigni with ingratitude, he had injured as well as neglected him, and of course it was to be expected that the cardinal's measures against him would be more severe.

The count was, as we have said, governor of Vincennes, and had passed there a considerable part of his time, since the elevation of Mazarin had deprived him of many of his functions at the court. On the morning of the 18th of September he was sitting in the castle with his wife, with Duplessis, one of the secretaries of state, and with another gentleman, when it was announced to him that one of the king's gentlemen in ordinary had arrived at Vincennes. Thinking that this messenger's business referred to the prisoners in the castle, Chavigni ordered him to be taken to his lieutenant; to whom, however, the gentleman would not communicate his business, and he was consequently ushered into the presence of the governor. To him he immediately tendered a lettre-de-cachet, commanding him to depart for his estates called Chavigni within two hours, taking his wife along with him. Chavigni read the order, and then turning to his friends exclaimed, "Gentlemen, we must part; we thought to dine together, but you must return to Paris, and I must go whither the king commands me."

It was determined, however, that while he secured whatever important papers he had at Vincennes, his wife should hasten to their house in Paris for the same purpose. Her carriage was accordingly brought up, but, just as she was getting into it, a captain of the guards appeared, and informed the count that he had come on the part of the king to receive from him the surrender of Vincennes before he went. Chavigni made no resistance, but gave him up the keys at once; and the captain proceeded to take possession, changing the sentinels, and using other precautions. As soon as this was done, he returned to the hall where he had left Chavigni, and told him that he was a prisoner. At the same time those who were below informed Madame de Chavigni of what had taken place, and notified to her that she must retire to their estates in the country without either going to Paris or seeing her husband again. To the latter part of this injunction she refused to submit, and with spirit, affection, and determination, forced her way back to the hall in which her husband stood as a prisoner, notwithstanding the opposition

of the guards. They would not suffer her, however, to hold any private communication with him; but nevertheless, knowing that he had documents of much importance on his person, she threw herself into his arms, and while taking a farewell embrace contrived to receive and secrete the papers without being suspected by the guards: then bidding her husband adieu she set off in obedience to the commands she had received. What was the exact nature of the papers which she thus abstracted was never clearly known, but she was afterwards heard to declare that their discovery might have ruined the Prince de Condé as well as her husband.

It is indubitable that Mazarin, in explaining to the celebrated Fabert the cause of Chavigni's arrest, assured him that he had been driven to that act of severity by the efforts of the count to seduce Condé from the service of the court. How far Condé had suffered himself to be seduced does not appear; but it is evident that for some time he hesitated between the government and the Fronde. Fontrailles, who had mixed deeply in the conspiracy of Cinq Mars, had during the regency become the intimate friend of Chavigni, who had acted so prominent a part in the discovery of it; and Mazarin now took occasion to join the former in the punishment which he thought fit to inflict upon the latter. Orders were given for arresting Fontrailles, but that wary conspirator, who had so often foiled the purposes of Richelieu, was not to be the victim of Mazarin. Being informed one morning early that guards were seen at his door watching, as if to seize him when he came forth, Fontrailles, who had been wounded accidentally on the day of the barricades, caused one of his servants to take his place in bed, and made his escape by a back way into a street where he had ordered his carriage to be in waiting as soon as he discovered his danger. No difficulty attended his further proceedings, and, quitting Paris, he once more resumed the life of an exile.

The banishment of Châteauneuf and the arrest of Chavigni gave De Retz the very opportunity he desired; and he instantly made use of it to excite the passions of the parliament to the degree he had proposed. The instrument he pitched upon was the president Viole, the intimate friend of Chavigni, and his immediate agent with the parliament. Him De Retz persuaded that the arrest of the count was only the first blow of an attack directed against himself, and that it was the determination of the court to proceed without pause towards

his destruction. The very fears of Viole now rendered him bold, and he undertook to act the part that De Retz suggested. It was not without great difficulty, however, and by the united arguments of the coadjutor and of the president De Longueil, that Viole was induced to commit himself to the extent proposed. At length, however, they succeeded in persuading him, and the next day, when the president De Mesmes presented to the parliament a commission regarding the chamber of justice, which had been required for the purpose of proceeding against the peculators of the public revenue, Viole rose, and, declaring that there were much more important affairs to be considered than that, proposed that an humble supplication should be offered to the queen, beseeching her to bring back the king to Paris. To this he added that, as it was impossible to affect ignorance of who was the author of all these evils, the Duke of Orleans and the high officers of the crown should be requested to take their places in parliament, in order to deliberate upon the decree, given in 1617 in regard to the Maréchal d'Ancre, by which it was forbidden for any foreigners to meddle with affairs of state.

This bold and extraordinary proposal at first struck the parliament with surprise and terror; but one or two of the rasher members raised their voices in its favour; the idea gradually assumed a less frightful aspect; people began to wonder that they had never thought of that old law before; the very men who had that morning appeared still stunned and stupified by the absence of the king, were the first to declaim in the most violent terms against Mazarin and all his proceedings; and the parliament issued a decree with the utmost levity, which, as the chief president declared, was well calculated to produce a civil war. By that decree, the queen was entreated to bring back the young king, and to cause the soldiery to retire from the neighbourhood; the princes and peers were requested to take their seats and deliberate upon the state of the country; and the Prévôt des Marchands was summoned to receive the orders of the parliament for the purpose of securing Paris against attack.

De Retz clearly saw that the parliament would go on beyond the point at which he had proposed to stop them, and that he would himself be obliged to follow the stream. He, therefore, prepared for the worst which could occur—that is to say, civil war—and, yielding to the solicitation of some of his friends, he was about to demand armed aid of Spain itself,

when the sudden and unexpected arrival of the Prince de Condé put a stop to the execution of that part at least of his design.

On the day before his arrival at the court, news of his coming was conveyed to the coadjutor by the prince's intimate friend, the Duke de Chatllion; and De Retz, having no longer any apprehensions, proceeded to Ruel, where he met Condé, and instantly established a communication with him. On the following day, the prince, in return, visited the archbishop, during which visit the coadjutor displayed to him the plan he had formed for driving the cardinal from the councils of the queen, and obtaining for Condé the greatest share of authority in France. While the prince was in Paris, deputies set out from the parliament to present their remonstrance and supplication to the queen, and he found them at Ruel on his return. Anne of Austria had treated them somewhat roughly, and expressed without disguise her opinion of their proceedings. The deputies nevertheless went on, after quitting her, to request Condé to take his seat and deliberate upon the decree against foreigners; but the prince, a part of whose plan, as laid down by De Retz, was not to appear too strongly opposed to the queen or the cardinal, at once refused to do so, told the parliament that they had gone too far, and that he would support the regent if it cost him his life. Getting heated in his discourse, he said a great deal more than he intended, and thus by his natural impetuosity made the parliament believe that he was strongly opposed to, when he was in reality friendly towards them.

The Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Conti replied in the same tone, and the deputies returned to Paris very ill satisfied with their reception by the court. Their evil report was confirmed the next day by an edict of the council, annulling that of the parliament, and prohibiting all deliberations upon the decree of 1617. But the time of apprehension was now passed with that body; the new attack made by the court blew up the smothered fire; written remonstrances were drawn up, preparations for civil war were made, and, in direct opposition to the commands of the court, the next day was appointed for deliberating upon the obnoxious decree.

De Retz perceived that all was lost if this fiery disposition was allowed to break forth, and that, what between the impetuosity of the parliament and the impetuosity of Condé, Paris would be plunged, without adequate preparation, into

actual warfare with the court, supported by the first general in Europe, and by troops whom he had just led from a long career of victory. It was in vain, however, that he now endeavoured to stop the evil; the parliament proceeded in its violent course; and had not the Prince de Condé put a strong check upon his own hasty temper, and endeavoured by moderate measures to avoid a collision, the civil war would have commenced at once. Finding he had gone too far, the prince proposed to the queen—who, in the full intention of attacking Paris, had caused the young Duke of Anjou and the Duchess of Orleans, both ill, to be brought out of the capital—to write to the parliament, directing that body to send deputies to confer with the princes of the blood upon the state of the country and the demands of the people. This was agreed to by the queen; but Mazarin wished to take a part in the consultations. With him the parliament refused to treat; and, Condé secretly favouring his exclusion, he was forced to submit. Deputies were accordingly sent from Paris, and they held conferences in the apartments of the Duke of Orleans with that prince himself, Condé, Conti, and the Duke of Longueville.

A number of points were discussed, though but very little opposition was offered to the parliament, except in regard to what was called by the ominous name of *the question of public safety*, which was brought under consideration by the chief president complaining of the arrest of Chavigni. The princes replied that he had nothing to do with that matter, Chavigni not being a member of the parliament. Molé, however, insisted that by the laws of the land—laws long neglected, indeed, but not the less excellent—no person could be held in prison for more than four-and-twenty hours without being subject to interrogation before his lawful judges. On this point a very sharp and very long discussion took place. The absolute powers for which the kings of France had so long contended seemed at an end if this doctrine were admitted; and before the princes ventured upon granting its recognition, they laid the matter before the queen, who again called into consultation the Count de Brienne. That statesman, though strongly attached to the arbitrary principles of the last reign, could not but acknowledge that the law was just. He declaimed vaguely, indeed, upon its danger to the royal authority; but there was no means of escaping the direct fact that Molé had propounded a doctrine which was both legal

and equitable; and the queen was obliged formally to promulgate a declaration equivalent to our own invaluable act of Habeas Corpus.

The parliament, however, was not satisfied with this or any other concession. Nothing multiplies so much as the demands of a public body, once gratified. Condé and almost all the princes kept up communications with the leaders of the Fronde, by whom they were persuaded to yield to all demands. The Frondeurs took care that the parliament should be supplied with pretexts for making such demands, by stirring up different classes of the populace to tumults; and the queen, finding that she could not depend upon the princes for support in any open resistance to those who assailed her, determined to yield everything that was required. Having done so at once, she imagined that, for some time, at least, she had stilled the greedy clamour of her adversaries. She was still pressed, however, to return to Paris, and on the eve of All Saints day she brought back the young king to the capital.

Before that period the private intrigues of the two rival houses of Condé and Orleans had brought new elements of discord into the royal councils. The Duke of Orleans, some time before, had applied to Mazarin to give the whole influence of the crown of France to his favourite the Abbé de la Rivière, for the purpose of raising him to the Roman conclave. The nomination had been granted, and the favourite of the Duke of Orleans, at the height of his ambition, had devoted himself to the service of the minister, with zeal which relaxed as his remembrance of the benefit decayed. Whether Mazarin suspected him or not of having lately inspired the Duke of Orleans with the ambitious views he entertained, it is certain that the cardinal somewhat cooled towards La Rivière; but, on the return of Condé to the court, an application was made to the minister which perplexed and alarmed him, from the consequences naturally to be apprehended.

The Prince de Conti, Condé's younger brother, had suddenly been seized with the whim of becoming a cardinal. Jealousy of the house of Orleans had some share in the matter; and Condé demanded that the nomination of the Abbé de la Rivière should be revoked, and that the queen should apply to the Pope to bestow the first vacant hat upon the Prince de Conti. Mazarin and the queen remonstrated, and represented the consequences, but in vain. Condé per-

sisted, and the regent and her minister were obliged to yield.

As long as possible, this change in the royal views was concealed from La Rivière; but as soon as it was disclosed to him, he fell into transports of passion and indignation. When his rage had a little abated, however, he saw immediately what plan it was for his interests to pursue, and applied himself to persuade the Duke of Orleans that, in the contempt shown for his wishes and requests, he had received an unpardonable insult, which, if passed over, would bring upon him the scorn of all France. The duke, always easily led, was convinced at once of the justice of his favourite's representations, and, in a conference with the queen, held out threats, and used language which caused Anne of Austria to retort sharply. A severe misunderstanding ensued; and on the return of the court to Paris, the palace of the Luxemburg, then inhabited by the Duke of Orleans, became the rallying point of all the discontented nobles of the court. The conduct of the minister was there publicly scrutinised, all his acts were blamed; the behaviour of the Duke of Orleans was praised to the skies, his indignation in regard to the disappointment of his favourite was declared to be only just and reasonable; and everything was done to urge him forward towards an irremediable breach with the court.

In the mean time he saw himself supported by a great body of the highest nobility of the land. The kindred houses of Lorrain and Guise, the Dukes of Nemours, Candale, Brissac, and all the followers of the race of Vendôme, rallied round him at the Luxemburg; while the Palais Royal, deserted by all but the immediate attendants of the queen, the cardinal, and the Prince de Condé, offered a blank which terrified Mazarin, and disposed him once more to yield. The natural courage of Anne of Austria would have supported her even without the counsels and opinion of Condé, who publicly turned the Duke of Orleans and his party into ridicule, and told the queen to be under no apprehension, as he would answer for the result. Not so, however, Mazarin, who proceeded to negotiate with the Abbé de la Rivière, offering him compensations of every kind: money, clerical dignities, and even the rich archbishopric of Rheims. For a long time, La Rivière would be satisfied with nothing but the cardinal's hat, and refused every proposal that was made to him. Condé, and the queen too, did all that they could

to mark their indifference to the anger of the Duke of Orleans; and, on his part, the duke lost no opportunity of displaying his discontent. Once or twice he presented himself at the court, proceeding thither followed by an immense train of discontented nobles, and accompanied as he went by the shouts and acclamations of the people. On another occasion he suddenly took his departure from Paris, and remained absent during the whole of that day and the succeeding night; while the queen, to mark how little importance was attached to his conduct, caused a play to be performed in the theatre of the Palais Royal. But the triumph of the Orleans party was only the more apparent: the theatre was nearly empty, for not one of the court, we are told, was present, except the immediate dependents of the house of Condé, and the ordinary suite of the queen.

At length, however, the Abbé de la Rivière began to perceive that in the increasing authority and popularity of his master he was very likely to lose that power over him which he had hitherto guarded so jealously; and when the Dukes of Vendôme, Beaufort, and Mercœur openly offered their services to the Duke of Orleans, he became still more apprehensive. He conveyed, however, by means of a third person, a hint to the Duke of Mercœur, that Mazarin might have intentions favourable towards him, and that he would do well to listen to his overtures, while at the same time he assured that nobleman that the Duke of Orleans, in entering into any reconciliation with the court, would not forget the house of Vendôme. Still the Duke of Orleans himself was urged on furiously by most of those who surrounded him, and when he was called upon expressly to state what was, in fact, the price which he put upon his reconciliation with the court, he made such extraordinary demands, that the queen, Mazarin, and Condé himself were not only astonished, but alarmed. One of the chief articles was, the return of the Dukes of Mercœur, Beaufort, and Vendôme; but he intimated at the same time his determination of exercising to the full all the powers and privileges attached to the office of lieutenant-general, which had been conferred upon him by the parliament. By doing so, he would not only have greatly diminished the power of the regent, but he would have reduced the Prince of Condé to the rank of his inferior officer, and deprived him of all independent authority in the army, except such as he derived from the spontaneous obedience

and reverence of the soldiery. Fresh multitudes flocked round him every day; his wife and daughter pressed him vehemently to separate himself entirely from the court; and the party of the regent became astounded at the sight of his popularity and power; but the whole business went on to produce one of those extraordinary, absurd, and unaccountable results, of which the epoch of the Fronde, that great period of inconsistencies, was totally composed.

In consequence of his very power and authority, the Duke of Orleans became frightened, instead of encouraged. He was seized with a sudden panic at his own success and popularity; and, strange to say, the proximate cause of the terror which took possession of him was the effect of the terror with which he inspired his adversaries. Mazarin, the queen, and Condé himself had been terrified at the sudden formation of the overwhelming party which surrounded the Duke of Orleans. His demands were so high, and his tone so determined, that they had imagined his faction to be much more completely organised, its purposes much more clearly defined, and the bond of union much more powerful than was really the case. Nothing had been expected but civil war; and it was supposed at every moment that the Duke of Orleans was marching to the Palais Royal, to carry off the young king. The guards had been brought into the courts of the royal habitation, the sentinels had been doubled at the gates, and council after council had been held to devise means for diverting the storm, or make preparations for meeting it. Everything that took place in the one palace was reported at the other, and the mere defensive precautions of the queen struck terror into the bosom of the duke, who became possessed with the idea that these preparations were made for the purpose of arresting him. In vain the Abbé de la Rivière, who had gradually been gained by the offers of Mazarin and the concessions of the Prince de Condé, threw himself on his knees before the Duke of Orleans, and besought him to go to the Palais Royal as usual, and not hurry on the country into a civil war. Gaston was now plunged into the depths of apprehension, and refused to stir. He even betook himself to his bed, declaring he had got the gout, though he was perfectly well; and would not listen to any of the messages sent by the queen to beseech him to come and enter into terms of accommodation. His folly seemed contagious: the excess of his alarm, instead of reassuring the regent and her

friends, being totally misunderstood, plunged them into more apprehension than even his menaces had done. His affected gout was supposed to be a mere pretext for remaining in direct opposition to the court till his plans for revolt were mature; and, every hour that went by, anxious eyes were turned towards the Luxemburg in expectation of attempts which the Duke of Orleans, torn to pieces by fear and indecision, was the last man on earth either to contemplate or execute.

How this comedy of errors would have ended is difficult to say, had not Mazarin at length employed Le Tellier to unravel the matter; and the jesuitical shrewdness of that minister soon discovered that the purposes of the Duke of Orleans were not quite so terrible as they appeared. By many persons this discovery would have been taken advantage of in order to reduce the claims of the duke to a mere nothing, which indeed might easily have been done by delaying any determination, and leading Gaston on step after step by means of his fears. Le Tellier, however, made more favourable terms with him; for Mazarin was as timid as the duke, and seemed at this period to have set his mind upon gaining time, as the only means of extricating himself from the perils by which he was surrounded. To the Abbé de la Rivière, the queen and the cardinal promised that the absolute nomination of the court of France to a seat in the conclave should still be his, while they attempted to obtain the purple for the Prince de Conti by other means. The Duke de Mercœur was to be received at the court with favour, and the town of Montreuil was to be given to the Duke of Orleans to bestow upon whomsoever he thought fit. Lastly, some vague promises were held out to the Duke of Lorrain, solely for the purpose of saving the honour of the Duke of Orleans, without the slightest intention of ever fulfilling them.

The reconciliation of the duke with the court then became complete, at least in appearance; and this reconciliation was rendered the more gratifying to the minister and the queen by the menacing aspect which the parliament once more began to assume, and which evidently announced that all the concessions that had been made by the court had been received only as encouragement to new demands. Complaints were first made in regard to certain infractions in the king's declaration on some points of very little importance; and, although the chief president did all that he could to stay the

further exactions of the chambers, means were found by the party opposed to the government to mingle almost every question of state policy with their deliberations.

In order, if possible, to put a stop to, or to soften their demands, the queen besought the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé, both to take their seats in the parliament, and by their influence and authority endeavour to curb the fury with which that body seemed inclined to proceed. No two persons could be more opposite than these two mediators. The duke, already popular, was well calculated by his soft and pleasing manners, and by his ready and persuasive eloquence, to lead a multitude, to soften their opposition, and to change the direction of their feelings. Condé, on the contrary, was born to command, to direct and guide. The only eloquence he possessed was of that quick and impetuous character calculated to inflame and to inspire, but not to persuade, or to seduce. Keen, clear-sighted, but vehement and irritable, the long discussions of the parliament tired him, their pretexts and excuses for attacking the government incensed and irritated him, and he saw with disgust and indignation the spirit of faction which now appeared in almost all the acts and words of the assembly. He spoke with haste and with vehemence; he treated the elder members of the body with reprehension and severity, and the younger with contempt and indignity.

In one very stormy sitting, the President Viole talked loudly of the disorders of the state; declared that it was necessary to take the evil by the root, alluding plainly to Mazarin; and informed the chambers that the troops in the neighbourhood of Paris were committing the most extraordinary excesses, especially pointing to the colonel of a regiment which he insinuated had been brought near the capital for the purpose of intimidating the parliament. He was then going on to examine the conduct of the queen towards the captains of the guards, and was entering into many of the details of the royal household, when the Duke of Orleans rose to interrupt him. But the president complained aloud in insolent language, and would not suffer the duke to proceed, till Condé interfered, and rebuked the refractory member in terms of the most bitter severity, commenting upon the proceedings of the parliament in a menacing tone, which clearly showed that he had lost patience with the body he had been first inclined to support.

The demeanour of Condé from this period, indeed, marked so decidedly the disgust which he entertained for the factious

proceedings of the parliament, that De Retz ventured to remonstrate with him on having quitted the plan laid out between them, and attempted to show him that he might, if he pleased, lead the parliament in any direction that he thought best. The keen, strong sense of the young warrior, however, laid open at once the fallacy of the coadjutor's reasonings, and the impracticability of any plan for ruling a body so uncertain and moveable as the parliament. "No," he replied, "no measures can be sure with people who can never answer for themselves from one quarter of an hour to another, because they can never for an instant answer for the bodies to which they belong. I cannot make up my mind to become the general of an army of madmen. No wise man would engage himself in an assembly of this nature. I am a prince of the blood, and do not choose to shake the whole state." He then announced plainly his determination of standing by the government, and offered to De Retz to effect his reconciliation with the court; a proposal which the coadjutor did not think fit to accept. He had other views, indeed, for a few words dropped by Condé in this conversation showed De Retz not only the intention of the court to employ force to reduce to obedience a city which no concessions had been able to tranquillise, but the very manner in which that force was likely to be directed. The coadjutor had hitherto kept up some appearance of moderation; and while he suffered the parliament to act against the court, and the Fronde to excite the parliament, he had himself remained, if not concealed by the puppets he put forward, only half seen, as they passed and repassed before him. He now determined to come forward more openly, and to labour assiduously to oppose everything that the court might undertake with the same arms to which it now threatened to resort.

Civil war had been so longed talked of, so often threatened, and so near a neighbour to every discussion, that the minds of the Parisians had become familiar with the idea. They had gradually lost sight of its horrors, and its aspect seemed but little frightful to eyes accustomed daily to contemplate it Men began to calculate upon it, to wonder when it would break forth, and to expect it daily, so that, ere the commencement of 1649, they would have been very much disappointed if it had not taken place.

Knowing such to be the case, the coadjutor had no great difficulty in commencing his operations. His faction was, in

fact, formed and prepared, and required nothing more than a prince of the blood royal to put himself nominally at the head thereof. De Retz at once turned his eyes to the Prince de Conti, the brother of the great Condé, and, as the first step, made sure of the Duchess de Longueville, who was already dissatisfied with the court, and who possessed the most entire sway over her young and feeble brother. The arrangements were not difficult, and the coadjutor was soon satisfied that, in case of war, the city of Paris would see itself supported by at least one-half of the high nobility of the land, headed by a prince of the blood. It was necessary, however, to keep up undiminished amongst the people that spirit of animosity towards the government which was requisite as a support to the populace under the first evils of a civil war; and during the month of December the coadjutor took means to ensure that the number of libels and satires against the queen and her supporters, but more especially against the minister, should be doubled. Ridicule was one of the chief weapons he employed in opposition to Mazarin, knowing that contemptuous hatred is the most dangerous feeling that can be excited against a minister; and the foreign accent of the cardinal, his ignorance of French manners, and unknown extraction, gave every opportunity for employing such arms against him with the greatest effect. But mere laughter De Retz was not contented with exciting; and now that he had given up all hopes of obtaining his ambitious objects by fair means, and had consequently made up his mind to an irreparable breach with Mazarin, he determined, to use his own words, "to mingle abomination with ridicule, which makes the most dangerous and irremediable of all compounds."

In the mean time the parliament proceeded with furious and inconsiderate vehemence against the government; and in its blind intemperance it forgot to distinguish between those measures which were calculated only to overthrow an obnoxious minister, diminish the overgrown authority of the crown, or restrain an imperious and despotic regent, and those measures which went directly to the disruption of foreign negotiations, the obstruction of all military efforts, and the ultimate depression of the whole country. The treasury was empty, the finances unproductive, many millions had been struck off the taxes, the armies were unpaid, civil and military officers were all in arrear, and yet the parliament chose this moment for forbidding, upon pain of death, any

loans whatever to the government upon the security of the taxes. It was, in fact, saying to the government, "You shall not go on;" and of course it drove the queen and her ministers to despair.

In the mean time Condé had quarrelled openly with the parliament, the love and admiration of the people had turned into hate towards him, and he had now become one of the most eager and determined in urging the queen to punish the insolence of the Parisians. He accordingly proposed to her to carry the young king and the court out of the city, to cause the royal forces to advance, and to cut off all supplies from the capital; while Mazarin, encouraged by Condé, and having no choice left but warfare or destruction, joined that voice, which had always been raised for pacific measures, to the arguments of the victor of Rocroi. The queen needed but little persuasion to adopt views so consonant to her own inclinations; and the only difficulty lay with the Duke of Orleans, who was popular with the parliament, and fond of his popularity. A rumour of the queen's intention spread through the city, notwithstanding every precaution; and a deputation from the parliament waited on the Duke of Orleans, beseeching him not to abandon the city, and to do his best to oppose any evil designs on the part of the court. Torn by contending feelings, that undecided prince hesitated for some time; but the whole influence of the court was now exerted to gain him: the queen visited him in person, and used every argument that she thought might persuade him; Condé, with his burning and impetuous eloquence, assailed him in all the most vulnerable points of his character; and they at length succeeded in gaining his consent to the step they were about to take. As he studiously concealed his determination from his wife and daughter, from fear of the opposition he was sure to encounter, the secret of the queen's plans was not likely to be betrayed at the Luxemburg. At the Palais Royal it was kept by all parties with the most scrupulous fidelity, and though rumours of a remote design to quit Paris were still circulated vaguely amongst the people, yet nobody believed it to be on the point of execution. Even the queen's own immediate attendants were in perfect ignorance of her intention till the very last moment; so that the people of Paris entertained not the slightest suspicion that the regent was about to quit the city at once, till she was actually beyond the walls.

Madame de Motteville, who was herself deceived upon the occasion, gives a *naïve* and extraordinary description of a scene in which the presence of mind of Anne of Austria was most strikingly displayed. All the princes and high officers of the court, as well as Mazarin himself, had gone to partake of a great entertainment given by the Maréchal de Grammont on Twelfth-night. The queen was left almost alone in the palace, and in the evening, when Madame de Motteville went there, she found her with her two children and the Duchess de la Trimouille. Anne of Austria was seated with her arm leaning on the corner of the table, gazing at the sports of the young king. Madame de Motteville placed herself behind the chair, and amused herself with the same contemplation that her royal mistress was enjoying. A moment after, however, Madame de la Trimouille, who was sitting near, made her a sign to bend down her head, and whispered, "There runs a rumour in Paris that the queen departs to-night." The only reply of Madame de Motteville was by shrugging her shoulders, and pointing to the queen, who, with the most perfect apparent calmness of mind, seemed wholly occupied in looking at the sports of her children. Shortly afterwards, Anne of Austria mentioned her intention of spending the next day with the nuns of the Val de Grace; and the little Duke of Anjou made her promise to take him thither with her. Later in the evening, to amuse the young king, and the few ladies in waiting, she caused a twelfth-cake to be brought and divided with the usual ceremonies; the lot of the queen fell upon herself, and causing a bottle of hippocrass to be opened, her maids drank to her as the twelfth-night queen. A number of jests and a good deal of merriment followed; the queen was somewhat gayer than ordinary, and seemed, now that she was abandoned by all the male part of the court, to throw off a great deal of the state of royalty. The attendants even ventured to mention to her the report which was current respecting her departure, and she laughed heartily with them at the suspicions of the Parisians.

At length she retired, as if going to bed; but at that moment one of the principal officers of the household appeared, and the queen spoke to him for a moment apart: after which, she took the pains of explaining to her attendants that she had sent for Mazarin in order to consult with him respecting some charity. This was the first thing at all calculated to awaken suspicion, as she was not in the habit of

giving any explanation in regard to her words or actions. The surmises thus raised were confirmed shortly afterwards by the arrival of Mademoiselle de Beaumont, whose doubts had been excited by something said to her by the wife of the Maréchal de Grammont. The queen, however, went quietly to bed, and her attendants retired to their own houses. No sooner were they gone than the gates of the Palais Royal were shut, and Anne of Austria rose again almost immediately; but the young king and his brother were suffered to sleep till three o'clock in the morning, when they were roused, and, accompanied by the queen and several of the principal officers of the household, descended into the court by a back staircase.

In the mean time the fête at the Maréchal de Grammont's passed off untroubled; and the people, seeing all the princes and even the minister himself proceed to that entertainment, lost the apprehensions they had felt during the day. Immediately after supper, however, the Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé took their leave and retired to their own houses; but Mazarin, on the contrary, remained at play till a very late hour, while some of his most faithful attendants busied themselves in packing up all his precious effects, and prepared his nephews and nieces to follow the court. At length he selected several persons from the company to take a place in his carriage, and retired; but, as he drove on, he informed his companions of what was about to occur, and invited them to accompany the regent.

In the court of the Palais Royal, the queen and the royal children were found already waiting; the families of Condé and Orleans soon after appeared; and all the principal officers and ladies of the court were roused, and received orders to come to the Palais Royal as fast as possible. The Duchess of Longueville and the Prince de Conti were also invited: the former excused herself, however, on account of her pregnancy; but the Prince de Conti joined the rest, and the carriages setting out passed without opposition through the gates, proceeding at once to St. Germain. In consequence of the profound secrecy which had been requisite, nothing had been prepared at St. Germain for the arrival of such a party. Only three small beds, which Mazarin had smuggled out of Paris some time before, were to be found in the palace. The Duchess of Orleans, her daughters, and all the principal persons of the court, were obliged to sleep upon the ground;

and in a few hours straw became so scarce at St. Germain that none was to be procured at any price.

Scarcely was the queen out of Paris, when the tidings began to spread through the city, and everything was dismay, consternation, and confusion. The prospect of a sudden siege, with all the vague and extraordinary apprehensions to which the probability of such an occurrence might naturally give rise, now flashed upon the minds of the Parisians. All who were not decidedly embarked in the faction of the Fronde, or the intrigues of the parliament, terrified at being left exposed to the mercy of a turbulent populace which was likely to be still further irritated by the painful consequences of a strict blockade, hastened to put horses to their carriages in order to make their escape from the city; and nothing was seen but parties flying in every direction.

The people finding themselves abandoned not only by every one who had the slightest chance of a favourable reception at the court, but by every one also whose habits or character rendered them apprehensive of staying in a city over which hung the cloud of a thousand evils, real and imaginary, gave themselves up to all the fury of despair, and insulted, injured, and in various instances attempted to massacre those whom they saw flying. A number of houses were attacked and pillaged; every one in the slightest degree attached to the court was marked for vengeance; and before six o'clock the whirlpool of angry passions, terror, regret, indignation and despair, which raged in Paris, would have gratified its enemies to behold. The vortex, however, of that whirlpool was the archbishopric; and thither everything which floated on the surface of those turbulent waters was inevitably drawn. If the people, however, were furious as well as frightened, the parliament was seized with unmingled terror, and gave such manifest signs of yielding, that De Retz saw himself on the point of being abandoned, and obliged either to have recourse to an alliance with Spain and to rebellion unsupported by any but the lower classes of the people and the enemies of the country, or to submit to terms of pacification which would have put his head at the mercy of Mazarin.

The presence of Madame de Longueville afforded him, during the first day, a sort of security for the conduct of the Prince de Conti, her brother; but when he saw the weak and pusillanimous conduct of the parliament, and that not only all the doubtful members of the high nobility had followed the

court, but that several on whom he had counted as certain supporters had either gone with the regent or followed her immediately, he became greatly alarmed both for Paris and himself. Conti did not return; the Prince de Marsillac had proceeded to St. Germain two hours after the departure of the king; and at length it was discovered that the Duke of Longueville himself, although he had promised his immediate aid to the coadjutor, had turned towards the court as he came up from Normandy, and remained there without giving any intimation of his further intentions.

In the mean time the Maréchal de la Mothe Houdancourt, who had engaged himself on the side of the Fronde, declared that his movements would entirely depend upon those of the Duc de Longueville; and the Duke of Bouillon, by far the most prudent and skilful of the whole party, showed a resolution of holding back till all the other nobles, of whom De Retz had promised him the support, should be ready to afford it to him. How to conduct himself under such circumstances was not a little embarrassing to De Retz, and he despatched at length the Marquis de Noirmoutier upon the difficult and dangerous task of ascertaining the real sentiments of Conti, Longueville, and Marsillac, and, if possible, of bringing those princes back with all speed to Paris.

In the mean time the parliament went on in the feeble course with which it had begun, and despatched deputies to St. Germain to entreat the queen to restore the young king to the capital, couching their message in such terms as to show that they were willing to make every sort of concession in order to avoid the danger they had brought upon themselves. A letter, however, had been left at the Hôtel de Ville, charging the parliament with various high crimes towards the king; and De Retz made use of it, and of every other means, to drive the parliament into courageous resistance even by the excess of its apprehensions. In this the conduct of Mazarin and the queen seconded his views completely. The regent refused to hear the deputies from the parliament, and sent in one of the lieutenants of the garde du corps, bearing a decree of exile to that body, to the great council, and to the chamber of accounts.

During two whole days the parliament hesitated between resistance and submission. The chamber of accounts leaned towards unconditional obedience, and prepared to quit Paris, and proceed to Mantes, the appointed place of its banishment.

Had it been suffered to do so, the contagion of example would have carried every other body at once to the feet of the queen; but De Retz could command the city of Paris if he could not command the parliament, and he took care that passports should be refused to the members of the grand council.

While these transactions were taking place in Paris, other events were proceeding at St. Germain; and the troops were advancing to the support of the court, but no military movements of any great importance could as yet be made. Marsillac, Longueville, and Conti, though none of them supposed to be very well affected towards the government, were, nevertheless, not suspected of any immediate design to embrace the party of the parliament. De Retz, with prudent caution, had avoided mentioning their names to any one except the Duc de Bouillon, and the immediate chiefs of the party of the Fronde; and this prudent caution, in all probability, saved them from being arrested, as all that took place within the walls of Paris was very soon known at St. Germain.

There was a secret, however, in regard to the absence of Conti, with which De Retz himself, during all his life, seems to have been unacquainted, and which only slips into light through the Memoirs of Gourville. During the wars of the Fronde it must be remarked, that no one thought of or strove for, in reality, anything but what he considered the shortest and most direct way to his own private interests; and this produced a sort of network of petty intrigues crossing and recrossing each other in such a manner as to have perplexed even the very persons concerned, and to have left a strange discrepancy in all the different accounts of contemporaries. Thus it may be established as a general rule, that none of the many memoirs which exist upon the subject can be relied upon, except in regard to the events in which the writer himself took an active part; making even then, of course, the usual allowances for passion, vanity, interest, and all the other species of selfishness which the act of recording one's own exploits is sure to bring into action.

When the Prince de Marsillac quitted Paris to follow the court, he did so with the expressed intention of bringing back the Prince de Conti, over whose mind he possessed great influence; but in departing from the capital, he took care to leave behind his dexterous and trusty servant Gourville, with letters for the brother of the President de Longueil; who was

one of six persons appointed by the parliament to manage all secret business. The object of Gourville was to open a negotiation with the leading members of the parliament, for the purpose of absolutely engaging that body to elect the Prince de Conti generalissimo of the Parisian troops in case of his return from the court. The mission of Gourville was speedily terminated; and, having obtained the most positive assurances that that office would be bestowed upon the prince without any hesitation, he prepared to set out for St. Germain.

By this time, however, it was no easy task even to effect his exit from Paris. The deputies which had been sent to St. Germain by the parliament, had made their report of the reception they had met with; the chambers had become convinced that no concessions would be successful in turning away the queen's wrath; and, as De Retz had anticipated, their fear worked itself up into fury. Orders were given for levying troops, and defending the city; and no one was suffered to pass out without strict investigation of his motives. Gourville, however, had taken the precaution of enlisting at once amongst the Parisian troops, and having obtained the post of lieutenant in a company raised by a pork butcher who resided opposite to his master's house, by his connivance, he had a spare horse provided while the company mounted guard at one of the outposts, and galloped off to St. Germain.

Immediately on receiving his report, the Prince de Conti determined to set out with Marsillac and Noirmoutier, and the hour of eleven on that very night was appointed for the attempt. Horses were stationed at a watering-place at a little distance from the palace, and a rendezvous was given to Marsillac and Gourville in the outer court. They proceeded thither accordingly at the appointed hour; but, remembering that the Prince de Conti was lame, Marsillac sent one of his attendants to the watering-place to bring up two horses, and on his return approached the building to make sure that the Prince de Conti did not pass without seeing him; but at that moment some one came out of the palace with a flambeau. As he anticipated nothing less than immediate death if detected in the execution of such an enterprise, Marsillac hastened away to conceal himself, and in the meanwhile Conti and Noirmoutier issued forth and hurried on to the place where the horses had been stationed. Great danger to all

parties was thus incurred; Marsillac remained for some time, fearing every moment to be arrested, and trembling lest that fate had already befallen the Prince de Conti; but at length he proceeded with Gourville and others to the place where the horses had been stationed, and there found that Conti and Noirmoutier had just passed with the Duke de Longueville. Believing, however, that the passage of those two princes might have alarmed the guard, Marsillac and his attendants proceeded by another road; and after having more than once run the hazard of being shot at the outposts of the insurgent city, they at length reached the gates of Paris, where they were admitted after some delay.

In the mean time Conti, Longueville, and Noirmoutier had proceeded to the Porte St. Honoré, where, though it was still night, they found all the agitated multitudes of a city in a state both of insurrection and siege. As soon as they presented themselves with their attendants, instead of being received with open arms, as they expected, they were met with shouts and execrations. Their purpose of joining the Fronde had been carefully concealed, for fear of causing their arrest at St. Germain; and the people at once became impressed with the idea that they came either to attack or to betray Paris. In this state, not daring to return to St. Germain, and not permitted to pass the gates, they were kept waiting till the point of dawn, when a number of torches were seen coming up the street, and to their great relief they beheld the coadjutor and a large body of their friends hastening to give them entrance. It was with difficulty even then that the people could be persuaded to permit their passage; but at length they were convinced by the assurances of De Retz, and suffered the weary princes to be conveyed to the Hôtel de Longueville.

The long delay which had taken place in the return of the Prince de Conti, had in the mean time thrown De Retz into the greatest difficulty. The fierce and determined tone assumed by the court, the refusal of the queen to listen to any message from the chambers, and the preparations daily made for besieging the city, had roused the parliament from the state of supine terror into which it had fallen, and hurried it on to violent and extreme measures. What was called a Chamber of Police had been held; the Duke of Montbazon, as governor of Paris, the *Prévôt des Marchands*, the *échevins* or sheriffs, and the representatives of the six merchant com-

panies of Paris, with deputies from the parliament, the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, met together, and, after a brief consultation, gave orders for levying ten thousand foot and four thousand horse. All the principal corps taxed themselves to support these troops, and the parliament, to justify the extreme measures of the city, and to place a barrier against all retreat, pronounced a decree by which Mazarin was declared by name to be an enemy of the king and of the state, and a disturber of the public peace; and, at the same time, all the subjects of the king were enjoined to pursue him to the death.

In the excitement of the moment no difficulty had been found in raising either money or men, and a large force was immediately on foot, but without any officers of consideration, and, above all, without a general whose rank might render him a rallying point for all the disaffected in the city. Neither to the parliament in general, nor to the people, did De Retz dare confide the name of the person who had been fixed on by himself and a few others to fill that office; and left unsupported, as we have shown, by the Duke of Bouillon and La Mothe Houdancourt, all that he could do was to strive to keep the parliament from any decisive measures till the coming of Conti was ascertained. The sudden appearance, however, of the Duke d'Elbeuf, a prince of the house of Lorrain, had nearly overthrown the whole of the coadjutor's schemes. He came to offer his services to the city and the parliament; and he promised loudly to serve them as faithfully, and lead them as vigorously, as his relation, the famous Duke of Mayenne, had done in the times of the League. The very name of Mayenne, which he used so adroitly, was quite sufficient to carry with it all voices in Paris, so long as one of the house of Bourbon itself was not present to oppose him. After a few minutes' conversation with De Retz, in which he divined at once the coadjutor's design of thwarting him, the duke proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville and made his offers of service.

In the night, however, as we have shown, arrived the Prince de Conti and the Duke de Longueville, who, worn out with anxiety and fatigue, retired to rest; and before they were awake the Duke d'Elbeuf had gone to present himself to the parliament. But De Retz in the mean time had proceeded through the city disguised and on foot, caballing, intriguing, arguing, persuading, for the purpose of creating a party to oppose the pretensions of the Duke d'Elbeuf to the post of

generalissimo. That prince found, however, in the body of the parliament itself, a stronger support than he imagined. The Chief President Molé, and a party of which he was the head, though unwilling to see the body to which they belonged trampled under the feet of Mazarin, were desirous of doing everything to avoid a civil war. Molé was soon informed of the arrival of Conti, and was aware of the pretensions of the Duke d'Elbeuf, and he instantly conceived the design of causing such a schism in the faction of the Fronde as would prevent it from hurrying on the city to violent measures, but would not be sufficient to put a stop to the necessary preparations for defending Paris in case of need. The moment, therefore, that the Duke d'Elbeuf presented himself, Molé supported him with all his strength. To him were joined all that multitude of members who in general followed the dictation of the secret agents of De Retz; but who, in the present instance, were too much terrified at seeing themselves in open rebellion against the court without any recognised commander, to hesitate at electing any person who had real pretensions to that office. In vain Broussel, Longueil, and Viole, raised their voices against the duke; Molé foiled them with their own weapons, pointed out the state of Paris, and the dangers and difficulties of which they had been raving during the last three or four days; and the Duke d'Elbeuf was elected to the post of general by a very large majority.

De Retz now applied himself to destroy the influence of the Duke d'Elbeuf; he obtained information of a correspondence which that prince carried on with the Abbé de la Rivière, which he communicated as a profound secret to four or five hundred persons; he set all the curés in Paris to work in order to root out the duke from the favour of the parishioners; and so well did these sappers and miners labour under his directions, that very visible progress was made before night. At the same time the conclave of satirists, libellists, and couplet manufacturers, which met daily at the archbishopric, was set to work, and no mad dog that ever ran through Paris was more pelted than the Duke d'Elbeuf.

At the meeting of the parliament on the following day, a scene was enacted which had been well prepared by all parties. News had arrived that the post of Charenton had been taken by the Prince de Condé, in order to cut off the supplies of Paris, and the agents of De Retz made the most of such a fact against the Duke d'Elbeuf. The parliament and the

people were depressed by the tidings, but the coadjutor seized this opportunity for carrying the Prince de Conti to the Palais de Justice with vast pomp and magnificence. The sight of the splendid carriage in which he was placed, the number of attendants in gorgeous dresses by which he was followed, co-operated with the impressions which De Retz had taken such pains to spread during the preceding day, both in gratifying the multitude and raising in their eyes the value of Conti's appearance amongst them.

He was now received with shouts and gratulations, instead of suspicion and silence; and, entering the hall of the parliament, he took his place, but without speaking, leaving that task to the Duke de Longueville, who accompanied him. The duke rose immediately, and informed the parliament that he had come to offer them his services, as well as the towns of Rouen, Caen, Dieppe, and the whole of Normandy, of which he was governor; and he begged the parliament to consent that his wife and two children should be lodged at the Hôtel de Ville as a guarantee for the execution of his word. His speech was received with acclamations, which wrung the heart of the Duke d'Elbeuf. But the effect was still greater when the Duke of Bouillon, supported by two gentlemen, on account of his illness from the gout, entered the hall, and, taking his place beside the Duke de Longueville, assured the parliament of his attachment, and added that he should be delighted to serve it in the field, under the command of so high a prince as the Prince de Conti. At those words the Duke d'Elbeuf took fire, and declared, as he had done the day before, that he would not yield the general's baton but with his life. His voice, however, was almost drowned in murmurs, and at that moment what De Retz calls the third relay was brought up. The Maréchal de la Mothe appearing, took his place beside the Duke de Bouillon, and offered his services to the parliament under the Prince de Conti.

The matter was now much advanced, but it was still far from concluded. The opinion of the parliament was changed with regard to the Duke d'Elbeuf, but it could not with any decency deprive him of the authority it had just given, unless he made a voluntary surrender thereof; and De Retz now hastened to show him that the opinions of the people were so much changed also, that, if he did not resign the general's staff, they would snatch it from his hand. While the deliberations were still going on, he proceeded to seek the Duchess

of Longueville and the Duchess of Bouillon, both beautiful and interesting, and both prepared to act a part in the scene he proposed to display. He had already caused the proposal of the Duke de Longueville to be spread amongst the populace; and hurrying the two princesses into a carriage, dressed with studied and artful negligence, but surrounded by a splendid suite, and followed by an immense crowd, he carried them with a kind of triumph to the Hôtel de Ville, where, each holding one of their beautiful children in their arms, they presented themselves upon the steps to the gaze of the multitude which crowded the Place de Grève almost to suffocation, filled every window, and covered the housetops around. De Retz, in the mean time, threw handfuls of money from the windows of the Hôtel de Ville amongst the people, and then, leaving the princesses under the protection of the city, he returned to the Palais de Justice, followed by an immense multitude, whose acclamations rent the skies.

The sounds reached the Duke d'Elbeuf, who was still resisting, and they were interpreted to him as De Retz could have desired. His heart sunk, his firmness gave way, and, expressing himself willing to make any concessions out of respect to the Prince de Conti, he explained away, as far as possible, the angry words he had made use of, and would have yielded even the very rank of general, had not the good sense and good feeling of the Duke de Bouillon preserved him from so degrading a step. As soon as his determination was made known everything was easily arranged. The Prince de Conti was declared *generalissimo of the army of the king; under the orders of the parliament*—such were the soft terms with which they clothed the rugged back of treason—and the Dukes of Bouillon and Elbeuf, with the Maréchal de la Mothe, were declared generals under him.

The intrigues of De Retz had now completely succeeded. In spite of all the efforts of better-intentioned people, a civil war was inevitable. The great and the little, the wise and the foolish, the rash and the prudent, the cowardly and the brave, were all engaged and jumbled up pell-mell on both sides; and the mixture was so strange, so heterogeneous, and so incomprehensible, that ridicule at once took possession of it, and the war began amongst fits of laughter on all parts. That very day the horsemen of Condé came galloping into the suburbs to fire their pistols at the Parisians. The Marquis of Noirmoutier went forth with the cavalry of the Fronde to

skirmish with them, and, returning to the Hôtel de Ville, entered the circle of the Duchess de Longueville, followed by his officers, every one covered by his cuirass, as he came from the field. The hall was filled with ladies preparing to dance, the troops were drawn up in the square, and this mixture of blue scarfs and ladies, and cuirasses and violins and trumpets, formed, says De Retz, a spectacle much more common in romances than anywhere else.

Thus began the wars of the Fronde; and the few scenes that we have given may be considered as their type and characteristic throughout.

CHAPTER VII.

Blockade of Paris—Capture of the Bastille—Burlesque War—Storming of Charenton—Inactivity of the Parisian Forces—Turenne prepares to support the Parliament; is abandoned by his Troops—Negotiations of the Fronde with Spain—The Royal Herald rejected, and the Regent's Letters returned—General State of the Country—Defection from the Fronde—A Spanish Envoy received by the Parliament—Mazarin corrupts some of the insurgent Leaders—Negotiations for Peace with the Court—Treaty signed with Spain—Tumultuous Scenes in the Parliament—Conduct of De Mesmes—Treaty with the Court—Renewed Tumults—Conduct of Mathew Molé—Treaty revised—Peace restored.

While such were the transactions within the walls of the city of Paris, the royal family at St. Germain proceeded to act on the determination which it had formed on quitting the capital—of neither returning, nor entering into any compromise whatsoever, till it had punished the parliament for its past revolt, and reduced its power to nothing for the future. The miserable state to which the whole court was reduced, the want of all clothing, bedding, provisions, and every necessary and luxury of life, did not at all shake this resolution. The remains of the army of Flanders advanced in haste, a small additional body was raised, and Condé, with between six and seven thousand men, undertook the extravagant task of blockading the capital city. Placing his principal forces at Lagny, Corbeil, St. Cloud, St. Denis, and Charenton, he endeavoured, by spreading out parties upon all the principal roads, to stop the entrance of all provisions into Paris.

It so happened, that on the very night during which the Prince de Conti and the Duke of Longueville made their escape from St. Germain, Condé had quitted the court in private, to put himself at the head of a body of troops, for the purpose of seizing upon Charenton; and as soon as the

news of the desertion of his brother and the Duke of Longueville was made known to the queen and the cardinal, they were seized with terror at the idea that Condé himself was of the party. His return successful from Charenton, where he had met with some resistance, reassured the government, and he is said to have promised the queen, in the most solemn manner, not to abandon the cause of Mazarin till he had brought him back in triumph to the capital. The smallness of his forces, however, and the difficulty of raising more without money, embarrassed all his movements; and he was unable to take possession of Brie Comte Robert, so that from that side a supply of provisions was continually, though scantily, poured into Paris; while the fear of exposing the royal family to a *coup de main*, compelled him, after having kept possession of Charenton for some days, to abandon that post, which was immediately seized upon and fortified by the Parisians.

In the mean time, in the capital, commissions had been issued in the name of the Prévôt des Marchands and the sheriffs of Paris, a large body of troops had been raised, the nobles brought their own retainers into the field, each carriage-entrance was taxed to furnish a man on horseback completely armed, and each lesser doorway an infantry soldier. A pecuniary composition, however, was permitted, and plenty of men were found willing to sell their services as substitutes in a war where no one had the slightest hesitation in running away. The first great effort of the Parisians was an attack upon the Bastille, which was summoned by the Duke d'Elbeuf on the evening of the 11th of January. It contained no force capable of resistance; but the governor, Du Tremblay, brother of the famous Capuchin, Joseph, nominal confessor to Richelieu, affected to hold out with the twenty-two soldiers under his command. The ladies of Paris proceeded to the neighbourhood to behold the siege; and so ridiculous was the whole transaction, that the Courrier Burlesque declares, though the cannon fired, and the people talked of a breach, that neither party charged with ball, and that before each gun notice was given to the adverse party to get out of the way.

Du Tremblay, however, after having used what little powder he possessed in entertaining the ladies of Paris with a cannonade, and having endured a few shots in return—which, we are told, effected a breach, though the breach was

never perceptible to any eyes but those that made it—agreed to surrender if he were not relieved within four-and-twenty hours. It was not very probable that any succour would arrive to his aid, and, accordingly, the next day the Bastille was surrendered, and the government thereof bestowed upon old Broussel by the parliament, with a promise of the reversion to his son.

On the following morning, the first regiment of Parisian cavalry was mustered, quaintly described by the satirist of the times as being horse rather than foot, to be the more ready to run away from the royal troops. On the same day, however, a more important addition was received by the forces of the Frondeurs. The Duke of Beaufort suddenly made his appearance in Paris; and all those who were determined to pursue Mazarin to the utmost, were delighted to see the faction joined by a man between whom and the minister such acts had taken place as to render their enmity to all appearance immitigable. The parliament also received him with open arms, investigated the charges which had been made against him, pronounced him innocent, and received him in right of his peerage. Every day afterwards his popularity increased; but that popularity was already so great, that on his sudden appearance in Paris, after his long imprisonment and exile, he is said to have been nearly smothered with kisses by the old women of the markets, with whom he was ever an especial favourite.* He affected their language, their gestures, and their manner; and he acquired for himself the appellation, as we have before mentioned, of *Le Roi des Halles*, or the King of the Markets, in which capacity he certainly distinguished himself much more than as high admiral of France, which he afterwards became.

It was with considerable difficulty that the gallant troops of the revolted city could be brought to meet their adversaries in the field, and in their efforts, they became the laughing-

* The words of the "Courrier Burlesque de la Guerre de Paris" are:

Jamais il ne refusa
Ni harangère, ni marchande,
Jeune, vieille, laide, galande,
Qui lui criaient à qui plus fort
"Baissez-mi, Monsieur de Biaufort."
L'une tendait un vilain moufle,
L'autre rendait un vilain soufle;
L'une étalait ses cheveux blancs,
L'autre ne montrait que trois dents,
Dont l'ébène était suffisante
Pour en faire plus de cinquante.

stock of the opposite party. The difficult task of escorting provisions into the city gave them quite occupation sufficient to expend the stock of courage that they possessed; and large troops of cavalry went out to attack handfuls of the royal forces, and bring in supplies necessary for the subsistence of the city. Although the side of Brie was still open, Paris was considerably straitened, and the higher and the middling classes began to feel their resolution diminish at the prospect of famine. The apprehension of the citizens was increased by a tremendous overflowing of the Seine, which swept away some of the mills by the water side, and drowned a great number of persons and much cattle. Still the troops of the Parisians went out, and returned amidst the shouts and laughter of the very people who sent them forth. A large force was despatched to attack Corbeil, composed of the better order of citizens, described as having their hair curled, silk stockings and shoes on, but very scanty arms and little courage. They proceeded in the midst of a tremendous storm of wind and rain, which diminished their numbers and their courage every moment, till they arrived at the little hamlet of Juvisy, where a small post had been established by the royalists. That post, however, proved quite sufficient to drive back the redoubtable army of the Parisians, who entered Paris on the following morning in such a deplorable condition as to excite the merriment of the Duke of Beaufort himself.

On another occasion, the regiment of cavalry which had been raised by De Retz, who was titular Archbishop of Corinth, went out against the enemy, under the command of the Marquis de Sévigné, and, being encountered near Longjumeau, was driven back into Paris pell-mell by the cavaliers of the Prince de Condé. The defeated enterprise of De Retz's horsemen received from their witty brethren of Paris the name of The first of the Corinthians. The regiments that were furnished by the carriage entrances, called *portes cochères*, obtained for the Marquis de Boullaye, who commanded them, the title of the Général des Portes cochères: and the whole forces brought into the field by the French metropolis, laughed at by their companions, hooted by the people, without any confidence in each other, and taught to believe that cowardice was all that was expected of them, were inspired with but one spirit, which was the spirit of running away. Nevertheless, towards the end of January, the Prince de Conti gained a great advantage by taking possession of Cha-

renton, which Condé had abandoned. This post was immediately fortified by the Parisians; and a determined officer of the name of Clanleu, at the head of a body of three thousand men, chosen from the best troops of Paris, was appointed to defend it. Finding, however, that this strong post gave the Parisians the means of bringing in constant supplies, Condé determined to attack it, and, without raising the blockade in which he held the capital, he drew from each of the different garrisons around a sufficient number of men to make up a force of three thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry.

This small army assembled during the night between the 7th and 8th of February, in the valley of Fecamp; and, early on the morning of the 8th, Condé having put himself at their head, accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, and all the high nobility who had followed Anne of Austria from Paris, he directed his friend the Duke de Chatillon to lead the infantry to the attack of Charenton, while he himself occupied the heights with his cavalry, in order to fight the insurgents if they came to support that post. The Parisian troops, however, were not at all disposed to fall under the lash of Condé. They issued forth, indeed, to the number of more than ten thousand, with all their generals at their head, and De Retz himself, with pistols at his saddle-bow, displaying more determination than many of the others. Long consultations were held amongst their leaders as to whether they should attack Condé, but during those consultations Chatillon marched forward upon Charenton, and the battle on that side began. The noise of musketry and artillery was not calculated to inspire the troops of the Fronde with fresh courage; and although they more than tripled the number with which Condé was prepared to oppose them, all the generals, with the exception of De Retz, decided that it would be madness to attack the prince, in order to relieve Charenton. They were probably well informed of the exact quantity of courage possessed by the soldiery, and they stood and looked on composedly while the severe fight which took place was going on at Charenton, without making the slightest effort to assist Clanleu. That officer, however, defended the post that had been assigned to him with the most gallant determination; the regiment of Navarre, which led the attack, was driven back with severe loss; and for a time it appeared doubtful whether the troops of Condé would not be ultimately repulsed. Chatillon, however, at length put himself at the head

of the reserve, and led it up to the entrenchments, which were carried at the point of the pike, almost at the same moment that the duke himself received a musket wound, from which he died on the following day. The opposite commander, also, Clanleu, as well as most of the officers who supported him, died in defence of Charenton; or rather, in order to prove that some of the troops of the Fronde possessed courage and determination equal to their adversaries, for at the moment that Clanleu was killed, Charenton was absolutely in the hands of the royalists. His determination was to die: the troops of Chatillon had been successful in front, and some battalions of infantry had made their way round through the gardens, and took their enemies in flank. The marquis, however, and his supporters, still resisted, and a number were killed by Clanleu's own hand. At length, one of the queen's soldiers called to him to surrender, and offered him quarter, but was cut down on the spot by Clanleu, who was immediately put to death by those who followed. The only person of distinction that saved himself from the bloody fight of Charenton was the Marquis de Coignac, who, after having contended gallantly to the last, sprang upon a large detached piece of ice which was floating down the river, and which bore him in safety within the lines of the Parisians.

Thus ended the day of Charenton, a day which tended more to depress the Parisians than anything which had occurred during the course of the siege. It is true that their forces had hitherto done nothing which showed anything like courage or determination, and that the gallant resistance of Clanleu might have set an example of conduct which would have rendered the operations of Condé much more difficult. But, on the other hand, the troops of Condé had previously had no opportunity of displaying the advantages of discipline and experience; and the depressing effect of the loss of Charenton, of the probable stoppage of all supplies from a quarter where they had previously been procured in abundance, and of the total failure of the most gallant effort that had yet been made on the side of the Parisians, was much greater than the inspiring effect of Clanleu's example.

The conduct of the generals, too, had been anything but such as inspires confidence. Thirty thousand men had been under arms in Paris during the night of the 7th and the morning of the 8th; more than ten thousand had gone forth to relieve Charenton; and yet, though Condé occupied the heights of St. Mandé with only three thousand, the French

generals had done nothing but deliberate and look on, while Charenton was taken before their eyes. The reasons assigned by the Parisian generalissimo for not having risked a battle with treble the forces of his adversary, was only fit to cause laughter, or create despair. "Having held a council of war," said the Prince de Conti, in giving a full account of his expedition to the assembled chambers,—"Having held a council of war, to determine whether we should give battle or not, it was unanimously resolved not to do so, and not to hazard the life of a great number of infantry composed of the burghers of Paris, who had gone out under arms (and whose courage we cannot sufficiently praise), for fear of making their wives and children cry if some of them should have been lost, which must inevitably have happened."

Nor was the motive forced upon the generals by the parliament much more reasonable or dignified, though it assumed an air of policy and strategetic knowledge somewhat above the Prince de Conti's compassion for the citizens' wives. "There is much reason to believe," said the journal of the parliament, "that the Prince de Condé only made this attack to draw the Parisians into a battle, promising himself to defeat them." The journal goes on to insinuate, that in this skilful design Condé would have been successful, had he not been prevented by the foresight of the Parisian generals, who were pertinaciously resolved not to fight at all. The Parisians laughed at their generals, as well they might, but were not the less astounded by the loss of Charenton, notwithstanding all the fair reasons of their generals; and the Prince de Condé had a monkey dressed up as a generalissimo, and mounted on horseback, to represent his deformed brother, the Prince de Conti.

The leaders of the Fronde, however, found that they were losing ground. The people became dispirited, and it was plain that, unless some advantages could be obtained, Paris could not hold out much longer. Accordingly, in order to restore some degree of confidence, the Duke de Beaufort went out, two days after the battle of Charenton, in order to meet Noirmoutier, who was escorting a large quantity of provisions from the side of Etampes. Beaufort had stopped, however, on the way, to attack the mills of Charenton, when he received information that the Duke de Grammont was advancing with all speed to cut off the convoy. He accordingly hastened forward to meet Noirmoutier, but was attacked, and at first driven back to Vitry. At the entrance

of that village he made a sudden halt, wheeled, charged the enemy, and, after a severe struggle, forced them to retreat. Several officers fell on both sides; and the report was industriously spread that Nerlieu, or Noirlieu, commanding the regiment of Mazarin, had been killed by the hand of the Duke of Beaufort himself, though many writers assert that that officer fell at a great distance from the Parisian general.

In the mean while, the news spread to Paris that Beaufort was engaged with the enemy; and the spirit of the Parisians was raised in defence of their favourite. Men, women, and children ran to arms; and in less than an hour thirty thousand persons, of all ages and sexes, were upon the road, armed with swords, halberts, spears, spits, knives, and everything that they could snatch up in order to bear their little portion of succour to the duke. A tremendous massacre might have been the consequence, had any large force been really opposed to Beaufort; but the multitudes who thus went out to offer their throats to the enemy, found their favourite returning victorious; and he and the convoy were escorted into Paris at night in the midst of illuminations and shouts of "Long live the Duke of Beaufort!"

While the populace, and even the principal citizens, were alone moved to hope or fear by the passing transactions which took place before their eyes, and were now elevated, and now depressed, as this party or that had the advantage in a skirmish, as a herd of cattle was delayed, or the loaf of bread became a sous cheaper, the chief leaders of the Fronde had fixed their eyes afar, and regarded the incidents which were taking place in Paris and its neighbourhood principally in relation to the effects produced upon other events by which the ultimate result of the contest was likely to be determined. The resistance of Paris to the will of the regent, and whether that resistance was successful or not, was, of course, a principal object; but other means had been taken to give it success, much more likely to prove effectual than the halberts and spits of the lower classes, the black mantles and inexperienced swords of the burghers, or the constitutional bravery, levity, and licentiousness of the nobles and their followers. Negotiations had been opened with Spain —with the declared enemy of the country; but, before we proceed to notice particularly the transactions of the insurgent city with the Spaniards, we must speak of another means of strengthening themselves, which the leaders of the Fronde had adopted.

The words rebellion and treason are generally used to convey very nearly the same idea; but the difference between them was immediately felt by many of the leaders of the Fronde, when it was proposed to ally themselves to the Spaniards, and to call in the forces which had so lately fought against France itself, to aid in their opposition to the government of the regent. They were already in rebellion, it is true, but the step proposed, they felt, would be treason. No such motives, however, operated to deter any of them from entreating the famous Turenne to bring the victorious forces with which he had just swept the whole of Bavaria, to support the parliament and city of Paris in resisting the will of the sovereign. The principal part of his troops were Germans, it is true, but they had never fought against France; and, in calling them to their aid, the Parisians made a nice but strong distinction between rebellion against their government and treason towards their country. Every effort, therefore, was employed to induce Turenne to march as fast as possible to Paris with his army, and give his full support to the faction in which his brother, the Duke of Bouillon, had already engaged. At the same time, however, the queen, the Prince de Condé, and Mazarin, wrote letter after letter to the great commander, beseeching him to remain faithful to his king, and explaining away, as far as possible, the tergiversation and procrastination which the court had shown in regard to the long-promised compensations for the principality of Sedan, which was the ostensible cause of the Duke of Bouillon's junction with the Frondeurs.

The person charged with these letters was the famous Hervart, a celebrated financier and afterwards comptroller of finance. He was directed to second all the arguments which had been used with Turenne, and was requested to pay him, if possible, the arrears due to the Weimarian troops, being likewise empowered to place in his hand various commissions or provisions to the government of Alsace, and several other districts. Turenne, however—already discontented to the highest degree with Mazarin, urged by his brother, and by many of his friends in Paris, as well as a little jealous, perhaps, of Condé, and not unwilling to measure swords with him—replied coldly to all the overtures of the court; and though he promised not to violate his fidelity to the king, those words were subject in that day to so many

interpretations, that it was not improbable the great Protestant general would seek a political absolution for the breach of his oath, from the parliament of Paris, with as much devotion and faith in its efficacy as any true Catholic would display in a papal indulgence.

At length Turenne began his march, and, assembling his principal officers, he announced to them his intention of advancing upon Paris, but professed, as usual, the most pacific motives in the warlike step he was about to take. He declared that he was neither going to support the parliament against the king, nor the minister against the parliament; but that the object of his march was to induce the court to re-enter Paris, to make the cardinal give an account of his administration, to put an end to the troubles of the capital, and last, not least, to cause the arrears of the Weimarian pay to be discharged, and the French troops under his command to be honoured and rewarded. At the same time he published a manifesto to this effect, which left no further doubt of his intentions.

But while he had temporised with the court, Turenne had most unwisely suffered the emissaries of Mazarin to approach much too near to his army. Hervart, loaded with all the gold that could be mustered, was also furnished with a general order to the forces, forbidding them to recognise any further the authority of Turenne. A number of the principal officers had been gained early, three hundred thousand crowns were distributed amongst the troops, larger sums still were promised, the general order was published as a comment upon the commander's manifesto, and Turenne found himself in a moment deserted. Six regiments marched at once to Brisac, two others proceeded to Philipsburg; and Turenne, perceiving not only that he could not depend upon a man that remained, but that he was likely to be as easily arrested as any ensign of infantry, spoke a few words to the regiments that remained with him, in praise of that obedience to the royal authority which he had prepared to throw off, and bidding them seek Count d'Erlach, who had been appointed by the court to command them, he himself fled into Holland, accompanied by only twenty of those whom he had so frequently led to victory.

In the mean while, the leaders of the Fronde remained in full expectation that Turenne would be successful with his army; and finding that the parliament was not only gradually

falling into a state of tranquillity, but showed a disposition to make peace with the court if it could be done upon reasonable terms, De Retz, the Duke of Bouillon, and some others resolved to strengthen their faction by an alliance with Spain, and opened a communication with the Archduke Leopold, who had been appointed governor of the Low Countries. Fuensaldana, who acted as his minister, gladly seized the very first overture, and sent a monk named Arnolfini to confer with the coadjutor and the Duke of Bouillon, and to investigate what were the desires, purposes, and capabilities of those two leaders. Arnolfini was well adapted for the office he undertook; shrewd, cunning, capable and ready, as well as competent, to play any part that it might be necessary to assume. He was furnished with powers from the archduke; but those powers were not sufficient, and after long consultations between Bouillon and De Retz, it was determined to keep the arrival of the monk secret for a time, to manufacture an address from him to the chambers, to strip him of his gown and cowl, to dress him up as a Spanish cavalier of importance, and to present him under this appearance to the generals, the people, and the parliament, as a regular envoy from the archduke. The name of Arnolfini did not suit the ears of the coadjutor and the Duke of Bouillon, and they determined upon calling him Don Josef de Illescas. The presidents of Longueil and Bellièvre are supposed to have composed for him a new letter of credence; while Bouillon and De Retz drilled him to their purposes, and prepared him for the part he had to play.

Their measures were hurried to a consummation, however, sooner than might have otherwise been the case, by an event which, opening to the Parisian parliament the opportunity of effecting all that they could desire, by means of negotiation, bade fair to frustrate the views of all the interested leaders of the Fronde, and leave them at the mercy of the court they had offended. This was the arrival at the gates of Paris of a herald from the king on the morning of the 12th of February, 1649, covered with the tabard of his arms, and charged to deliver three packets from the regent to the Prince de Conti, to the parliament, and to the Prévôt des Marchands.

It may be necessary, however, in the first place, to take a general view of the state of events which had produced such a change in the feelings of the court as to induce the minister to send a herald to communicate with that very rebellious

city, the deputies from which the queen had even refused to hear, in the beginning of the siege. This change was produced by various causes, some favourable to the court, and some favourable to the Parisians, but all tending to lead Anne of Austria to treat with the revolted subjects of her son. Although the cause of the Parisian parliament had been adopted at once by a great many of the provincial parliaments, and although certain towns had shown a disposition to revolt, the spirit of insurrection had not spread through the land by any means so generally as the leaders of the Fronde had endeavoured to make the populace of Paris believe. The Duke of Longueville, who had proceeded into Normandy immediately after the commencement of the siege of Paris, had written to announce that he had complete command of the city and parliament of Rouen, and doubted not that he should be able to bring the whole of the rich province of Normandy over to the interests of the Fronde. He spoke, also, of marching to the aid of the capital with a thousand gentlemen and three thousand soldiers. This was immediately magnified by De Retz and his companions into an army of ten thousand men already on its march to the relief of Paris. Provençe was represented by the same party to be in a complete state of revolt, the parliament of Aix was regarded as making common cause with that of Paris, and a large force was confidently expected from that quarter. The same was the case with Bordeaux and Guienne, with Rennes and Brittany. Such had been the expectations with which the spirits of the more respectable citizens of Paris had been kept up in the commencement of the siege; but such expectations proved fallacious, and every day tended to dissolve the illusion. The promised miracles of the Duke of Longueville remained unperformed; the armies of Provençe and Guienne were neither seen nor heard of; the apprehension each day of starving the next was unpleasant to a body of men not totally detached from the small enjoyments of life; and the daily calls made by the parliament upon their purses proved very troublesome and importunate to personages who, being accustomed to gain by small sums, did not like to lose large ones without any prospect of compensation. In short, the middle classes of Paris, as well as a large portion of the higher classes, and even some members of the Fronde itself, began to grow heartily tired of the civil war, and desirous of a peace with the court upon any terms. In these views a number of the

most talented members of the parliament coincided, and the spirit by which they were actuated was spreading rapidly, though silently, to all the other members of that body.

These facts soon became well known at the court, and the prospect of making an advantageous peace was, of course, agreeable to a large body of gentlemen and ladies who, after having been accustomed to all sorts of luxuries for many years, were now obliged to sleep upon straw, and to trust each day to the chapter of accidents for the dinner of the next. But that which rendered the queen and her minister the more disposed to seek for a termination of the war by a compromise with the parliament was the little probability there existed of arriving at that termination by any other means. The army of the court had, indeed, increased considerably, but it was still altogether inadequate to keep up a strict blockade upon the capital. At the same time the Parisian forces had been more than trebled. Condé, as De Retz said, could not be everywhere, and each day large bodies of the Parisian horse went out and returned with convoys of provisions, in spite of all that could be done to prevent such a result.

At the same time the infectious spirit of the Fronde was communicating the disease to various high officers, the governors of important fortresses on the frontiers; and, holding their honour and fidelity at nought, they were preparing to put at the disposal of a faction in the capital the cities they would have held out to the last drop of their blood against a foreign enemy, only making terms with their mistresses or their friends as the price of their capitulation. "Peronne est à la belle des belles," wrote the Maréchal de Hoquincourt to Madame de Montbazon, and the strong fortress of Mezières was promised to De Retz by Bussy Lamets. Nor was this all. In order to strengthen the army of the Prince de Condé, a number of the garrisons on the frontier had been left in a state of such weakness as to have no doubt that, if the war should be protracted into the spring, nothing but misconduct on the part of the adversary would prevent the whole of the late conquests of France from being snatched from the weak grasp in which she held them. All these motives induced the whole court to look anxiously to any means of opening a communication with the parliament which might end in bringing about a peace, and the despatch of the herald to Paris was the result.

His appearance at the gates threw De Retz into a state of

consternation and embarrassment. He knew not what was in the letters, but he well knew that the parliament was inclined to seize every means of accommodation, and his great object was to prevent such being the case. Under these circumstances he persuaded old Broussel that the despatch of the herald to the gates of Paris was a trap laid by Mazarin; that heralds were never sent but to enemies; and that, therefore, if the parliament received him, it would at once acknowledge that it was itself the enemy of the king. This doctrine was expounded by Broussel to the parliament, who adopted it blindly. Those who sought to oppose the proposition of sending back the herald were hissed down at once; but, at the same time, some wise member of the parliament added to the decree for rejecting the queen's letter (which was done under the pretence of respect and loyalty), that a deputation, on receiving a safe conduct, should be sent to wait upon the regent, in order to explain the motives of the parliament in refusing to give admission to her messenger, and, further, to receive her majesty's commands.

Those simple words were the destruction of all De Retz's plans, and the accomplishment of all the wishes of Mazarin; for the deputation from the parliament afforded at once an opportunity for commencing negotiations, without showing in the slightest degree that the queen sought an accommodation with the insurgent capital, which was all that the cardinal desired.

Perceiving what was likely to ensue, De Retz hurried his movements to counteract it; and the next move in the game was the production of the metamorphosed Capuchin, who, in the borrowed plumage of a Spanish cavalier, appeared at midnight on the Parisian stage, and proceeded, as if post-haste, to the house of the Duke d'Elbeuf, who had been kept in ignorance of the pantomime part of the affair preceding, and took him for a pure and unadulterated envoy, sent to him by his magnanimous friend the Archduke Leopold. He received the honour of the envoy's visit as a high compliment; but when he had got him, he seems to have been somewhat puzzled what to do with him. He invited all the principal leaders to dinner on the following day, and then, with great airs of mystery and importance, communicated to the whole party the arrival of the envoy, and the magnificent offers of the archduke.

Those who were acquainted with the previous steps laughed at the success of the first part of their plan, and having com-

pletely taken in their own companions, proceeded to play off the same farce upon the parliament. This, however, was the most important step of the whole affair. Bouillon, though eagerly urged to enter into a treaty with Spain both by his wife and De Retz, though seeing that the ultimate safety of his party must depend upon such a measure, dared not take one step therein unsupported by the parliament, well knowing that no scruple would prevent that body from proceeding against the leaders of the Fronde for treason if they went one step in rebellion beyond itself. Could the parliament, however, be induced to receive, recognise, and treat with, in any shape or manner whatsoever, an envoy from the archduke, the avowed enemy of France, it put handcuffs on its own hands, and debarred itself for ever from the power of striking those who took its conduct for their precedent, although they might go a thousand degrees further than it intended.

The Duke d'Elbeuf put it upon the Prince de Conti, as generalissimo, to announce to the parliament the arrival of the envoy from the archduke, and to demand his admission. De Retz, though by this time he had obtained with great difficulty a seat in the parliament during the absence of his uncle, always kept himself back in the commencement of delicate affairs, reserving his powers to support vigorously the purposes he had first propounded by the mouths of others. No sooner had the Prince de Conti made the proposal of admitting the envoy, than the president De Mesmes, a partisan of the court, rose and burst forth against the prince with a torrent of eloquence that shook and moved the whole assembly. Conti was thunderstruck and silent; but De Mesmes, carried away by his own passionate oratory, made use of a few words, which, adroitly taken hold of by De Retz, raised the *esprit de corps* of the parliament at once against him. He spoke of the scandal of admitting an envoy from the enemies of the country, when they had just sent away a herald from their king *upon the most frivolous pretexts*.

"How?" cried De Retz, starting up. "You will permit me, sir, not to look upon those motives as frivolous which the parliament has consecrated by its solemn decree." Those words were enough; the tide was turned, loud murmurs rose from every part of the hall, and De Mesmes could never recover his advantage.

The question, however, was still debated furiously: so nearly were the parties balanced by this time in the parliament itself, that during the whole of the day it was doubtful

which way the decision would turn, and a very small matter would have determined it for either side. That which at length did determine it was hunger. De Retz engaged a number of the young counsellors to keep the parliament occupied with speeches, which he acknowledges to have been utterly impertinent, for a great many hours; none of the members had dined, the greater part of them had not breakfasted, and the gnawings of the sharp-toothed fiend of a strong appetite gradually produced an impatience to settle the question one way or another, which, hour by hour, and minute by minute, grew into an impatience to settle it any way. It seems that the party of the Fronde had the strongest stomachs; and as they persevered in demanding that the envoy should be admitted, he was admitted when their colleagues could resist no longer.

He was received with high respect, made to sit and cover himself; and after his powers were read, which proved to be very general and indefinite, he rose and made a speech in explanation of those powers, assuring the chambers that the archduke had received overtures from Mazarin of the most favourable kind, which he had rejected out of respect for the parliament. He went on to say that the governor well knew the frontier places of France to be almost without garrisons; but that out of reverence for the sapient body which his envoy was then addressing, he refrained from attacking them; and the speech ended with magnificent offers, of troops, and everything that could be desired. Eighteen thousand men, the messenger assured his auditors, were on the frontier ready to succour the parliament and city of Paris; he proposed to enter into immediate conferences with the chambers, to render them the arbiters of peace, and to suffer them even to put French officers over the troops which were to be sent to support them.

The speech of the deputy was ordered to be taken down, and signed by himself; and it was afterwards determined that a copy thereof should be borne to the queen-regent by a solemn deputation, who were charged to assure her of the fidelity of her devoted parliament, and to beseech her to give peace to Europe by treating with the Spaniards, and peace to France by raising the siege of her city of Paris. This having been resolved, and the envoy distinctly received and treated with by the parliament, De Retz and his fellow-conspirators retired well satisfied, and immediately commenced a negotiation with Spain on their own part, through the medium of

the Duchess of Chevreuse, who was then at Brussels, and of various other agents well practised, during the last reign, in carrying on treason.

It is curious, however, to observe how frequently De Retz, with all his subtlety and skill, overreached himself. His spirit of intrigue, though keen, clearsighted, quick and decided, was too active and bustling a spirit to compete with the quiet, tranquil, persevering subtlety of Mazarin, who, with the help of his good friend Time, profited by every fault which the coadjutor committed, to rectify and recover from his own.

In the business of the herald, De Retz thought, to the end of his life, that he had effected a very admirable manœuvre; but the contents of the herald's letters have never been known. It is very possible that, had they been received, matter would have been found in them to inflame the parliament once more against the court; but by refusing to receive them, and then by deputing persons to explain to the regent its motives for so doing, the parliament opened that communication with the court which it was so much the coadjutor's object to prevent. By inducing, or, if we may so call it, forcing the parliament to receive the Spanish envoy, De Retz, while he gained one point, lost another of great importance. All the more moderate members of the parliament, all who entertained any doubt as to the course they were pursuing, were placed at once in direct opposition to the party who had not been contented without adding treason to rebellion; and many even who had voted for the reception of the envoy under the pressure of hunger, excitement, and commotion, began to ask themselves, as soon as they had dined and grown cool, whether any pretext would be sufficient to justify the parliament of Paris in calling in foreign and hostile troops to fight the native forces of their sovereign, and make war upon him at the gates of his capital. There can be little doubt that the business of the Spanish envoy did more harm to De Retz and his views, both with the parliament itself and the more respectable classes of citizens throughout Paris, than any other act during the whole siege.

At the same time the wise and prudent conduct of the queen and Mazarin at this period tended greatly to overthrow the power of the faction opposed to them by depriving it of its greatest support, the countenance of the parliament. Having reduced the city of Paris, and the chambers them-

selves, to look anxiously for peace, and having raised up a separate feeling between the Fronde and the middling classes of the capital, the court no longer maintained the harsh tone that it had at first assumed, but showed itself perfectly disposed to adopt mild measures and grant reasonable terms. On the same day that the envoy from the archduke was received by the parliament, the deputies who had been sent to the queen to explain the exclusion of the herald returned, and made so favourable a report, that the well-intentioned members, with the chief president at their head, resolved to pursue the negotiation with the court, in spite of all opposition. Every rash and violent act to which the parliament was afterwards excited by an unnatural pressure from the Fronde only determined those members to follow their course with the greater perseverance, and, even by the reaction produced, daily brought more and more persons over to the pacific party.

De Retz and Bouillon, Longueil, and others, saw clearly that this was the case, and were thrown into the greatest anxiety in consequence. The most violent measures were proposed and discussed;—a general popular rising was suggested; the imprisonment of the parliament in a body, or the expurgation of all those members opposed to the Fronde, was advised: but in all these propositions so much danger, difficulty, and uncertainty were descried by the leaders themselves, that while they discussed the means of stopping the pacific measures towards which the parliament was hurrying, they failed to decide upon any effectual plan. In the mean while, with wise perseverance, the deputies from the parliament continued to negotiate with the court, concealing every obstacle which was thrown in their way by the government, palliating or softening every obnoxious expression made use of by the regent or her counsellors, and magnifying and ornamenting every word or proposal which could soften the way for an accommodation, and tranquillise the ruffled and irritable spirits of the parliament.

This became more and more evident to the leaders of the Fronde every day; and while Mazarin thus laboured effectually to separate the parliament from the Fronde, he proceeded to attack the Fronde itself, in its very heart, by a means natural to his character and familiar to his habits,—that of corruption. Various excuses were found for sending in different messengers to the capital, who were instructed

to deal underhand with several influential members of the party, in order to bring them over by hopes, fears, or doubts, to the interests of the court. The Duke de Rochefoucault, it would appear, was soon gained; and had he not been severely wounded and unable to pursue the necessary intrigues, would in all probability have brought over at once the Duchess de Longueville and the Prince de Conti. Madame de Montbazon was also tampered with, but without the same degree of success.

In the mean time, the leaders of the Fronde, unaware of what had taken place, looked confidently for the arrival of Turenne, at the same time continuing to treat with the archduke; and the plan laid down by De Retz was to march the Parisian army out of the city in order to take up such a position as to facilitate the constant entrance of provisions into the capital, till the armies of Turenne and the archduke should arrive, and place such a force at the disposition of the Fronde as would put the government entirely at its mercy. Had these anticipations been realised and this scheme executed, the parliament also would have been obliged to succumb to the authority of the faction: but I have already shown how one part of the scheme was defeated, and the difficulty of executing the other was found much greater than had been expected. De Retz, however, used all his skill and influence with the people, which was enormous, to terrify the parliament in regard to the treaty which it was so eagerly disposed to negotiate, taking care indeed not to excite the populace to such a degree as to render them unmanageable. At the same time, the generals of the army, in order to mark that they disapproved the proceeding of the chambers, refused to send deputies to the place of conference, declaring in a tone of high disinterestedness, that, provided the parliament was satisfied and the rights of the people secured, they were ready at once to lay down their arms.

The time till the 4th of March was passed in negotiations preliminary to those which were to determine the terms of pacification. On that day, however, the regular conferences commenced at Ruel, and the Parisian army, marching out of the city, took up a position in the neighbourhood of Villejuif, between the Marne and the Seine, which had been skilfully chosen by the Duke of Bouillon, whose military talents, though inferior perhaps to those of his brother Turenne, were certainly of a very high order.

The next day, a new envoy arrived from the Low Countries, of a much more dignified character than the former. This was Don Francisco Pizarro, who was furnished with full powers from the archduke to treat with all parties in the capital, and to offer a *carte blanche* as to the terms; so eager was Spain to encourage and keep up the revolt of the capital. At the same time arrived the gratifying news that Turenne had positively declared against the court, and that he was about to march upon Paris.

All this raised the spirits of the leaders of the Fronde, but had very nearly hurried them on to enter into immediate engagements with Spain without the sanction of the parliament. De Retz, however, saw clearly the consequences which would ensue; that is to say, that if they did as they proposed, called the Spaniards into Paris, and raised the populace against the parliament, the generals might be for one day tribunes of the people, but the next day would become the lackeys of Count Fuensaldaña. The Duke of Bouillon, on the contrary, seemed determined to hurry them to such steps; but Mazarin, who learned all that was proceeding in Paris, had not yet heard the success of his own measures with regard to the army of Turenne; and, in much apprehension for the result, he renewed his intrigues in Paris, offering to all individuals immense advantages if they would come over to the court. His proceedings in this respect entangled the tangled web of intrigues going on in the capital even more than before. The Duke d'Elbeuf and his family, who sought for nothing on earth but money, were bought in a piece by Mazarin. Madame de Montbazon, gained at length, shook the resolution of the Duke of Beaufort; Conti and Madame de Longueville wavered; La Motte looked round for the greatest advantages to be gained; and De Retz and Bouillon, who were the only ones that held out, were opposed to each other in regard to the measures to be taken: Bouillon being determined, as we have shown, to sign a separate treaty with Spain without the consent of the parliament; while De Retz, in addition to his former objections to that measure, saw that almost all his companions entertained vague purposes of soon reconciling themselves to the court, and yet forcing the greatest possible personal advantages from the grasp of Mazarin, while covered by the shield of Spain.

The treaty, however, was agreed upon, and signed, notwithstanding the opposition of De Retz; and in the mean while,

the deputies from the parliament proceeded to negotiate with the court, and hastened all their measures, in consequence of the means which the Fronde took to prevent them. Whenever the deputies returned from Ruel, they were met by the hisses and hootings of the people; and in the parliament itself De Retz took care to embarrass all their negotiations with daily demands, frequent tergiversation, and speeches calculated to irritate the queen and Mazarin, and to create suspicions in regard to the purposes of the parliament. The generals, at the same time, while still declaring that they were ready to lay down their arms as soon as the parliament was satisfied, nevertheless proceeded to assume a more and more determined attitude against the court; they selected and drilled their soldiery better than before; they increased the pay of the army, and, in the formidable position they had assumed between the Seine and Marne, menaced alike the government and the parliament. De Retz, too, carried on his opposition successfully in all quarters: excited the passions of the people more and more, and stimulated the more furious members of the parliament till they passed a resolution for revoking the powers given to the deputies.

As soon as this fact was announced, both the court and the deputies themselves saw that all was lost unless some fortunate accident changed the feelings of the parliament. The noble determination, however, of one of the deputies, the president De Mesmes, saved the country from a prolongation of the horrible state into which it had fallen, although the faults of others soon after replunged it into civil war and confusion. The terror with which Mazarin was inspired by the determined attitude assumed by the Parisian generals was not without cause. The position which had been chosen by the Duke of Bouillon, between the Seine and the Marne, was held by even Condé himself to be impregnable by any force that the court could bring against it. Ten thousand well-disciplined troops occupied that spot, the archduke was upon the frontier with double the number, and reports were not wanting to make the minister believe that the Spanish army was already on its march for Paris. At the same time, no news had yet reached him regarding the success of his measures with the army of Turenne; and there was the greatest probability that ere ten days more had passed forty thousand veteran soldiers, engaged to support the Fronde, would be

within a day's march of Paris, to which force nothing could be opposed but the small body of men under Condé.

Mazarin did not hesitate to reveal his apprehensions to the president De Mesmes, and to add, that he doubted not that the generals would force from him such conditions as would leave the crown but a shadow of power in France. De Mesmes saw the situation of the country in the same light, and replied, "Since things are in this state, we (the deputies) must risk our persons to save the state—we must sign the peace; for after what the parliament has done to-day, there is no medium, and perhaps it will recal us to-morrow. We risk everything: if we are disavowed, they will shut the gates of Paris against us, they will put us on our trial, they will treat us as prevaricators and traitors. It is your business, then, to give us conditions which may justify our proceedings. It is your interest to do so, since if they are reasonable we shall be able to make use of them against the factious. Nevertheless, make them just what you please; I will sign them all; and I go this moment to tell the chief president, that such is my opinion, and the only hope of saving the kingdom. If we succeed, we have peace; if we are disavowed, we weaken at all events the faction, and the evil will fall upon none but ourselves."

Such ideas, as may well be supposed, met with a favourable reception from the intrepid Matthew Molé. He and De Mesmes laboured hard to persuade the rest of the deputies; even Longueil was gained; and the articles of peace were drawn up at Ruel on the next day, the 11th of the month. The deputies, the princes, and the ministers signed them, and the only difficulty was in regard to Mazarin. The deputies strongly opposed his affixing his signature to the treaty of peace, alleging that they could not present an act that bore it to the parliament, which had pronounced more than one decree against him. Mazarin, however, was too politic to admit, even tacitly, the right of the parliament to pronounce those decrees, and he therefore persisted in placing his signature to the document, which contained one-and-twenty articles.

The most important of these were, the first, which engaged the parliament to proceed to St. Germain, where the king was to hold a bed of justice in order to publish the articles of peace; the second, which imported that there

should be no general assembly of the chambers for a year, except upon the occasions of ordinary ceremonial; the fifth, that the army of Paris should be immediately disbanded, and the king's forces removed from the neighbourhood of the capital; the sixth, by which the citizens of Paris were bound to lay down their arms generally; and the ninth, by which an amnesty was granted to all who had taken arms on the part of the parliament, provided they declared their adhesion to the treaty within a certain time. Others went to annul all the decrees of the parliament since the beginning of the year, and all the royal decrees against individuals for acts, committed in the course of the war. Some vague promises were held out in regard to the taxes, to the conclusion of a general peace with Spain, and to bringing back the king to Paris: and on the other side, it was agreed that the envoys of the archduke should be sent back without a reply.

Such a treaty was, certainly, anything but advantageous to the parliament; but so great was the desire of peace on all parts, except on the side of the generals, that there can be no doubt those terms would have been accepted at once without murmur or hesitation, if means had not been taken to stir up the people, and to excite the passions of the more rash and violent members of the parliament itself. The very fact of Mazarin having been permitted to sign the treaty, was sufficient to give a colouring of truth, whatever imputation the leaders of the Fronde might think fit to throw upon the deputies. However, on the morning of the 13th of March, 1649, the chief president Molé, and his fellow members of the deputation, presented themselves before the parliament for the purpose of giving an account of the negotiation which they had just concluded, and a scene of tumult and confusion ensued such as Paris had then seldom witnessed. Before the deputies entered, the parliament had been considerably agitated both by natural expectation, and by the insinuations, calumnies, and rumours which the leaders of the faction had not scrupled to throw out. Nor was the city more tranquil: for while a large body in the parliament expressed an intention of disavowing the act of the deputation, the people invaded the outer courts of the Palais de Justice, and clamoured loudly for the blood of those whom they accused of selling their country to Mazarin. De Retz would fain persuade his readers that he was guiltless of the tumult which took place on this eventful day, and very probably it went further than he

intended; but his own statements suffer a number of factious manœuvres to appear which leave him in no degree blameless.

The generals had concerted their measures beforehand, and had arranged everything that was to be said and done by them and the parliament in order to throw discredit upon the deputies and cause their acts to be disavowed; but the impetuosity of the Duke d'Elbeuf, who had received some private information from St. Germain, caused him to deviate from the plan laid down. As soon as the first president rose to present his report, he demanded rudely if the deputies had taken care of the interests of the generals. The first president, without taking any notice of his application, proceeded to read his report, as the only reply required; but he was stopped almost immediately; for no sooner did he mention the word peace, than his voice was overwhelmed by a confused noise; every one throughout the hall crying out, that there was no peace, that the powers of the deputies had been revoked, and that they had abandoned shamefully the interests both of the generals, and of those members of the parliament who had joined in the decree of union.

It was long before the outcry could be in any degree silenced; but as soon as the Prince de Conti could make his voice heard, he said, in a mild tone, which was but the more calculated to irritate the minds of those who heard him, that he was much astonished indeed that the deputies should have concluded any treaty without a reference to himself and the other generals. The reply of the first president to this observation was simple and straightforward. The generals themselves had declared, he said, that whatever contented the parliament would content them. They might, moreover, he added, have sent deputies to the conference themselves if they had thought proper; but they had declined to do so. This observation was unanswerable, and the generals found their own artful proceeding in refusing to send deputies now turned against themselves. Under these circumstances, the Duke of Bouillon had recourse to one of those popular methods of evading the point of the argument, which, without bringing any reasonable reply, irritate the minds of the hearers more than if a regular logical answer is given. He said, that "Since the deputies had agreed that Mazarin should remain prime minister, the only favour he had to demand of the parliament was, to obtain for him a passport in order to quit a country where he could no longer remain in safety."

According to the account of De Retz, no one was more skilful in insinuating a false position into his discourse unobserved, and then arguing upon it as if it were admitted, than the Duke of Bouillon. Thus, in assuming that the deputies had agreed that Mazarin should remain prime minister, the duke imputed to them an enormous offence in the eyes of the parliament; and by affecting to demand his passport, he impressed upon the minds of his hearers a high idea of the conviction which he entertained of the vast importance of the error the deputies had committed. Molé, in reply, showed scarcely less skill; for, insinuating with sarcastic truth the real motives by which all the generals were actuated, he assured the Duke of Bouillon that his private interests had been particularly taken care of. Bouillon felt the sting, and answered at once, that he would in no point separate his own interests from those of the other generals.

Although such a reply did not relieve the whole faction from the imputation of seeking their own private interests to the detriment of their country, it excited acclamations in the parliament, as if it had been most generous and noble. The tumult and confusion recommenced with redoubled violence; the president De Mesmes, who was looked upon as favouring Mazarin, was covered with invectives and abuse till he trembled like an aspen leaf; and the Duke of Beaufort, becoming heated with the noise and excitement, laid his hand upon his sword with a bombastic air, and declared that it should never be drawn for a Mazarin, in such a tone as very nearly to have turned the whole business into ridicule. It was then proposed by the president De Coigneux, that the deputies should be sent back to Ruel, in order to amend the treaty, and to provide for the interests of the generals. In the midst of his speech, however, most tremendous sounds were heard from the outer halls of the palace; and though the president De Bellièvre stood up to second him, he could not make himself heard on account of the tumult without.

After a pause full of terror and apprehension, the doors of the hall were opened by an usher, who, pale and trembling, announced that the mob demanded the presence of the Duke of Beaufort. That prince went forth, harangued the people after his own peculiar fashion, and contrived to pacify them for the time. No sooner had he re-entered the hall, however, than the tumult recommenced, and the president De Novion went forth to see what was the matter. As soon as he

entered the outer hall, Duboisle, a ruined advocate and popular demagogue, advanced upon him at the head of an immense crowd armed with poniards, and demanded that the treaty of peace should be given up to them, in order that the signature of Mazarin might be burned in the Place de Grève by the hands of the common executioner. He further required that the deputies should be hanged if they had signed the peace with their own consent; and if they had been compelled to do so, that their act should be formally disavowed.

It was with great difficulty that the president De Novion escaped from the hands of the mob; but he nevertheless contrived to quiet them for the time with a good deal of dexterity. He represented to Duboisle and his companions, that they could not burn the signature of Mazarin without burning that of the Duke of Orleans, who was in some degree a favourite with the multitude; he assured them, also, that the parliament was in the very act of sending back the deputies in order to amend the treaty; and he was then permitted to return to the inner hall. The tumult without, however, still continued; the mob that surrounded the building and filled all the outer courts was tremendous; and the rush and roar, the shouts and imprecations of the multitude, poured through all the doors and windows, and shook some of the stoutest hearts of those within. In the midst of it all, however, the chief president, though knowing himself the chief object of the popular fury, rose with unchanged tranquillity, and, with the same calm dignity which he displayed on every occasion, put the resolutions of De Coigneux and Bellièvre, took the votes with clear accuracy, and announced the decree of the parliament; which decree imported, that the deputies should return to Ruel to treat of the interests of the generals, and that Cardinal Mazarin should not be permitted to affix his signature to any of the documents concerning the settlement of peace.

From seven in the morning till five in the evening the parliament had now continued sitting, and the tumult amidst which it had commenced its deliberations was increasing every instant instead of diminishing. The moment, however, that the decree was pronounced, Matthew Molé quitted the president's chair, and prepared to go forth to return to his own house. Not the slightest alteration was visible upon his countenance, and it would have seemed that he was utterly

insensible of his danger. Every one, however, within that hall felt and knew that his life was not secure for a moment in the midst of the infuriated populace without; but even those who were most opposed to him were so touched and struck by his magnanimous intrepidity, that they resolved to make every effort to save him. All the leaders of the Fronde endeavoured to persuade him not to go out into the great hall, which was filled with a crowd worked up unto madness and thirsting for his blood; and De Retz himself entreated him to pass round by one of the side doors, and thus avoid the multitude. Molé, however, replied, without showing one sign of fear, "The court never conceals itself; and were I certain of perishing, I would not commit so base an action; which, moreover, would serve no purpose but to give greater boldness to the seditious. If they believed that I feared them here, they would soon find me in my own house."

De Retz then besought him at all events to wait till he had endeavoured to tranquillise the people; but Molé, justly believing that the tumult was in a great degree to be attributed to the instigations of the coadjutor, replied, with a bitter smile, "Well, my good lord, well! pray give them the word."

Though evidently mortified at being discovered and contemned, De Retz went out, harangued the multitude, and hoping that they would give a free passage to the chief president and the deputies, returned to the body of the parliament, which now began to move forth in procession, with Matthew Molé at its head. As soon as he appeared, however, the tumult recommenced; nothing was heard but shouts and imprecations, and a scene of riot took place which had nearly terminated in a massacre. The excited passions of the people approached to madness. One of the mob, taking the Duke of Bouillon for Mazarin, to whom he bore not the slightest resemblance, presented a musket at him, and was with difficulty prevented from blowing his brains out. Another levelled a pistol at the head of the chief president, so near as to touch him with the muzzle. Molé, however, did not even bend his head, but gazed calmly in the man's face, saying, "When you have killed me, I shall want nothing but six feet of earth;" and advanced upon his way with an untroubled step. Such intrepidity had its effect even upon the people, and they suffered him to pass, while De Retz and his companions now did all that they possibly could to allay

that tumult, which there can be little doubt they had been the first to instigate.

During the two or three next days, while Molé and the other deputies proceeded once more to Ruel to negotiate the necessary alterations in the treaty, great tranquillity reigned in Paris, De Retz taking no steps to rouse up the people to further movements, though he was very well satisfied to have shown the parliament, and, through it, the court, how completely he had the populace at command. In the mean time, he and the other leaders of the Fronde were somewhat embarrassed in regard to their further proceedings; each one was anxious for his own interests alone; but all had talked so loudly of their disinterestedness, and of their devotion to their country, that mere decency required some notice to be taken of the public weal in their dealings with the court. They had also entangled themselves so deeply in their negotiations with Spain, that it was difficult to conclude anything without labouring for the interests of that power; and, in order both to keep the court at arm's-length till all their own individual purposes were served, to work apparently for the good of the country while they were striving really for their own, and to fulfil in some degree their engagements with Spain, they determined to exact from the court, as the price of their submission, that the pacification should be general, and comprise the foreign country with which they had leagued themselves, as well as the city of Paris itself.

This bold counsel would in all probability have been successful had it been adopted three or four days before. The rapid motions, however, of the deputies had left behind even the Fronde; and when this proposal, seconded by the Duke of Bouillon, was adopted by all the rest of the generals, it was no longer possible to execute it. Don Gabriel de Toledo arrived in Paris on the eve of the 16th of March, bearing with him a complete ratification of the treaty entered into between the Fronde and Spain. The determination had just been formed by the generals of insisting upon a peace with that country; but on the very same night came a courier from the Rhine, bearing to the Duke of Bouillon the disastrous tidings that Turenne had been abandoned by his army, and that the Fronde was consequently utterly powerless, except by its influence over the people of Paris, and its connexion with the enemies of the country.

The bands which united the various generals together were

now cut in a moment, and it became evident that the scramble for security which takes place on the breaking up of a conspiracy was beginning in the faction of the Fronde. No great efforts were consequently to be expected from a party in such a situation. News reached De Retz that the Spanish army was advancing upon Paris; he saw that not only the country would be ruined, but his own power would be lost, if it proceeded unopposed, and he determined, in consequence, to do all that he could to hasten forward the conclusion of a peace with the court; though, at the same time, he resolved to shape his conduct in such a manner as to maintain his influence with the people, by making them think that he opposed the very consummation at which he aimed.

In the mean while the deputies of the parliament, grown more and more daring by the imminent dangers they had passed through, had set out to renew the negotiations; and, strange to say, that very body which had disavowed their proceedings and reprobated their conduct on the 13th, despatched them on the 16th back to the place of conference with full and unlimited powers. At the same time the scramble in Paris was going on amongst the party of the Fronde; and interest, which, like a magnet, had attracted them to each other, now, with its poles reversed, propelled them to separate.

The court, in the mean while, seeing that it had obtained a great accession of power, became cool in its offers towards the generals. The generals, frightened at their situation, relaxed in their demands; and at length Mazarin, after having acted for some days upon his old maxim of "I and Time," so excited the eagerness of all parties, that in the end he satisfied them by a mere shadow. The only thing which the parliament obtained, besides that which had been granted by the former treaty, was that they were not bound any longer to proceed to St. Germain for the purpose of holding a bed of justice, as had been before arranged; and that the prohibition in regard to the assembly of the chambers should not be expressly inserted in the convention, though assured by the solemn promises of the deputies. The concessions made were comprised in a simple *lettre-de-cachet*, which announced a general amnesty, comprising by name all the principal leaders of the insurrection, and also promised, in terms which could be evaded on any pretext, various gratifications and benefits to those who claimed them.

The only person not named in the amnesty, and that by his own choice, was the coadjutor, who well knew that Mazarin was not of a character to attack a man he feared, as long as his own safety did not compel him to do so. By this politic act De Retz maintained his influence over the people undiminished by any apparent submission to the court, and he prepared at any time to renew the scenes of the Fronde, as soon as defeat and failure should be forgotten. A declaration was added, in which the queen-regent repeated the articles agreed upon. The letter and the declaration were read before the parliament on the appropriate 1st of April, verified and registered in due form. The parliament besought the queen to bring back the king to Paris, and consider the various interests of the generals who had fought against her. The provinces were satisfied as easily as the capital, the Parisian troops were disbanded, the siege raised, and Mazarin remained prime minister in spite of all the efforts of his enemies.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of Paris after the Peace—Condé gained by the Fronde—Libels, &c.—Negotiations between Mazarin and Vendôme—Exactions of Condé—Private Quarrels and Affrays—De Retz gains the credit of bringing back the Court—Reception of the Court by the Parisians—Terrors of De Retz—He regains his influence—Affairs of the Rentiers—The Joliade—The Joliade renforcée—Conduct of the Petits Maîtres—Condé and De Retz at enmity—Marriage of the Duc de Richelieu—Arrest of Condé, Conti, and Longueville—Insurrections.

No sooner was the peace concluded, no sooner was the declaration verified by the parliament, than the gates of the city flew open, and the two parties which had so lately held their swords to each other's breasts began to mix together again in amity. There was much, however, remembered and much to be forgotten on both sides; and, to use the expressive words of Guy Joly, "The peace which had been concluded was, properly speaking, nothing but a suspension of arms; and in no degree a suspension of intrigues and cabals." That suspension of arms, however, had been accompanied by an amnesty, as we have said, including all persons except the coadjutor; who knowing that the enmity of the court was not really abated towards any of its opponents, resolved rather to appear as the open enemy of Mazarin, and thus retain undiminished his whole influence with the people, than accept the apparent friendship of the minister, and thus lose his true prop for the empty shadow of court favour. At the

same time, he did not wish to close all doors against reconciliation; and therefore, while he maintained towards the court the outward appearance of stern reserve, he kept up an indirect communication with various persons attached to the regent, which furnished the means of opening more important negotiations whenever he thought fit. Such skilful conduct had of course its effect, and while he continued to be feared sufficiently without being feared too much, De Retz was well treated.

The other personages who had played a part in the insurrection of Paris, and who now proceeded to visit the court, were by no means warmly received by the queen, though Mazarin himself displayed nothing but mildness and humility. However, partly from doubt as to the reception the court would meet with in the capital, partly for the purpose of keeping up that state of suspense and apprehension which the absence of the king occasioned, till the city was completely reduced to tranquillity, the cardinal, without directly refusing the repeated entreaties of the metropolis, deferred from time to time the return of the king to Paris. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé, indeed, visited the city; and the first was received with great applause by the people, who attributed to his counsels the pacification of which all parties had stood so much in need. The Prince de Condé, whose warlike spirit had not only aided in stirring up the war at first, but would have protracted it still further had his advice been listened to, was not looked upon with the same eye by the Parisians; but nevertheless the parliament sent deputations to them both on their arrival in the city, to compliment them on their efforts for the restoration of peace.

During the visit of Condé to Paris, his reconciliation took place with his fair sister, the Duchess de Longueville. The violent language which he had used towards her on various occasions, the imputations which he had cast upon her character, and the extreme counsels which he had given to her husband against her, were all forgotten, and she resumed her ascendency over his mind so completely as in a very short time to detach him entirely from the side of Mazarin, and to lead him, before he quitted Paris, to speak publicly of the minister in the scornful and contemptuous manner in which he was usually treated by the leaders of the Fronde.

Madame de Longueville herself remained as strongly op-

posed to the cardinal as ever; but though she still retained towards Anne of Austria that dislike which she had always felt, and which the sense of an inferiority of station greatly augmented in a woman of a haughty and ambitious character, she found herself obliged, in common propriety, to appear at the court of the queen on the conclusion of the siege of Paris. The first visits of her husband and herself to the court, after the insurrection, were rendered remarkable by the extraordinary degree of embarrassment and timidity shown by two such bold and fearless persons. The Duke de Longueville arrived first, coming from Normandy; and was followed by a very numerous and splendid train, as if he rested for mental support upon the number of his retainers. The queen received him in the midst of her court, with Mazarin standing beside her; and every one crowded round to hear what excuses the duke would offer for abandoning the royal family at the moment of their greatest need. Longueville, however, approached the regent with a troubled and embarrassed air, attempted to speak, became first deadly pale, and then as red as fire, but could not utter a word. He then turned and bowed to Mazarin, who came forward, spoke to him, and led him to a window, where they conversed for some time together in private; after which, they visited each other frequently, and became apparent friends.

The reception of the duchess was not so public, but was not less embarrassing. The queen had lain down on her bed to rest when the duchess was announced, and, as was customary in those days, received her in that situation. Madame de Longueville was naturally very apt to blush; and the frequent variation of her complexion added greatly, we are told, to the dazzling character of her beauty. Her blushes, however, on approaching the queen became painful: all that she could utter was a few confused sentences, of which the queen could not understand a word; and those were pronounced in so low a tone, that Madame de Motteville, who listened attentively, could distinguish nothing but the word *madame*.

While the leaders of the Fronde were thus displaying the somewhat degrading appearances of embarrassment and timidity in their reconciliation with the court, the people of Paris, who had no apologies to make, and were not put to the difficulties of justification, proceeded in their usual course with a degree of consistency which might have read a lesson to their leaders. Mazarin, the queen, and even the parliament, had

hoped and expected that the animosity of the populace would have gradually subsided, and that the jests, the songs, the satires, the epigrams, the lampoons, the pasquinades, the libels from the most refined and searching to the grossest and most insulting, which for some time had daily appeared in Paris in multitudes almost defying belief, would have died away, or have found other objects after the restoration of peace.

Such, however, was not the case: they increased rather than diminished; and De Retz gladly saw that the spirit which he had employed to such effect was still as active as ever, and might be used upon any future occasion. The parliament, however, now that it had made its peace with the court, resolved to put down the libels which it had so long tolerated or encouraged, and to commence proceedings against any one who might be proved to take a part therein. One of the first persons selected to undergo trial for libel, a crime which in that day, and in that country, might have been visited by death itself, was an unhappy advocate of the name of Beauton, who was accused of having composed a discourse upon the deputation of the parliament to the Prince de Condé. In it the author censured that body severely for its subserviency on the occasion, treated the prince with very little respect, and added a prophecy of what would be the consequences of his conduct to himself, which was verified within a few months in a most extraordinary manner.

The real author was a person of the name of Portail; but Beauton was thrown into a dungeon, and tried by the court of the Châtelet, which showed an inclination to condemn him to death. He was rescued, however, by the exertions of some of the counsellors of the parliament, who defended him with great zeal, and at length delivered him from the danger in which he had placed himself by manifold contradictions and tergiversations, excited by pure terror.

The party opposed to the court did not fail to seize the occasion of his trial, in order to pour forth a thousand fresh libels, under the pretext of defending the accused. Every day produced something against the queen and Mazarin; and the grossest and most filthy language was not spared to throw discredit upon every one connected with the court. Nearly at the same time appeared the famous libel of the *Jeu de Trictrac*, and the still more beastly composition of the *Custode*. The latter was traced to the office of a miserable printer called Marlot, who was, in consequence, arrested, tried, and con-

demned to be hanged. He was brought out, accordingly, from the Conciergerie, and was led on towards the Place de Grève: but a crowd, composed of printers' boys, and of shopmen from the inferior booksellers' shops, had assembled together; and, now armed with sticks and stones, they attacked the archers who were conducting him to execution, and the criminal lieutenant, who commanded them. The archers resisted; but the crowd was joined by all the low hawkers of the Pont Neuf, and the shopmen and apprentices from the neighbouring booths: so that the guards were in the end routed, after having been severely maltreated. The criminal lieutenant himself led the flight, wounded and bruised from the blows he had received, leaving in the hands of the people the prisoner Marlot, who was set at liberty, and effected his escape from the city.

All these events might well testify to the queen and her minister that the root of the evil still remained, and that—though the parliament might give force and direction to the popular discontent, might rouse it and stimulate it when it slumbered, and keep it up when it was excited—that body was not at all competent to allay it before it naturally decreased.

The only persons who seemed to have influence sufficient to calm the storm when it was once aroused, were the Duc de Beaufort and the coadjutor De Retz; and Mazarin determined to employ all his arts to gain the latter, at least so far as to induce him to tranquillize the people before the return of the king. In this he was not indeed unsuccessful, holding out to De Retz the prospect of the cardinal's hat, which, notwithstanding his disavowal, was clearly, even at this time, the great object of the coadjutor's ambition. In the mean while, however, the conduct of the Prince de Condé gave no slight uneasiness to Mazarin. Reunited to his sister, the Duchess de Longueville, Condé was not content to demand favours and benefits for himself, and for those who, like himself, had supported the party of the court, but he also supported the exorbitant demands of many of the leaders of the Fronde, especially those of his brother the Prince de Conti, and his brother-in-law, the Duke de Longueville. Every day some new application was made; and his whole tone and demeanour showed that he considered the services he had rendered the court, in the war of Paris, to be such as the most extensive compliance with his demands could hardly repay sufficiently.

Some of the memoirs of the time declare that the minister, in order to arrive at the real sentiments of the prince, and to ascertain precisely what was the extent to which he carried his claims, invited him to an entertainment, where he not only endeavoured to make him drunk, but so far accomplished that purpose as to throw Condé off his guard, and draw him into several bursts of bitter and poignant raillery, in regard to the terror which he, Mazarin, had displayed upon various occasions; raillery which the minister did not forget when an opportunity of vengeance presented itself.

Matters, too, were broached about the same time, which tended still further to divide the cardinal and the prince. We have mentioned, in another place, the refusal of the post of high admiral, or superintendent of the seas, which Condé had demanded upon the death of the Duc de Brézé. Now, however, imagining that there could not be a more opportune moment for renewing his application for that high office, Condé again insisted upon his right, and again was met by refusal and evasion.

It would appear, from comparing all the various accounts of these transactions, that Mazarin had from the first destined that office to serve the purpose of a bribe to induce some man of high rank to espouse one of his nieces; and overtures had already been made towards the Duc de Mercœur, the eldest son of the Duc de Vendôme. During the siege of Paris, Vendôme had testified strongly his disapprobation of the conduct of his second son, the Duc de Beaufort, and had thus left open constantly a door of reconciliation between himself and the court.* Mazarin had gladly availed himself of the opportunity, and immediately after the conclusion of the blockade, the Duc de Vendôme presented himself once more at the court, where he had not appeared since the days of the Importants. One of the first questions agitated between him and the minister was the marriage of his eldest son with Mademoiselle de Mancini; and on whichever part the proposal was first made, it is very clear not only that Mazarin himself led to it, but that the post of high admiral was to form a part of the dowry of the bride. It was not, indeed, arranged that the office should be assigned to the Duc de Mercœur; but there can be no doubt that it was now fully determined the admiralty should be conferred upon the Duc de Vendôme in the first place, with the reversion to the Duc de Beaufort.

* Madame de Motteville, vol. iii., p. 266.

While these matters were in progress, however, Condé still continued his pretensions; and those pretensions were but the more strongly urged upon Mazarin when the prince became aware of the purposes of that minister towards the family of Vendôme. On his first joining the court a number of concessions had been made to Condé; and the crown had stripped itself of so much, that now, urged by his demands on one side, and restrained by its poverty on the other, it had no means of paying his services but by ingratitude.

It would seem, indeed, that Mazarin endeavoured as far as possible to avoid coming to an open rupture with the prince, and had recourse to the expedients which had succeeded before, in order to diminish his power without seeming to do so. He thus endeavoured, according to the account of the Count de Brienne, to raise the jealousy which naturally existed between the house of Condé and that of Orleans into open enmity; but, in the mean time, Condé, pressed by his brother and sister, displayed his discontent more openly every day. After remaining with the court a short time, although his presence was still of the greatest importance, he caused it to be signified to the cardinal that he must no longer reckon upon his friendship unless he gave up entirely the purpose of uniting his niece to the Duc de Mercœur; and then, without waiting for any decided reply, took his departure for Burgundy, of which province he was governor.

In the mean while, the court proceeded to Compiègne, instead of returning to Paris, upon the pretext of watching and directing the movements of the army in Picardy, but in reality to keep the populace of Paris in suspense, and to insure from the fears of the capital full submission on the king's return. Such a result was now probable, for the negotiations of Mazarin had continued with De Retz, and the coadjutor had suffered himself to be gained sufficiently to employ means for tranquillising the people, or rather to suffer them to fall back into that quiescent state from which it had been his business to rouse them. Still, however, the fears and apprehensions of Mazarin made him pause long ere he executed the design of returning: and certainly the transactions which were taking place from day to day in Paris were not such as to give any great encouragement to the royal family to make it their abode, though the lower orders might be restored to tranquillity. One or two of these events must be related, as showing the state of the French metropolis at this period.

Shortly after the signature of the treaty of peace, a number

of young men attached to the court took upon themselves to go into the capital, and to endeavour, by a display of the same sort of swaggering insolence which characterised the cavaliers in England, to browbreat the leaders of the Fronde, whom they had so often defeated and laughed at in the field. Dressed in the most splendid manner, and giving themselves airs of the greatest importance and authority, a multitude of these gay nobles, headed by the Duc de Candale, of the house of Epernon, by Boutteville, afterwards famous under the name of Luxembourg, St. Mesgrin, Jerzé, and various other light and daring spirits, daily paraded in the gardens of the Tuilleries, laughing and jesting at the leaders of the Fronde, and more especially at the Duc de Beaufort, and declaring that, since the peace, the pavement of Paris was open to all.

On one occasion in particular, while they were walking in the principal alley of the gardens, the Duc de Beaufort was seen approaching, with a party of his friends. Either from a prudent wish to avoid the folly of personal encounters after the conclusion of a general peace between the court and the Fronde, or on some other account, Beaufort took the arm of one of his party, as if desirous of speaking with him in private, and led the way into one of the lesser alleys. Jerzé, attributing this conduct to apprehension, shouted aloud, asserting that the royalists had dared the Fronde on their own ground, and that the Fronde had left them the field of battle. During the evening he spread the tale from house to house with every aggravating addition, and tidings of his boasts were of course carried to the Duc de Beaufort.

For some time the Frondeurs took no notice of this conduct; but it having been reported that Candale and the rest were about to give a grand supper in the gardens of a famous *traiteur* named Renard and publicly drink to the health of Mazarin, De Retz and the Duc de Beaufort determined to take the matter up, and arrangements were accordingly made for troubling the festivities of the evening. As the Frondeurs were not desirous of causing bloodshed upon the occasion, especially as a number of the highest nobility in France were implicated on both sides, it was determined to fix upon Jerzé, whose offence was the most glaring, and whose birth was by no means of the highest class, and publicly to insult him at the supper-table, making his inferior rank an excuse for refusing to fight him if he demanded satisfaction. The persons fixed upon to execute this plan were Beaufort, La Mothe, Brissac,

Vitri, Fontrailles, and the Duc de Retz, who assembled a hundred or a hundred and fifty gentlemen, and proceeded to the gardens of Renard as soon as they knew that the opposite party were at table.

The archbishop-coadjutor could not, of course, be present; but he had made the whole party promise positively to follow his directions, which were, to address themselves at once to Jerzé, and tell him, that if it were not for the respect they entertained towards the Duc de Candale, and others present, they would throw him over the ramparts, to teach him not to boast for the future.

These directions were of course very ill executed in the haste and passion of the moment. The Duc de Beaufort, who was personally inimical to the Duc de Candale, got into a passion, as usual, and approaching that nobleman, told him with a scornful laugh, that he had come to enjoy himself with him and his companions with that liberty which every one now had upon the pavement of Paris. The Duc de Candale replied sharply; upon which Beaufort immediately seized the end of the tablecloth, and threw the whole that covered it, soup, meat, wine, and bread, amongst the guests.

A scene of the most tremendous confusion ensued. Jerzé was not alone insulted, but injured, and received several wounds; the Duc de Candale and Boutteville sprang towards the pages who held their weapons, drew their swords, and were about to risk their lives against the multitude which opposed them, but some persons more prudent interfered, and the parties were separated without further bloodshed. The Duc de Candale immediately quitted Paris with the design of challenging the Duc de Beaufort, and sent St. Mesgrin the next morning to demand immediate reparation from that nobleman. Beaufort replied, that he would not accept such an invitation from his cousin-german; that he was willing to give him any other satisfaction in his power; and that if that would not content him, the Duc de Candale must attack him in the streets, when he would defend himself to the best of his ability. St. Mesgrin instantly pointed out the absurdity of the latter expedient, as to attack the Duc de Beaufort and force him to fight in the midst of the people who adored him, would be seeking nothing better than immediate death. He could obtain no other answer, however, and Beaufort, affecting to believe that Candale and his friends would really attack him, went about the city, surrounded by

a vast train of friends and attendants, with pistols, swords, and led-horses, as if in a country teeming with enemies. A good deal of laughter was excited by this conduct, but in the end the Duke of Orleans undertook to reconcile the two cousins, and a formal apology was made by the Duc de Beaufort.*

The next scene exhibited was of a different kind. Scarcely had the bustle and fracas, caused by the supper in the gardens of Renard, subsided, when the Duc de Beaufort was seized with a violent cholic, which he at once attributed to poison administered to him by order of Mazarin. He applied in the most pompous manner to the physicians of Paris for an antidote; and the rumour of his illness spreading, caused a commotion amongst the lower classes. Though the leaders of the Fronde only laughed at the idea of poison, and doubted perhaps the whole story of his illness, the populace continued to flock to his gates. The Hôtel de Vendôme was surrounded morning, noon, and night, by immense crowds; and so great was the concourse, so impatient the anxiety of the people, that the doors were obliged to be thrown open, the curtains of his bed drawn up; parties of the populace were admitted to see him, like a corpse lying in state; and many of them, casting themselves on their knees by his bedside, wept pitifully, calling him the saviour of his country.

Such scenes as these were of daily occurrence in the capital, and Mazarin hesitated still, knowing very well that the derangement of the finances placed him in such a position that the parliament might at any moment find new causes of complaint and exaction, and that, seeing itself still supported by the people, it probably would do so as soon as the return of the king to Paris put the court once more in its power.

The Maréchal de Meilleraie had been able to do nothing to improve the state of the revenue, and the minister most anxiously desired the return of Emery, in whose genius for finance he saw the sole resource of the government. Too timid to recal, on his own authority, a man who was odious both to the people and the parliament, he had recourse, as usual, to subtle intrigues, in order to accomplish by the means of others that which he dared not propose himself. Far from ever naming Emery, he affected to support the interests of the president De Maison, who had become a candidate for the portfolio of finance. At the same time, however, he induced

* Madame de Motteville, vol. iii., p. 318.

he Duke of Orleans to oppose that officer's pretensions, hoping that by excluding all others, without appearing to exclude them, he would cause Emery to be recalled by the rest of the council, without seeming to take any part in his return. In this business, however, he was overreached; for, after having assured the president De Maison that he regretted deeply the opposition of the Duke of Orleans, he suddenly found that Gaston had been induced to change his views in a moment, and that, so far from opposing the president, he was now eager to support his interests. Mazarin found it difficult to go back from his words, and, after hesitating for some time, De Maison obtained the post to which he aspired.

In the mean time, however, the military affairs of France went ill. Ypres was taken by Spain on the 8th of May, St. Venant on the 10th; and though the Count de Harcourt gained some slight advantages over the enemy in the course of June, he was obliged afterwards to raise the siege of Cambray, leaving the greatest advantages of the campaign on the side of the Spaniards. It was in vain that Mazarin led the court from Compiègne to Amiens, in order to encourage the troops. Ill paid, mutinous, and disobedient, they embarrassed all the movements of their generals, and frustrated the best measures of the Count de Harcourt, although the army amounted to thirty-two thousand men, and carried with it eighty pieces of artillery. The principal discontent appeared amongst the Weimarian troops, and it was suspected that Turenne, who had so long commanded them, and who was not yet fully reconciled with the court, entertained a secret intelligence with their leaders, and excited them to revolt.

Under these embarrassing circumstances the long absence of the court from Paris became displeasing both to the Duke of Orleans and to the Prince de Condé, and the latter determined to use all his influence to bring the king back to the capital. But no sooner was information brought to De Retz that such was the determination of Condé, than he resolved to obtain for himself the credit of effecting an object so much desired by the Parisians. In order to bring this about he caused it to be insinuated to Mazarin that the Frondeurs entertained great apprehensions of the king's return, instead of desiring it; and he endeavoured to engage the Duc de Beaufort as an instrument, but found it more difficult to do so than he had imagined. He proceeded, however, in person

to Compiègne, and had a long interview with the queen, in the course of which he gained all his objects. He persuaded her to return to Paris; he raised himself higher than ever in the estimation of the people by an appearance of daring and independence; and he deprived Condé of the honour of bringing back the king to the capital, though the act was in reality his. Throughout these transactions he affected to take no notice whatever of Mazarin, and refused to visit him, although the queen urged him strongly to do so; but Joly informs us that he had a secret interview with Mazarin during the night, in which all the particulars of the king's return were arranged.

Condé, too, had pledged his head that the court should enter Paris in safety; and, on the double assurance of that prince and De Retz, Mazarin resolved to run the risk, though he still considered it as great, rather than remain absent from the capital, suffering greater inconvenience from the want of those resources which could alone be found in the metropolis than any remote advantage could compensate.

The state of the court, indeed, since the commencement of the siege had been most miserable. No money was to be procured, and the officers of the crown, as well as the soldiers in the field, were unpaid and discontented. The gentlemen of the king's privy chamber, destitute of all salary, were obliged to discharge the pages whom they could no longer maintain; the crown jewels were in pawn; the carriages of the queen and the court were falling to pieces, from long journeys and want of repair; the sheets upon the young king's bed were so full of holes that his feet passed through to the blankets; and he was obliged to content himself during the whole summer with a green velvet dressing-gown, lined with fur, which he had so far outgrown as not to be half covered by it.*

No hope of obtaining any funds existed but in returning to Paris, and Mazarin was at length driven to do so at all risks. Before executing this resolution, however, he proceeded to the frontier of the Low Countries, in order to hold some communications with Count Peñaranda in regard to peace between France and Spain;† and on his return, he found Condé prepared to lead the court back to Paris. Notwithstanding all the fair showing of the writers of the Fronde, and the affectation of daring which De Retz both assumed at

* La Porte. † Madame de Motteville.

the time and asserts in his memoirs, it would appear that the leaders of the faction were very much alarmed and embarrassed by the approaching return of the king, and did not well know how to demean themselves on the occasion, either to the court or the people.

The Prince de Conti himself hastened to Compiègne, perhaps for the purpose of maintaining his brother Condé in that state of opposition to the minister in which he had placed himself since the peace of Paris. But the Parisian generalissimo was obliged to make many submissions to the cardinal; and the queen, whose courage made light of the difficulties around her, and taught her to sport with the embarrassment of her adversaries, laid a plot for carrying back Conti into Paris, at one of the doors of the carriage of Mazarin, and thus exposing the doughty commander of the Frondeurs to the laughter of the people of the capital. Conti, however, was made aware of her design, and taking a hurried leave of the court, got back to Paris as fast as he could. About the same time, the Duc de Beaufort sought permission to visit the court, but was sternly refused, and, of course, was rendered a more implacable enemy than ever.

Madame de Chevreuse was better treated, though she was received with some degree of coldness: but it is very evident that the whole party of the Fronde now began to comprehend that the king's return might cause a strange revolution in the feelings of a novelty-loving people like the Parisians, and that their house, being founded in the sand, might soon lose its unstable basis, and fall about their ears.

On the 18th of August, however, the royal family returned to the capital; and Mazarin, with Condé, appeared at the same window of one of the king's carriages. Notwithstanding all the libels which had been circulated—notwithstanding all the grievances of which the people had complained—notwithstanding the recent war, and all the evils which it had brought upon Paris,—the people flocked in immense crowds to see the entry of the royal party, rent the air with acclamations and benedictions, and pressed so close to behold those against whom they had so lately drawn the sword, that the procession could scarcely advance upon its way. No dissenting voice was heard through all the mass of people—no sound of upbraiding or of reproach met the ears even of the minister, and the gratulatory shouts of the multitude were only interrupted by cries of "Look! look! there is the Mazarin."

Some exclaimed, "How handsome he is!" some shouted to him, that they loved him well; some stretched forth their arms to shake hands with him; and some told him they were going publicly to drink his health.

Had any other spirit moved the people at that moment but joy and satisfaction, they might have exercised their will unopposed; for the king, the queen, Mazarin, and Condé had been separated by the immense crowd from the royal escort almost immediately after they had entered the gates. The men-at-arms, the light horse, even the ordinary royal suite were all far behind, and the carriage of the king moved slowly on amongst the populace, stopping from time to time, but meeting with nothing but gratulation and applause. Mazarin had, indeed, received various intimations that his life was in danger if he trusted himself in the hands of the Parisians; but attributing these warnings to the right source, and judging that the monitory letters he received were rather from the hands of enemies than of friends, he displayed a calm and tranquil countenance; and if he felt at first some apprehension, it was soon dispelled by the demeanour of the people.

De Retz makes light of this reception, and would fain hide from the searching eye of history this new example of popular instability and vacillation. He says, in his memoirs, that the acclamations by which the king was received, signified nothing but in the eyes of those who chose to flatter themselves; and he adds, that a little lawyer bribed twelve or thirteen women to cry "Long live his eminence!" when Mazarin appeared. But we have the testimony of eye-witnesses to show what was the real disposition of the people; and the agitation and anxiety displayed by the coadjutor on the following day, evinced that at the time he himself attributed much greater importance to these popular demonstrations than he thought fit to acknowledge.

On the morning of the king's arrival, he presented himself at the head of the clergy of the capital, to congratulate the regent on her return. Mazarin stood beside the queen when she received him; but De Retz, no longer haughty and self-possessed, instead of a long and bold oration, such as he was accustomed to make, addressed the queen in few and unequal words: his eloquent voice faltered and shook, his bold face turned pale as death, his frame trembled, and the demagogue, taught to doubt the durability of his power, and to feel the

feebleness of his support, shook before those he had so often insulted and injured.

The comment of Anne of Austria upon the demeanour of the turbulent prelate is both curious and striking. After asking some of her attendants whether they had remarked the agitation of De Retz, she exclaimed, "How beautiful a thing is innocence!"

The parliament and all the different corporations followed the example of the clergy, and De Retz, finding it impossible to resist the stream, on the following day returned to pay a public visit of compliment and congratulation to Mazarin. The minister treated him well, and held out as an inducement for him to remain tranquil and at peace with the court, the prospect of a seat in the conclave, which he had long ardently desired. De Retz professed every intention of serving the court, but he took care to stipulate that he might be permitted to appear opposed to it, in order to preserve his influence with the people.

In truth, however, the populace of Paris were, for the time, tired of the domination of the Fronde. The very friends and supporters of De Retz themselves had tended to sink the party he had formed in public estimation. They were all debauched in the most excessive degree, scarcely one of his partisans, male or female, having the slightest pretensions to virtue of any kind; and this the public well knew. But as the preponderance of immorality in his party was not very striking when compared with the amount of vice on the other, though the court was certainly more moral than the faction, the people, puzzled between two libertine bodies, would not have taken any very accurate account of the licentious manners of the Fronde, had not a number of De Retz's supporters, after having got rid of every other virtue, shaken off the last thin covering of decency, and made an ostentatious display of impiety, irreligion, and vice.

The strange and almost frantic scenes of debauchery in which they indulged, cannot, of course, be detailed here; but every care was taken that they should not be concealed at that time, and we may judge of the indecency of all parties from two facts—from the Archbishop-coadjutor of Paris having seized the Princess de Guimené, one of his former mistresses, by the throat, on her return to Paris, because she had run away in a fright at the beginning of the siege; and from the Princess de Guimené throwing a candlestick

at the head of the archbishop, because she found he had become unfaithful to her, and entered into an intrigue with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse.

The notorious Fontrailles, Matha, and other well-known supporters of De Retz, followed his example, and went far beyond him, displaying their debauchery in the very streets of Paris. They were seen proceeding from orgie to orgie, and excess to excess; and evil was it with any one who met them in those moments of frantic licentiousness, for butchery and cruelty were added to their other crimes. On one occasion they encountered a party of the king's pages, and, knowing them by their dress, attacked them without the slightest provocation, wounding several of them, and bidding them carry that to their master. On another occasion they met a funeral in the streets, preceded, as usual in Roman Catholic countries, by a man bearing a large crucifix. No sooner did they see it, than they drew their swords, shouting out, "The enemy! the enemy!" and attacking the priests and mourners, drove them before them down the street. Having exhausted every other sort of ribaldry, Matha, Brissac, Vitri, and Fontrailles had recourse to blasphemy for their daily amusement, and in their licentious songs at table, did not even reverence the name of God himself. All these things became known; and the people grew weary of such scenes, and anxious for some power which could restrain them.

The very lowest and least educated classes—the classes most apt to break into disorder—have an innate perception of the beauty of order, and a desire for its permanence while present, and its restoration when destroyed. They seldom seek disorder for the sake of disorder, but rather for the sake of some separate gratification incompatible with it; and as soon as that gratification is obtained, their inclinations tend naturally to restore that state, the very absence of which is sure to make its excellence felt by all parties. This, with the natural love of change, produced the temporary popularity which the court now obtained. That popularity, it is true, was somewhat excessive; and its very vehemence should have taught the regent to doubt its permanence; but still it continued for some time rather increasing than diminishing.

On the Saturday after the royal family's arrival, Anne of Austria proceeded, with the young king, to hear mass at

Notre Dame; but in passing through the streets immense crowds flocked round the carriage, principally composed of the people of the markets, who had covered her with such rank abuse upon former occasions, and had saluted the Duc de Beaufort with such wild joy. They now, however, pressed round the queen with more extravagant demonstrations of attachment than they had ever displayed towards that prince: they stopped the vehicle; they nearly dragged out the young king and the queen; they expressed their joy at seeing them again, their grief for having vilified and opposed them, and mingled together such cries and tears, and transports of delight, that the queen and those who were with her were unwilling to attribute the change which they beheld to anything less than a miracle. They then followed her in troops to the church; and so great was the commotion, that, notwithstanding the sacred solemnity of the place, Anne of Austria was obliged to cause the young king to be lifted up above the heads of the people, in order that all might see the monarch whom they had so lately driven from amongst them.

Mazarin followed the same course as the queen, and took opportunities of showing himself to the populace, passing through the streets with scarcely any attendants, and meeting everywhere a favourable reception from the people. The young king also, now arrived at his eleventh year, proceeded to the church of the Jesuits on the day of St. Louis, mounted on a splendid charger, accompanied both by Condé and Conti, and followed by a brilliant train of nobles. Everything, in short, was done by the court that a knowledge of mankind could suggest, to gain, or rather to preserve, the good will of the Parisians. But the parliament, finding its importance diminishing by the popularity of the royal family, soon showed its disposition to trouble the tranquillity of the court, and scarcely had the king returned to Paris when the disturbances existing in Provence and Guienne served as a pretext for proposing anew the general assembly of the different courts. Other seeds of dissension also existed, which seemed likely soon to spread out: the union of Condé with his family was every day becoming more and more strict, and that family was still discontented.

For that discontent there was some cause; as Mazarin, in order to obtain peace, had not scrupled to make promises to all men, which were either difficult or impossible to perform.

Amongst the rest, he had promised to the Duke of Longueville possession of the Pont-de-l'Arche, which would have given him the entire command of the Seine in its course through Normandy, and have placed that rich province completely at the disposal of the governor, who already held therein a greater share of power than was compatible with the just authority of the crown. This, as well as many of his other promises, Mazarin now endeavoured to evade, forgetting that he might, by neglecting to fulfil such engagements, bring on a more disastrous state than even that from which he had extricated himself by undertaking them.

Condé stormed and threatened upon the subject of the Pont-de-l'Arche, in regard to which he had in some degree become security to the Duke of Longueville; but Mazarin evaded and temporised, and argued and procrastinated, till at length the prince threw himself openly into the arms of the Fronde, and notified to Mazarin that he must thenceforth look upon him as an enemy. For some time Mazarin viewed his discontent with indifference, as he knew that no one was more hated by the Frondeurs than Condé; and the overtures made to the court by the Duchesses of Chevreuse and Montbazon induced him to believe that a schism might take place in the opposing faction, in consequence of the prince having joined it. He imagined, it would appear, that a part of the Fronde would come over to the court, while the part that remained with Condé would never be sincerely attached to him, and that thus the division of his enemies might produce his own security. The tone assumed by the prince, however, and the number of young, talented, and daring men who ranged themselves around him, soon awakened the fears of the minister, and, after various negotiations, the Pont-de-l'Arche was given up to the Duke of Longueville, and a temporary reconciliation was effected between Condé and Mazarin, by the intervention of the Duke of Orleans.*

* There is scarcely one act of any of the parties during the whole course of the Fronde, of which there are not accounts by eye-witnesses diametrically opposed to each other. It would require too much space to enter into discussions in this book as to my reasons for adopting those authorities which I have adopted, and rejecting those I have rejected; but as there are many persons who may see accounts opposite to those which I have received, without knowing how strongly they are contradicted by others, I give the following extracts, to show how completely authorities are at variance upon every point. The following passages from the Duchess de Nemours and Madame de Motteville, strange as it may appear, refer precisely to the same transaction:

"Le cardinal se voyant presque seul de son parti, haï de tout le royaume, et

Still, however, there were causes of dispute existing, some of great importance, some regarding mere trifles, which were held in readiness as pretexts for the renewal of dissensions. The conduct of Anne of Austria herself was not always of the most conciliatory kind; and she lost no opportunity of mortifying the leaders of the Fronde, when she could do so without the appearance of intentional offence. A curious instance of the petty spite in which she indulged, to the detriment of her own interests, took place very soon after the return of the royal family.

On the 5th of September, 1649, Louis XIV. completed his eleventh year; and the city of Paris gave a grand ball upon the occasion at the Hôtel de Ville, when the king, and all the principal members of the royal family and the court were present. The orders of the queen were received in regard to all the arrangements, and every person of distinction was invited by her command, except the Duchess de Longueville. That princess, influenced by discontent, it is supposed, at the reception of the royal family in Paris, had remained at Chantilly, on the pretence of drinking some mineral waters in the neighbourhood. The queen seized the same pretext not to invite her, replying to those who pressed her to do so, that

prévoyant bien qu'il était perdu s'il ne s'accommodait avec M. le Prince, commença à entrer en négociation.

"Madame de Longueville, qui haïssait mortellement la Fronde depuis la guerre de Paris, s'entremit avec plaisir de cet accommodement, et on prétend même que Marsillac en eut de l'argent. Le Duc de Rohan-Chabot l'acheva, et les conditions furent que l'on donnerait le Pont-de-l'Arche à M. de Longueville; que l'on romprait le mariage de la nièce du Cardinal avec M. de Mercœur; que celle-là non plus que toutes les autres nièces ne se marieraient point sans le consentement de M. le Prince: que l'amirauté demeurerait encore vacante; que l'on ne donnerait aucune charge, aucun gouvernement, ni aucun bénéfice considérable sans sa participation, et qu'on ne ferait point commander d'armes à personne, qu'il n'en approuvât le choix, jusqu'aux moindres officiers. On fit deux doubles de ce traité, qui furent signés de la Reine, de M. le Prince, et de M. le Cardinal; dont l'un fut donné à M. le Prince, et l'autre demeura à M. le Cardinal."—*Mém. de Nemours.*

"Monsieur le Prince répondit à cet ambassadeur, qu'il le priait d'aller trouver Monsieur le Cardinal, pour lui dire qu'il ne veut plus être son ami; qu'il se tient offensé de ce qu'il manque de parole, et qu'il n'est pas résolu de la souffrir; qu'il ne le verra jamais que dans le Conseil; et qu'au lieu de la protection qu'il lui avait donné jusques alors, il se déclarait son ennemi capital. Sur cette réponse, le Cardinal manda à Monsieur le Prince, que cela était bien étrange, qu'il se laissât gouverner par Madame sa sœur et par le Prince de Conti son frère, après ce que lui-même lui avait dit de l'un et de l'autre; et que pour lui, il serait toujours son serviteur. Cette harangue déplut à Monsieur le Prince; il ne voulut pas qu'on pût croire de lui qu'il se laissât gouverner: mais elle fut agréable à Madame de Longueville; ce fut une marque certaine et publique du pouvoir qu'elle commençait d'avoir sur Monsieur le Prince."—*Madame de Motteville.*

she would not withdraw her from the pursuit of health; but at length the Prince de Condé himself demanded that she should receive a summons; and his support was of too much consequence, and the bonds which attached him to the court too slight, for the queen to trifle with his request.

To the surprise and dissatisfaction of most persons, however, Anne of Austria commanded that the ball should take place by daylight; acknowledging, in her own immediate circle, that it was in order to mortify the ladies attached to the Fronde, the principal part of whom employed methods of increasing their beauty and heightening their complexion, to which the searching eye of day was very inimical. Human malice, of course, took care that the queen's motive should be communicated to all the circles of Paris; and as vanity is not only a much more pugnacious passion, but a much more pertinacious adversary than any other, the words of Anne of Austria rendered many opponents irreconcilable, who might otherwise have been gained to her cause.

The family of the Prince de Condé was amongst the number, and day by day that prince became more strongly attached to the faction which opposed the court. Feeling his own importance, determined to rule, quick, impetuous, and harsh in his manners, he took a pleasure in insulting the minister and embarrassing the queen. Satisfied in regard to the Pont-de-l'Arche, and having at Compiègne signified to the minister that he would no further oppose the marriage of the Duc de Mercœur with Mademoiselle Mancini, it was difficult for him to find any pretext for again quarrelling with the minister. Nevertheless, he urged anew his pretensions to the office of high-admiral;* and, though he did not formally

* Anquetil has given a wrong view of this matter altogether: he states the Prince of Condé's claim upon the admiralty at this period as if it had never been made before, and declares that the queen had taken that office upon herself on the death of the Duc de Brézé, in order to keep it from the family of Vendôme which had possessed it in former years, and to whom she was inimical. I have shown before, however, on the authority of persons attached to the Prince de Condé himself, that he had applied for it immediately on the death of the Duc de Brézé, and that it was to keep it from him that the queen took it upon herself—not to keep it from the house of Vendôme, which had not the slightest claim upon it whatever, having been long deprived of it, and having no prospect of obtaining it. My own opinion is, that the far-seeing minister had, even at that early period, projected the marriage between his niece and the Duc de Mercœur, and destined the office of high-admiral to be the price of that alliance; but that in order to keep it from Condé, to be used for such purposes at an after period, he caused the queen to assume it herself, not daring to give it to another while the claims of that celebrated general were strong upon it. In this view I am fully borne out by Bussy, and various other contemporaries; but, at all events, the statement of Anquetil is equally wrong, as it was Condé who demanded the office on the death of the Duc de Brézé, and not the house of Vendôme.

declare that his opposition to the marriage was also renewed, he went so far as to declare that anything which broke it off would give him the greatest satisfaction. His ideas of his own value became so great, that a thousand wild and extravagant schemes seem to have entered into his head: and it would appear that, at one time, he entertained the purpose of raising an army of adventurers, and attempting, on his own account, the conquest of Franche Comté, which lay in the immediate neighbourhood of his government of Burgundy.

Having been turned from that object by the arts of Mazarin, he fixed his eyes upon the principality of Montbéliard, which belonged at that time to a prince of the house of Wurtemberg, who was desirous of selling it, and demanded that it should be bought for him. Mazarin, who had first called his attenton to it in order to divert his mind from more dangerous schemes, employed Hervart, the financier, to negotiate the purchase; but at the same time he gave him secret directions either to retard the whole business as much as possible, or to cause it to fail altogether. It would seem, from the account of De Retz, that Hervart betrayed the secret of his instructions to the prince, and that Condé was naturally irritated at the perfidy of the minister.

Thus, at the end of a few weeks, Mazarin, though restored to Paris, saw himself threatened by three different parties: the first of which was that of the parliament, which had for a pretence the complaints of the provincial parliaments of Provence and Guienne; the second was that of the old Fronde, headed by De Retz and Beaufort; and the third was the party of Condé, which was composed of a number of bold, high-spirited, arrogant, and swaggering young men, who gave themselves an air of commanding everything, and consequently obtained a name which has come down to the present day, though applied in a very different sense. It was that of the *petits maîtres*, by which designation we shall distinguish them throughout.

The safety of the minister consisted in the number of parties that opposed him, and in inherent causes of dissension between them, which existed in all. In regard to the Fronde, it was separated from the great body of the parliament by the violence of its purposes, the danger of its designs, and the individual selfishness of its members. The parliament, like a lion that had tasted blood, had, by the enjoyment of popularity and authority, acquired a longing thirst for deeper draughts thereof; but it had learned during

the time of the siege that the Fronde used it as an engine, and its purpose was to rule, rather than to be ruled. The chief of the *petits maîtres* did not forget that he was a prince of the house of Bourbon, and he neither desired to shake the stability of the throne on which his family were seated, nor diminish the authority of a crown which very probable chances might cause to fall upon his own head. With the parliament he had ties of interest in some respects, while he had causes of dissension in others. Thus, while he supported strongly the parliament and people of Guienne against their governor, the Duke of Epernon, he espoused with the same fire and vehemence the cause of the Count Alais against the parliament and people of Provence. The overbearing impetuosity and domineering spirit of his whole party, too, rendered it always ready to throw down the gauntlet to any of the other factions; while the interests of the prince, as a member of the royal family, made him scrupulous in attacking the government, though he did not hesitate to harass and annoy the minister.

Such was in some degree the state of parties in Paris towards the close of 1649; and so long as they could be kept nearly equally balanced, Mazarin saw that he could retain in his own hands the power which they all sought to snatch from him. The insolence, however, and outrageous vehemence of Condé overcame even the placable disposition of the cardinal. The prince made that minister his laughing-stock; he held him up to the ridicule of the Parisians, and he did not even scruple to insult him in person, charging him with cowardice, falsehood, and perfidy. On one occasion, when Mazarin had been dilating somewhat too largely on some military transactions, Condé left him in fits of laughter with the words, "Adieu, Mars:" and about the same time he publicly addressed a letter to him, "Al illustrissimo Signor Faquino." All this, of course, irritated the mind of the cardinal to a great degree, but all the wisest and most prudent members of the government felt themselves personally offended also by the rude and violent demeanour of the faction of *petits maîtres*. The court thus alienated, Condé proceeded in the same reckless spirit to offend the whole of the high nobility of the realm, about a trifling point of etiquette concerning the stools given to certain ladies in the circle of the queen He determined to procure for the wife of the Prince de Marsillac the privilege of having one of these seats at the court

a number of the other nobility asserted that their claims were equal, and demanded the same honour. Condé, however, opposed them, and, in consequence, made himself a crowd of enemies.

The nobles who had any claim called together the rest of the nobility in general assembly, to oppose the pretensions of the Prince de Marsillac; and this assembly called in again the clergy and deputies from the sovereign courts, to prevent the innovation which was attempted. Daily the number of those who attended the meetings increased, and it soon became perceptible, both to the queen and her minister, that if they did not put a stop to such proceedings, the states-general of the kingdom would be in fact assembled before the government was aware or willing that such a meeting should take place. Anne of Austria, therefore, though very willing to see Condé and the nobility in opposition to each other, commanded the clergy not to obey the call of the nobles. The clergy abstained; Condé was obliged to withdraw his demands, and the matter was thus terminated, leaving the prince embroiled with a number of the nobles, amongst whom were many partisans of the old Fronde itself.

With that faction, however, the *petits maîtres* had established other causes of enmity. Condé in his first quarrels with Mazarin had, as we have seen, shown a disposition to throw himself into the arms of the Fronde, and De Retz with his friends had hurried on eagerly to propose a general incorporation of the two parties, which could then have dictated what terms they pleased to the queen and her minister. In the eagerness of the moment, and under the presumption that Condé was irretrievably severed from the court, De Retz had suffered the extent of his views to be too plainly visible to the prince. He had proposed changes in the government which alarmed Condé for the stability of the royal authority; and had so distinctly pointed to the result of a civil war, that Condé, replying, he was not one to act the part of the famous Balafré, Duke of Guise, had hastened with the greater rapidity to conclude that reconciliation with the court of which we have spoken before. He expressed his thanks to De Retz, however, for his good wishes, and De Retz affected to regard him as before; but there can be no doubt that the coadjutor never forgot or forgave the rejection of his advances. The enmity of the two factions, however, was yet to be developed by a transaction, in the course of which were displayed in an extraordinary manner the advantages that Mazarin derived

throughout the civil war from his superior subtilty, which constantly frustrated De Retz's superior daring, and turned the arms of the coadjutor against himself.

The manœuvres of Mazarin for the return of Emery had at length proved successful, and he had been called back to the post of superintendent of finance, preparing the way for his own return by the distribution of large sums amongst the people, so judiciously managed as to change general odium into a very fair share of popularity. To counteract this, the leaders of the Fronde, whose enmity towards the superintendent still existed, took every measure in their power, and Emery himself soon gave them an opportunity of stirring up a great body of the people against him, by appropriating to the exigencies of government a fund which had been destined to discharge the rentes of the Hôtel de Ville. The holders of these rentes were thus left unpaid; and finding that the sheriffs and the *prévôt des marchands* did not espouse their interests, in opposition to the court, with that degree of zeal and fidelity which they expected, they held general assemblies of their own body, and chose syndics from amongst themselves, in order to support their claims and defend their rights.

Amongst these syndics was a famous partisan of the Fronde, and counsellor of the Châtelet, the well-known Guy Joly, who, in addition to his other qualities and capacities, was one of the most daring and impudent intriguers of the day. The assembly of the rent-holders of the Hôtel de Ville, however, did not please the parliament any more than it pleased the court. It was indeed illegal, as they formed no corporate body; and the choice of their syndics was also an unlawful act. The parliament consequently interfered, and the various chambers separately gave decrees both against the meetings, and against the election of officers by an unrecognised body. De Retz and his faction, however, tried to turn the very proceedings of the parliament for the suppression of acts encouraged and directed by the Fronde, to the unexpected result of uniting the parliament and the Fronde once more. They therefore urged on the parliament towards a general assembly of the chambers, well knowing that the majority of the Fronde in the lower chambers was sufficient to overpower the friends of tranquillity in the upper courts. The syndics, who were principally lawyers, were taught to assert that their office could not be attacked by any of the chambers separately, and that to deprive them of it required a general assembly of the whole.

Some of the chambers supported their pretensions, and it required all the skill and vigour of the chief president to stem the torrent, which would certainly have borne him away with it in the end; but, in the mean while, both the court and the syndics proceeded to unwise acts.

Mazarin, with the parliament on his side, prepared to arrest the refractory syndics; and Joly imagined and executed, under the direction of De Retz, one of the most impudent impositions on record. De Retz affects to deny any share in a transaction which proved as unsuccessful as it was disgraceful; but his own account, compared with that of Joly, leaves no doubt of his participation. In order to force the chambers to assemble, it was determined to enact a false attempt upon the life of one of the syndics, and Joly offered himself for the object. A gentleman of the name of Estainville, attached to the House of Noirmoutier, was fixed upon as one of the actors, on account of his skill in pistol-shooting; and everything having been arranged on the night preceding the appointed day, the pourpoint of Joly was placed upon a log of wood Estainville took aim at it, and hit it, wounding the passive garment in the arm. Exactly underneath the spot where the ball had pierced his pourpoint, Joly effected a wound in his flesh with the flint of a pistol.

On the following morning, at half past seven, the carriage of Joly was seen rolling slowly down the Rue des Bernardins, while Estainville watched its approach, with a pistol in his hand and a horse saddled near. The moment Joly saw him, he slipped down into the bottom of his carriage; Estainville fired with a sure aim, and pierced the vehicle exactly where the syndic should have been sitting. Though all Joly's lackeys had been purposely sent away, the people ran up at the report. Estainville mounted and galloped off; but his horse fell in passing over the slippery stones, and he was nearly taken. He contrived, however, to reach the Hôtel de Noirmoutier, where he concealed himself during the day, and at night sent back the horse to the Marquis de Fosseuse, who had lent it, and who now brutally caused it to be poisoned lest it should be recognised.

The balls fired at Joly's carriage, as fortune would have it, were picked up by the advocate-general Bignon; and Joly having been carried in haste to an ignorant surgeon in the neighbourhood, exposed the incision in his arm, which was treated as a real wound, and the seal of medical ignorance

was thus put upon the imposture. The news of what had happened spread through the town; the people, the rent-holders, and the parliament took fire. The cry became general, that Mazarin and the court had attempted to assassinate one of the syndics, and every art was employed by the Fronde to draw the greatest possible advantage from the farce which had just been performed. Information was immediately laid before the parliament of the act that was alleged to have been committed; great agitation manifested itself in that body, the *chambre des enquêtes* proceeded at once to the grand chamber, and everything was going on as the leaders of the Fronde could have desired, when either the over-zeal of a foolish friend, or the contrivance of an artful enemy, produced another act in the comedy, which left nothing but ridicule for the result.

The Marquis de la Boulaie, who had served the parliament faithfully during the siege, either imagined that he could push the affair of Joly into an absolute revolt, or was induced by the court to create a tumult in order to throw discredit on the whole affair. In the midst of the proceedings which were taking place in the parliament, he rushed into the great hall, and endeavoured to excite, not only the people, but even the courts themselves to take arms, declaring that the attack upon Joly was but the commencement of a general massacre, and that the next victims would be the coadjutor and the Duc de Beaufort.

It was the favourite maxim of a great and extraordinary man, that from the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a step. De Retz immediately perceived that the step had been taken, and he proceeded to do all that he could to counteract the ill effects of La Boulaie's proceedings. The cold water, however, which the leaders of the Fronde were obliged to throw upon the too fierce flame that some of their party had excited, served, of course, to extinguish in a great degree the fire which they themselves had kindled. The chief president and a great many other members seem to have suspected the truth at once: the proceedings of the chambers, instead of fierce and tumultuous movements in favour of the syndics, were carried on in the spirit of calm investigation; the parliament showed itself a court of law, and not a popular assembly; and while the whole plot was thus in train for being exposed, the *prévôt des marchands* proceeded to assure the queen of the attachment and fidelity of the city. Frustrated in the first effect, the views of the Frondeurs were still more completely obscured by the further movements of La Boulaie, who, gathering together

a body of horsemen, paraded the streets, creating agitation and confusion; and ere night, by the co-operation of drunken butchers and carters, he contrived to cause a sedition in the Place Dauphine and on the Pont Neuf, of which Mazarin skilfully took advantage.

While the cavaliers of La Boulaie still continued to occupy the Place Dauphine, Mazarin applied himself to persuade the Prince de Condé, who was at that moment at the palace, that a design had been formed against his life. The prince accompanied the queen to hear mass in the afternoon; but after his return, and immediately on quitting the council, an equerry came to him in haste from his intendant Perault, to inform him that one of the citizens had given intimation of a plot to assassinate him. The equerry, who had come in one of the prince's carriages, had been fired at in the Place Dauphine,* and the news of the conspiracy against Condé spread like lightning through the whole court. The queen entreated him in an earnest manner not to attempt to return to his own house; Mazarin besought him in the most moving terms not to expose a life so valuable to the state in a situation of unnecessary danger; and Condé, after persisting for some time in his design to go and investigate the affair himself, at length permitted a carriage to be sent across the Pont Neuf, with servants habited in his liveries. Several other vehicles followed, and on their arrival at the place where the mob was assembled, the carriages were not only attacked, but in the confusion one of the lackeys was killed by a pistol-shot.

In the midst of the tumult which followed, a thousand rumours of course arose, which have so troubled the stream of truth in regard to this affair, that it is impossible to see with any distinctness what really took place; but it would appear, from the confession of Joly himself, that it was in reality the Marquis de la Boulaie who attacked the carriage of the Prince de Condé, fully believing that he was actually in it. Joly distinctly says, "If the prince had been therein, it is certain he would have run a very great risk."

Whether La Boulaie was or was not instigated by the court for the purpose of turning the tables upon the Fronde, the act was attributable to him, and he was known to be attached to the Duc de Beaufort and De Retz. Some persons even declared that they had seen him fire the pistol by which the servant was either killed or wounded, and that immediately afterwards, he fled at full speed, taking refuge in the hotel of

* Madame de Motteville.

the Duc de Beaufort. At all events, Condé became fully convinced that a design had been formed to assassinate him by the leaders of the Fronde: a great part of the court believed such to be the case; the accusation spread from house to house, and from person to person; the inferior agents of the Fronde themselves, knowing of how much their leaders were capable, gave credit to the story also; and in four-and-twenty hours De Retz and the Duc de Beaufort saw themselves avoided by every one but their most intimate connexions, who, trembling for their lives, besought them to seek safety in flight. The court took care to encourage such fears and such purposes, as nothing was wanting to the success of Mazarin's schemes but the evasion of the two popular demagogues.

The Duchess de Montbazon, terrified both for herself and for the Duc de Beaufort, her avowed lover, proposed to the coadjutor to take refuge in Peronne, and to carry with him his mistress, Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. The exhibition of a demagogue archbishop-coadjutor of Paris in such a situation, running away with his mistress to Peronne, in order to avoid being tried for attempting to assassinate a prince of the blood royal, would certainly have been as edifying as Mazarin could have wished; but De Retz was a great deal too wise to put himself in such a condition, although it is not to be concealed that the position in which he actually stood was extremely dangerous. He took, however, the very best means to pluck out the heart of the peril by exposing himself to it without flinching. He went at once, attended by a single servant, to the hotel of the Prince de Condé, to beseech him to do him justice, and to believe that he was incapable of the crime of which he was accused. Condé treated him coldly, and haughtily laid his formal complaint before the parliament; and, while Mazarin, delighted to see him committed with the leaders of the Fronde, procured him witnesses, and the chief president Molé, in hopes of withdrawing the attention of the agitators from the proceedings of the government, prepared to give the accusation every attention, and to conduct the investigations with all those forms and ceremonies which would spread them over a long space of time, Condé pursued his charges against De Retz and the Duc de Beaufort with much unnecessary ostentation, joined to his usual impetuous vehemence. He never went to the palace of the parliament without being accompanied by from five hundred to a thousand officers and gentlemen; he insulted the leaders of the Fronde by look and word,

whenever he met them; and he affected to believe that the greatest precautions were necessary to defend his life from the dagger of the assassin.

In the mean while, however, public opinion began to change towards De Retz and the Duc de Beaufort. The real particulars of the attack upon Joly were suffered to transpire, probably with the connivance of the leaders of the Fronde themselves; for in thus drawing down a certain degree of ridicule upon their own plot, they excited a suspicion that the alleged attack upon the Prince de Condé was nothing but a counterplot, and covered over the stern features which the affair had at first assumed with the grinning mask of ridicule. They gave to the story of Joly the title of *La Joliade*, and the attack upon the Prince de Condé soon received the name of *La Joliade renforcée*. The disposition to jest thus excited, burst forth with shouts of laughter as soon as the names of the witnesses who were to appear against De Retz and Beaufort were made known. Canto, Pichon, La Comète, Macassar, Gorgibus, provoked the risibility of the people of Paris, and rendered the opinion general that the whole business was of the manufacture of Mazarin.

Laughter, however, gave way to indignation, when it was found that the witnesses brought forward against the archbishop-coadjutor of Paris and the grandson of Henry IV. were forgers, pickpockets, and swindlers; that some had been condemned to be hanged, that others had been more than once tried for robbery, and that all of them had been employed as spies by the government, and furnished with letters of licence not only to frequent the meetings of the rent-holders, but to use whatever means they thought fit to excite them to sedition and illegal acts, without being themselves responsible for their own part therein.

No sooner did De Retz find the turn which public favour had taken, than he seized it to brave the Prince de Condé. He brought up a number of the discontented nobility from the country, he gathered round him all who were attached to the Fronde in Paris, and speedily presented himself in the halls of the parliament with an escort as brilliant and almost as numerous as that which accompanied the victor of Rocroi and Nordlingen.

The meeting of two such hostile parties in the very sanctuary of justice was likely not only to obstruct the execution of the law, but to deluge those very halls with blood, and

render Paris the scene of a general massacre. Every moment some vehemence or recrimination took place between Condé and De Retz: the prince demanded that the coadjutor and the Duc de Beaufort should not be permitted to sit in that body which was to judge them; and De Retz boldly replied, that if they were to descend from their places, Condé should descend also as their accuser. The leaders of the Fronde even forced the first president to quit his chair, alleging that he had always shown himself inimical to them. Molé denied the accusation; but the parliament entertained it so far as to deliberate upon it, and during that time he was obliged to abandon the seat he had filled so nobly, quitting it with tears, which neither danger nor sorrow had ever caused to fall from his eyes before. He was immediately recalled, however, the chambers having decided that there was no ground for the charge of partiality, and the trial proceeded.

That trial, indeed, as far as juridical decision went, was a mere farce; the real business of the stage was enacted by the two factions.

Every one sought the Palais de Justice, armed with poniards; and even De Retz himself appeared there, with the hilt of a dagger protruding from his pocket. It was first observed by his own party, and the Duc de Beaufort, pointing it out to the rest, exclaimed in ridicule, "Lo! the breviary of our archbishop." All the others, however, were armed likewise; each was ready to shed his neighbour's blood, and a single rash word or act might have been the signal for a general massacre. Such was the apparent course of public events; but underneath all this was concealed one of those sudden but total changes which were peculiar to the epoch—one of the harlequin tricks of the Fronde.

In the first acts of the drama, the court had supported Condé in pursuing the destruction of the Frondeurs; and Mazarin, with keen policy, instigated the prince to every act that could widen the breach between him and the faction. Whichever succeeded, the party that succumbed was inimical to the minister; and in their divisions was his strength. But the impetuosity and pride of Condé were about this period excited to such a degree by opposition and irritation, that it approached to frenzy, and, unable to overpower at once the leaders of the Fronde, the vehemence of his nature spent itself upon those who were in reality supporting him. He still scoffed at, and openly insulted Mazarin; he accused

the government of not giving him sincere assistance against the Fronde. He every day made enemies amongst the nobility by his overbearing conduct, and his rash, and often illegal acts; and at length the disgust and indignation of the whole court was roused to put a stop to a tyranny which could no longer be borne.

Anne of Austria long hesitated as to what she should do to deliver herself from the domination of a man whom she feared without loving; but at length an aggravated insult to herself, and the councils of a woman of a bold and daring character, removed her irresolution. The Duchess de Chevreuse had been absent from France during the greater part of that period in which Condé had principally distinguished himself, and she did not share in the awe of the Parisians towards him. She still kept up what De Retz calls an incomprehensible union with the queen, notwithstanding all her intrigues; nor did she scruple to hold out to Anne of Austria a direct prospect of gaining the support of the Fronde itself in favour of her government, if that government would aid in avenging the Fronde upon the Prince de Condé.

Anne of Austria was unwilling to take a step which bordered upon ingratitude, although the late conduct of the prince might well be supposed to cancel the obligation of his former services. Neither could anything be done against him without the consent of the Duke of Orleans; who, though jealous both of the power, the talents, and the pretensions of Condé, did not forget that the veins of that prince were filled with the same blood as his own, and feared perhaps to set an example which at an after period might be used against himself. Two events, however, occurred about this time, the one of which tended, as we have said, to remove the irresolution of the queen; and the other had no slight, though a remote effect upon the Duke of Orleans. The latter event shows in a most extraordinary degree, in all its features and in all its circumstances, the utter absence of every consideration of morality amongst the French nobility at that time; and as it is not only necessary to touch upon such a subject, but imperative on the historian to display the want of moral feeling that then existed in its true light, a more favourable opportunity of doing so without inconvenience could not be found than in the story of the young Duc de Richelieu's marriage, the details of which are not offensive, though they fully illustrate the state of society in the French capital. That young

nobleman had been left under the tuition of his aunt, the Duchess of Aiguillon, niece of the Cardinal de Richelieu, to whom had descended a considerable portion of her uncle's vigorous intellect and decision of character. In looking round for a suitable match for her nephew, she had fixed her eyes upon the beautiful Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who, in addition to her personal charms and graces, was the heiress of very large estates. She was, it is true, notoriously and openly the mistress of the celebrated De Retz, archbishop-coadjutor of Paris; but such a temporary connexion formed no objection whatsoever in the eyes of the matron aunt of the young duke.

The Prince de Condé, however, resolved not only that Richelieu should not be attached to the Fronde by taking upon himself the honourable post of husband to the coadjutor's mistress, but that the citadel of Havre, which was in the hands of the young duke, should be transferred to himself, in order to strengthen his power in that quarter. A marriage was accordingly determined upon between him and Madame de Ponts, daughter of the celebrated Madame de Vigean, the intimate friend of the Duchess of Aiguillon.

In face, Madame de Ponts, who was the widow of a poor gentleman of high rank, was by no means handsome; though her figure was extremely beautiful, and her manners graceful and engaging. This combination of qualities had gained for her at the Parisian court the title of the "*ugly Helen;*" and she employed her fascinations to such effect upon the young duke, that she found no difficulty in carrying off his heart from Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. She was, Madame de Motteville tells us, by nature, *libérale de douceurs;* and the Duchess of Aiguillon, though she perceived the growing attachment of her nephew for Madame de Ponts, and did not perhaps judge that it was quite of a platonic kind, imagined that, according to the custom of the day, it was not of a character to prevent his alliance with any one else.

Madame de Ponts was united in strict friendship with the Duchess of Longueville, and through her the influence of the Prince de Condé was brought to bear upon the marriage. The whole business was conducted with great secrecy; the marriage took place in the country, without any one at the court being informed of it. The Prince de Condé acted the part of father on the occasion, and no sooner had he seen the young duke united to his Helen, than he despatched the

bridegroom with all speed to take possession of Havre, which his aunt had hitherto held as his guardian. No sooner did the queen and the Duchess of Aiguillon hear of the marriage which had taken place, than the first despatched an officer to seize upon Havre, and the latter a courier to command the governor she had placed therein to refuse an entrance to the young duke. Neither arrived in time; but De Bar, the officer despatched by the queen, obtained an interview with the Duc de Richelieu in the citadel, and persuaded him to cast off his connexion with Condé, and instead of giving up the castle to that prince, or the Duc de Longueville, to hold it himself for the queen.

It would appear that the price of this concession was the recognition of his marriage by the court; for his aunt threatened vehemently to annul the act, which, in consequence of his being still a minor, was illegal. The animosity of the Duchess of Aiguillon, however, towards the Prince de Condé was excited to a degree incapable of being appeased; and the haughty manner in which he informed her that a marriage celebrated in his presence should never be annulled, only served to aggravate her resentment.

An opportunity soon presented itself of taking vengeance upon Condé, which she did not fail to use. One of the maids of honour to the Duchess of Orleans, named Mademoiselle de Soyon, had captivated the heart of the inconstant duke, and had proved not insensible to his affection. Repentance, however, for having injured her royal mistress caused her for a time to retire into a convent of Carmelites, and declare that she would take the veil. The Abbé de la Rivière, habitual favourite of the Duke of Orleans, ventured to display the satisfaction that he felt at being delivered from a female rival; but the Duke of Orleans was in despair, and sought to bring back Mademoiselle de Soyon to the Luxemburg by every means in his power.

The words in which the tale is related are sufficiently indicative of the depravity of the age. "He employed the royal authority, that of the parliament, his own, and the counsels of all the friends of Mademoiselle de Soyon," we are told, *to withdraw his mistress from the convent of the Carmelites, and bring her back to the same palace with his wife.* The person who succeeded in this delicate, decent, and moral enterprise, was the Duchess of Aiguillon; and the inferior instrument which she employed in the pious task of persuading the un-

happy girl to return to her seducer, was her confessor, the Father Léon, a Carmelite monk, who found means, Madame de Motteville says, "of quieting the conscience of the young lady, and bringing her back to the court, with the hope of soon becoming Lady of the Bedchamber to the Duchess of Orleans!" The gratitude of the Duke of Orleans towards the Duchess of Aiguillon was very great, and we shall soon see how she employed her influence to aid in the ruin of the Prince de Condé. That gallant and impetuous prince had in the mean time, however, added a new insult to those which he had already offered to the queen.

Jerzé,* of whom we have already had to speak, was foolish enough about this time to fancy himself in love with Anne of Austria, and impudent enough to give himself the airs of a favoured lover. The queen endeavoured to correct him by mild means, but in vain; and his boldness increasing, she gave him so severe a reprimand in public, that the marquis retired in confusion and dismay. He found, however, a friend and protector in the Prince de Condé, who had the insolence to demand that the queen should receive him again to her presence, even on the very day when she had forbidden him for ever to present himself before her.

Mazarin endeavoured to change the prince's views, representing to him that Jerzé had ventured even to send a love-letter to the queen; and that after such insolence, no one could oblige the lowest woman in the world to receive the person who had committed it. The prince merely replied, as we are told, was his custom, that nevertheless it must be so, for that he willed it; and the Queen was in consequence obliged to support the presence of a man who had so grossly insulted her.

All these acts drove Anne of Austria and Mazarin to take advantage of the hints which had been given them, that a union might be effected with the Fronde. Madame de Chevreuse was sent for, and, in a conversation with Mazarin, promised the co-operation of the coadjutor through the influence of her daughter, of whose intrigue with the prelate she made no secret. The queen even wrote to him with her own hand, desiring an interview; and De Retz having consented

* The name is spelt, by contemporaries, in every different sort of way that it is possible to conceive; sometimes Gersé, sometimes Jarsay, sometimes Jarsé, sometimes Jerzai; but what was the true orthography of his name does not much signify.

immediately, a private meeting took place between Anne of Austria and the coadjutor. The minister followed her to the conference, and gave positive promises of obtaining for De Retz the nomination of France to the first vacant cardinal's hat; and it was finally determined between them to arrest the Princes of Condé and Conti, and the Duc de Longueville. Mazarin demanded, however, that the plan should be concealed from the Duc de Beaufort; and to compensate for such want of confidence, it was arranged that on the marriage of his brother with the niece of Mazarin, the reversion of the office of high-admiral should be positively secured to him on the death of his father the Duke of Vendôme.

Minor rewards were assigned to the other leaders of the Fronde, and the only difficulties that remained were to gain the consent of the Duke of Orleans, and to prevent a prince who had never been capable of keeping a secret in his life from imparting the dangerous one which was now of necessity to be confided to him, to his faithless favourite the Abbé de la Rivière. The Duchess of Aiguillon accomplished this difficult undertaking. The influence she had obtained through Mademoiselle de Soyon was exerted to induce the duke to coincide in the vigorous measures about to be employed against the princes; and he was easily led both to believe that La Rivière had impeded the return of his mistress from the Carmelites, and to resent such conduct by withholding from him the secret of the queen's designs.

All this having been secretly arranged, and the temporary union of the Fronde and the court complete, a curious picture was offered by the amalgamation of the most opposite parties, and the sudden change of position in all the actors of the day. Those who had drawn the sword a few months before mutually to cut each other's throats, went now hand-in-hand to destroy three men who had each at different times acted the most different parts; and those who had been sworn friends and supporters were now bent upon mutual destruction.

The enterprise which the queen had undertaken was not without great difficulty. It was absolutely necessary to arrest Conti and Longueville, as well as the prince, in order to avoid a ruinous civil war; but the three were seldom found together in any place where they could be seized without resistance. Warning had been given them that their enemies were busy; the Duc de Longueville kept at a short distance from Paris, and when two were present at the council, the third

was almost invariably absent. At length, however, a cause was to come on for hearing* before the council, in which they all took an interest; and Mazarin secretly instigated the parties concerned to beseech the Duc de Longueville to be present in the council-chamber. He promised to be so; and as soon as his resolution was known, measures were taken for arresting all three.

In the morning, the Prince de Condé had nearly discovered the design by some of those accidents which so often betray state secrets. He visited the palace, conversed with Mazarin, and approached Lionne, one of the secretaries, who was at the very moment busily engaged in writing the necessary orders for his arrest. The secretary shuffled the papers hastily under the table cover, and replied to the prince's questions with as unembarrassed a countenance as he could assume. During the same interview, Mazarin, who in the midst of the most imminent dangers could not resist an Italian love of pleasantry, played off upon Condé one of those practical sarcasms of which his countrymen, but more especially the Venetians, are still so fond. Some days before, after having taken measures to remove every chance of his enemy La Rivière being raised to the conclave, he had persuaded the abbé that his elevation was near, and had induced him to try different shades of scarlet, to see which would suit his complexion best when raised to the dignity of cardinal. He now informed the Prince de Condé that a prisoner, a witness of great importance to the trial of the Frondeurs, was likely to be rescued in being brought into Paris; and he persuaded the prince to sign an order with his own hand for a body of gendarmerie and light horse, to convey to Vincennes whatever prisoners should be placed under their charge.

On the appointed day, the 18th of January 1650, the queen affected to be indisposed, and went to bed, ordering herself to be called on the meeting of the council. She was visited, however, during the morning, by her friend the Princess Dowager of Condé; and her heart was torn by the kind and affectionate interest which the mother of Condé displayed in regard to an illness which was assumed to cover the proceedings against her own sons. Although Anne of Austria played her part steadily and resolutely, she could not help suffering a certain degree of emotion to appear, and the Princess de Condé went away with some suspicion of a design being

* Madame de Motteville says that it was the cause of one nobleman and the memoir of Artagnan of another; but the result was the same.

formed against her family. She communicated her doubts to Condé, but they were not attended to; and he proceeded to the council evidently without the slightest apprehension on his own part.

After conversing for some time with the queen, who still remained in bed, and holding a conversation with the Abbé de la Rivière, in the course of which the precautions that had been taken for the purpose of excluding the ordinary crowd of courtiers from the Palais Royal had nearly betrayed the designs of the court, Condé proceeded, with the Duc de Longueville and the Prince de Conti, who had arrived after him, to the gallery in which the councils were ordinarily held, and where all the ministers were by this time assembled. The Duke of Orleans was absent, his timid nature not permitting him to witness the act which he approved: but the queen had ordered herself to be summoned as soon as the other members of the council were ready, and a notification to that effect was immediately conveyed to her. She then instantly gave orders to Guitaut, the captain of the guard, and Comminges his nephew, to arrest the Prince de Condé, with his brother and brother-in-law; and, taking the young king by the hand, she retired into her oratory to pray.

Everything having been prepared beforehand, Guitaut entered the gallery, and approached the prince, in whose opinion he stood high. Condé received him with a smiling air, imagining that he came to ask some favour at his hands; but Guitaut, addressing him in a low voice, so as to be unheard by the rest of the party, informed him that he had an order to arrest him, with the Duc de Longueville and the Prince de Conti.

"Me! me!" cried the prince, and immediately demanded eagerly to see the queen. Guitaut could not, of course, permit him to quit the gallery; but he carried a message from the prince to the queen. She refused, however, to see him, and Condé was forced to acquiesce. Escorted by a party of musketeers, he was led through several of the passages of the Palais Royal, proceeding with a bold demeanour, and all his usual presence of mind about him. He asked Guitaut to what prison he was to be conducted, adding, jocularly, that he hoped it was to some warm place: and seeing amongst the soldiers some of those who had served under him, he said, "My friends, this is not the battle of Lens."

Though those words might well be considered an exhorta-

tion to revolt, the soldiery remained faithful to their duty. Passing, however, through a small and somewhat obscure room, a momentary apprehension was brought across the mind of the prince by the sight of all the preparations which had been made for his arrest, and by the tortuous ways through which he was conducted to the spot where the carriage waited for him. The fate which had befallen the Duke of Guise and his brother presented itself to his memory, and turning to Guitaut, he said, "This resembles too much the States of Blois."

"Fear nothing, my lord," replied Guitaut. "I am not a man to undertake such deeds."

The Prince de Conti and the Duc de Longueville followed at some distance; the former displaying a degree of quiet indifference which could hardly have been expected from him; and the latter plunged into a state of depression and grief which was naturally to be looked for in his character.

After having entered the carriage which was destined to conduct them to Vincennes, and met the escort which, under the express order of Condé himself, was to guard him to prison, nothing of any great importance happened. The vehicle, indeed, upset, and Condé, apparently imagining that the accident had not occurred without some design in his favour on the part of those who conducted him, made an effort to escape;* but when he found that such was not the case, and that they exerted themselves to secure him, he acquiesced at once. In the prison itself no beds were found, and Condé, with his relations, passed the night in playing at cards, and disputing about the truth of astrology as a science, with so much wit and playfulness, that Comminges, who remained to guard the princes, declared he had never passed more pleasant moments than those he spent in Vincennes.

The sensation produced in Paris by the arrest of the princes was, of course, very great. Boutteville, afterwards Marshal Duke of Luxemburg, galloped through the streets, with a small train, crying out to the people that they had arrested Broussel, and some commotion took place in consequence; but it was soon calmed by De Retz and the Duc de Beaufort, who went forth on foot and told the populace the truth. No sooner did the Parisians hear that Condé was arrested, that he who had blockaded the city, and treated the rabble of the capital with unconcealed contempt, had been

* M. de Motteville.

doomed to imprisonment by the very court he had served, than the loudest acclamations rent the sky; and Paris blazed with bonfires during the whole night.

Madame de Longueville was sent for by the queen; but, divining that it was the intention of the court to arrest her, she made her escape into Normandy. The Princess Dowager of Condé, overwhelmed with grief and indignation, received an order to retire to one of her estates; and all the friends and adherents of the prince looked with apprehension for the next act of a government which had shown a degree of vigour that no one expected from it. The sincere grief of the queen, however, for the act of severity which she had been already obliged to perform, the calm and humble tone of Mazarin, and the frank openness of conduct displayed by the whole court, reassured very soon all the inferior connexions of the house of Condé; and even Chavigni, who had attached himself strongly to the prince, and was supposed to be acquainted with all his secret purposes, openly declared that Mazarin had acted wisely in arresting a man who, had he been suffered to go on, would have effected his destruction.

Nevertheless, the relations of the imprisoned princes did not fail to raise the standard of revolt against the queen. Madame de Longueville, in Normandy, indeed, met with a reception by no means agreeable: the parliament of Rouen insisted, in civil terms, upon her quitting that town; and the Duc de Richelieu refused to receive her in Havre. She then betook herself to Dieppe, where she endeavoured, as far as possible, to raise the country in behalf of her husband; and in some degree was successful. The castle of Dieppe was in her hands, and the Pont-de-l'Arche, which commanded the course of the Seine, was held by an officer of the Duc de Longueville.

On the other hand, the Duc de Bouillon fled under just apprehensions of being arrested, and took refuge at Turenne; and Turenne himself, who since the peace had attached himself strongly to the Prince de Condé, cast himself into Stenay, which had been given up to the prince by Mazarin. The Prince de Marsillac, after having aided Madame de Longueville to make her escape from Paris, hastened to his own estates in Poitou; and in Burgundy, which province had been under the government of the Prince de Condé, a number of that prince's officers announced their determination of holding out the towns in which they commanded, on behalf of Condé.

Against all these symptoms of insurrection Mazarin took instant and vigorous measures. A letter was sent to the parliament, justifying the conduct of the court towards the princes; and as soon as it was known that the Duchess of Longueville and the rest had fled with the purpose of taking arms, the king published a declaration which was duly verified by the parliament, commanding all the fugitives to return within fifteen days, on pain of being considered disturbers of the public peace and guilty of high treason. The two Princesses of Condé received an order to retire to Chantilly, with which the young princess complied at once, while her mother-in-law laboured eagerly to effect by mild means the liberation of her son.

About the same time, Mazarin led the court into Normandy at the head of a small body of troops. The Pont-de-l'Arche, and almost all the other places which were held by officers of the Duc de Longueville, surrendered with scarcely any resistance to the royal forces; and the duchess, whose situation in Dieppe was anything but safe, took ship, and made her escape to Holland, whence she proceeded to Stenay and joined Turenne. From Normandy, Mazarin led the royal family and forces into Burgundy, where some slight resistance was offered by different towns, especially Bellegarde, into which several celebrated commanders had thrown themselves; but their defence of that place was not equal to their reputation; and the whole of Burgundy was very soon reduced to obedience. The Prince de Condé was then formally dismissed from the government of that province, and the Duc de Vendôme was nominated to fill the vacant post.

After these exploits, which were made the most of by the court party, Mazarin returned triumphant to Paris, and the moderation which he had at first displayed gave way to a certain degree of presumption. That presumption, however, was not well founded; for although he had extinguished the flame of revolt in Normandy and Burgundy, Stenay still adhered to the party of the princes on the frontiers of Champagne; the Duc de Bouillon was making head at Turenne; the Duc de St. Simon declared openly for them in Blaye; Marsillac was in arms in Angoumois and Poitou; and behind him again, the discontented populace and parliament of Bordeaux, already almost in a state of revolt, showed the seeds of rebellion rapidly sprouting up, and promised a fine harvest to the hands of the nobles, who were ready to reap it

immediately. The first efforts of the rebels, however, in all parts of France, were unsuccessful against the fortunes of the court. One of the earliest attempts was that of the Prince de Marsillac, who, by the death of his father, became, about that time, Duc de Rochefoucault. Having gathered together a number of gentlemen, to the amount of about seven hundred, he hoped to obtain possession of Saumur, and to form in it the nucleus of the general insurrection which he proposed to raise throughout the province. But in this purpose he was disappointed; for in the internal wars of France Mazarin took care to make use of what the famous Frederick the Great used to call his yellow hussars; and the minister thus obtained possession of Saumur by a private treaty with the governor.

Disappointed in all his efforts in Angoumois, La Rochefoucault, well knowing the necessity of union under the circumstances in which the party of the Prince de Condé was placed, proceeded to confer with the Duc de Bouillon, and a plan was arranged between them, which, as we shall see, rendered that insurrection most formidable, which, had it been opposed with the same vigour Mazarin had displayed in Normandy and Burgundy, might have been more easily put down than even the resistance of those provinces. A number of other noblemen and gentlemen joined themselves to Bouillon and La Rochefoucault; and the civil war which ensued, and which troubled France for several years, now proceeded in two separate streams, from Guienne on the one side, and from Stenay on the other. These two streams we shall proceed to consider apart, in order to avoid the chaotic confusion which the constant changes of all the partisans produced during this part of the wars of the Fronde.

CHAPTER IX.

Proceedings of the Insurgents—The young Princess de Condé makes her Escape from Chantilly—Proceeds to Bordeaux with Bouillon and Rochefoucault—Her Courage and Presence of Mind—Conduct of Mazarin—Treaty with Holland—Movements of Turenne—He advances towards Vincennes—Efforts to release the Prisoners—Siege of Bordeaux—Death of Richon and Canoles—Bordeaux capitulates—Proceedings in the North—Rhetel taken—Battle of Rhetel—Total Defeat of Turenne.

In the meetings between the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, it had been determined to take advantage of the discontent of the people of Guienne, to assemble as large a force from amongst the nobles who were attached to the

Prince de Condé as possible, to call the young princess, with her infant son, into the South, in order to put her at their head, and taking possession of the city of Bordeaux, to render it the capital of the insurgent districts.

Gourville, who had faithfully served both Roche-foucault and Condé, was despatched in all haste to Chantilly, in order to confer with the princess dowager, and induce her to send her daughter-in-law to lead the malcontents in Guienne. But the princess had been already applied to by a man attached strongly to Condé, the counsellor Lénet, who besought her to send the young princess into Burgundy, in order to excite that province to display greater vigour and determination in the revolt which it had commenced. His application, indeed, had not been successful, but Gourville found the princess still undecided as to what course she should pursue.

Claire Clemence de Maillé Brézé, Princess of Condé, was at that time young, lively, graceful, and though not handsome, interesting as well as engaging. She had never obtained her husband's love, nor had she possessed any authority or consideration in his family; for, married to the young prince against his inclinations under the iron rule of Richelieu, she had brought to the haughty house of Condé nothing but the blood of a simple gentleman and the protection of the all-powerful minister. She now, however, showed her determination to exert herself vigorously in behalf of her husband; and in the efforts she made for that purpose, she acted with greater wisdom, prudence, and foresight than could have been expected from one so little experienced in the affairs of the world. For some time no opportunity of action had presented itself; and it was not till the arrival of Lénet, who hastened from Burgundy to give his advice at Chantilly, that her character began to appear in its true light.

At first the princess dowager carried on all the negotiations which took place regarding the Prince de Condé, and his wife took but little part therein; while love and amusement seemed to be the whole occupation of the small court that she held at the palace of her husband. But this external semblance of tranquillity and dissipation was the best calculated to cover whatever designs were formed at Chantilly; and the court, which took care that the relations of Condé should be closely watched, was deceived, and contented itself simply with

giving an order for Lénet to retire from Paris, well knowing his intriguing nature, and doubting the effects upon the calm household of the Princess de Condé.

The endeavours of the princesses, for a time, were restricted to an attempt to divide the parties at the court, and break up the unnatural alliance which existed between Mazarin and the Fronde; but as soon as the invitation was received from Bouillon and Rochefoucault, the prospect of the revolt in Guienne was so attractive, that it was determined immediately to profit by it. The only difficulty was, how to effect the passage of the young princess across the country; but the journey, nevertheless, was executed without risk, for, as Gourville himself observes, in those days things could be accomplished easily which a very few years afterwards men would not have believed to be possible.

It had been determined in the secret councils of Chantilly, that the princess dowager should proceed to Paris, in order to present a petition to the parliament in regard to her children, while her daughter-in-law effected her escape. But before these purposes were executed on either part, Mazarin, having gained some intimation that intrigues of a dangerous character were going on at Chantilly, caused some troops to advance in order to invest that place; and at the same time he despatched an officer of the name of Vouldy, with letters to the two princesses, commanding them to retire into Berry, notifying also that Vouldy had received orders not to lose sight of them.

In fact they were to consider themselves as honourable prisoners, and the command to retire to Berry was judged by them rightly to be merely a pretext for sending Vouldy with them into the strong place of Montrond, which they held for the Prince de Condé, and upon which Mazarin was naturally anxious to seize. Information of this messenger's approach, however, had preceded him, and Lénet had immediately adopted measures for deceiving him.

The young princess, who was ill in bed, was made to rise, and an English girl, one of her maids of honour, who resembled her, was ordered to take her place, with directions to counterfeit her mistress. The gardener's son, about the same age with the young Duke d'Enguien, was dressed in his clothes; and the dowager duchess, who was not sick at all, went to bed and affected severe illness.

The young princess was concealed by the curtains of her

mother-in-law's bed when the messenger from the king was brought into the presence of the dowager princess, and listened while the letters were read, the contents of which we have already detailed. The dowager princess found an excuse for not obeying at once the will of the government in the sickness with which she pretended to be afflicted. The messenger showed no opposition to her proposed delay, and was conducted from her presence to that of the pretended Princess de Condé, where, with the windows half closed and the curtains drawn, the young English girl performed the part assigned to her so well, that the officer of the king was completely deceived, and was detained at Chantilly for more than seven days by the pretended illness of the two princesses, thinking that he daily saw the mother, the wife, and the son of Condé long after the two latter had made their escape.

As soon as he had gone to bed on the night after his arrival, a consultation was held as to the means to be adopted for conducting the flight of the young princess and the Duke d'Enguien in security. It was at length determined that it should be done by means of a carriage, which had been prepared beforehand, and which was brought to a place appointed in the forest of Chantilly. Harness for four horses was sent out to the same place in an ordinary carriage from the château, and the four horses themselves were led forth unharnessed, as if to drink, but never returned.

At eleven o'clock at night the young princess took leave of her mother-in-law, and, accompanied by three ladies and her husband's physician, a man of great courage and determination, proceeded on foot through the forest to the spot where the carriage awaited her. They were followed by some attendants, appointed to carry the young Duke d'Enguien in their arms, and to defend him in case of being attacked in the forest; and Lénet himself, with a party of servants, took another path, in order not to attract attention by the number of persons collected.

The ladies and their immediate attendants found the carriage, and proceeded in it without interruption to Paris; while Lénet and the servants followed to the city by another road. A fresh carriage with a relay of horses was sent on, and at four o'clock in the morning the whole party were on the road from the capital to Montrond.

Every precaution was taken not to excite suspicion. One of the ladies of the princess, taking a false name, assumed

the character of the mother of the family in the carriage; Lénet and the rest, though they never lost sight of the princess's party, affected to be in no degree connected with it, lodged at different inns, and treated the members thereof as perfect strangers. As they approached Burgundy, however, the matter became more easy, and, instead of going into the great towns, they went from house to house belonging to the friends and partisans of the Prince de Condé, till at length they arrived in safety at Montrond towards midnight on the 14th of April.

In the mean while, the king's officer at Chantilly remained completely deceived; and on the first reports which were spread in Paris of the evasion of the princess, he assured Mazarin that they were false, informing him that he saw the wife and son of Condé every day. After spending some time at Montrond in arranging their plans for the future, and in negotiating with the different noblemen attached to the party of Condé, the young princess proceeded to Turenne to confer with the Duke of Bouillon, and then, with an escort of several hundred men, went on to Bordeaux, in order to execute the enterprise which had been before laid out.

From the negotiations which had previously taken place, neither Bouillon nor Rochefoucault, who accompanied the young princess, had any idea that the parliament or city of Bordeaux would object to receive the whole party within the walls. A great body of persons within the town, however, headed by the most influential citizens, were not at all disposed to admit so large a force as that which accompanied the princess. To herself and her son they willingly gave admission, and promised protection, though they showed considerable disinclination to compromise themselves any further with the court; but the two dukes, with their friends, were obliged to remain without the walls for some time. They were allowed to enter every day, indeed, unattended by their retainers; and by flattery and fair speeches they at length so far obtained the confidence of the citizens, as to be permitted to bring in their troops, which being done, they proceeded of course to endeavour to rule the city that had given them refuge.

The provincial parliament of Bordeaux had through all its conduct shown a disposition to waver between loyalty and revolt, the spirit being that of insurrection, but the forms those of obedience. It entertained, however, at the present

moment, great apprehensions lest by its treatment of the princess and her partisans, it should bind itself to their cause in so formal a manner as not to be able to disentangle itself. The object of Bouillon, Rochefoucault, and the rest, was of course to drive it to the very acts it feared to commit; for which purpose it was determined to rouse the populace of the city in favour of the princess, and induce it to force the parliament to promulgate such decrees as would commit it with the court, and compel it to remain attached to the cause of Condé. Means were taken to effect that object; but either from those means not having been so judiciously employed as by De Retz in Paris, or from the Gascons being of a more excitable nature than the Parisians, the tumult became far more serious than had been expected or desired: many of the members of the parliament, becoming alarmed, sought to fly from the hall in which they were assembled, but were driven back by the people with blows and insults, several of them were wounded, and consternation spread through the whole body.

Notice, however, of the situation of the parliament was given to some of the principal citizens; the burghers flew to arms in order to deliver the magistrates, and the two parties met before the Palais de Justice, with all their passions inflamed, and ready to massacre each other. A shot or two had been fired, and a sanguinary scene of strife was about to be enacted, when the princess, who had also been informed by the parliament of its situation, appeared upon the steps of the palace with some of her women, and, by a motion of her hand, at once stopped the hostile movements of both parties. Then, advancing towards them, she exclaimed aloud, "Let those that love me follow me!" and turned towards her own dwelling, accompanied by the whole body of the people, shouting loudly, "Long live the princess!"

This, however, was not the first occasion on which Clemence de Maillé had shown those talents and that presence of mind which are of so much importance in such transactions as those in which she was engaged. In her transactions with the parliament of Bordeaux, she had from the first displayed qualities which nobody had attributed to her: she had employed every means to move that body, and excite it in favour of her husband, tears, prayers, supplications, persuasions, mingled with all those little graces and turns which are so well calculated to captivate and attract the multitude.

While the parliament of Bordeaux hesitated and temporised, and the princess and her friends exerted themselves in the strongest manner to increase the number of their partisans in the town, and to draw from without all the scattered adherents of the house of Condé, so as to assemble round her a sufficient force to command, if prayers should fail, Mazarin was pursuing in Paris the very course which Condé could have desired.

The cardinal was not what the Scripture emphatically calls "a free-giver;" he never could bear to grant anything, or to make any concession that was not absolutely wrung from him; liberal in promise, he was parsimonious in performance, and, as soon as he had obtained his object, the price which he had engaged to pay for it became so greatly magnified in his eyes, that he could not bear to keep his word. Thus, when negotiating with the Frondeurs to insure their concurrence in the arrest of Condé, he had promised all things that they could desire with the utmost facility; and immediately after the event was consummated, he had reiterated those promises with every mark of gratitude and sincerity. After returning triumphant, however, from Normandy and Burgundy, his good fortune, to use the words of De Retz, got into his head; and an inclination to delay, if not to avoid, became manifest to the eyes of all.

At the same time, the plan which had been agreed upon between the two Princesses of Condé was executed on the part of the princess dowager. She proceeded to Paris, and presented a petition to the parliament, demanding to be taken under its protection, and to be insured permission to remain in the capital, in order to pursue the justification of her sons, without running the risk of being arrested. The parliament agreed to protect her till such time as the Duke of Orleans could be consulted upon the subject; and that prince was brought unwillingly to take his seat. But at the door of the great chamber he was encountered by the princess, who threw herself at his feet, and besought his countenance and support. She addressed, also, the Duke of Beaufort and De Retz in terms of deep humility; causing in the bosom of the coadjutor, if we may believe his word, feelings such as he seldom experienced. He had nearly died, he says, of shame.

The duke and the coadjutor, however, were still determined not to suffer any application in favour of Condé to be effectual; they obtained from the parliament that the prin-

cess's petition should be refused; and an order was sent her to quit Paris immediately, and to retire to a distance from the city. She was forced to obey, but fell ill on the road; and, in the mean time, Mazarin proceeded to irritate De Retz, by refusing, or neglecting, to grant the amnesty which had been promised, by quibbling upon the words of his bargain, and by supporting Emery in various pitiful attempts to strip the fundholders of the Hôtel de Ville of some part at least of their dues. While by this dirty policy, however, the cardinal was raising up enemies against himself in the capital, he was taking measures for suppressing the revolt of Guienne; and, seeing that a civil war was still likely to be the consequence, he was endeavouring to create a diversion in favour of France in her struggle with the Spaniards, by entering into a treaty with the young Prince of Orange. This was concluded by the famous Count d'Estrades, and the prince managed to break the existing peace with Spain and with England. Great efforts were to be made by the allies: every means were to be used to establish Charles II. on the British throne; the town of Antwerp was to be attacked by the allied troops; Bruges and Mons were also to be assailed; the town of Antwerp was to be left in the hands of the Prince of Orange; and fifty Dutch ships were to be maintained by Holland in the narrow seas, from the 1st of May to the end of November in the following year.

While guarding himself on that side, however, a storm more serious even than that which was gathering at Bordeaux, menaced Mazarin from the north. Turenne had fled from Paris, shortly after the arrest of the Prince de Condé, having previously refused various tempting offers which Mazarin made to him; and had thrown himself into the town of Stenay, which, together with Jamets and some other places on the frontiers of Champagne, held out in favour of the princes. He there sold all his silver plate, and the Duchess of Longueville, who soon joined him, all her jewels, in order to raise troops; and every effort was made by Turenne and the duchess to seduce the forces which had served under him in Germany, but with so little effect that only two regiments and part of a third joined them at Stenay.

Surrounded by troops attached to the monarch, Turenne was likely to be overwhelmed, and he consequently applied eagerly to the Spaniards for the purpose of obtaining armed assistance in his revolt. Alarmed by such tidings, Mazarin

renewed his offers to Turenne, but he did so in vain; and the negotiations with the Spaniards, after some delays and difficulties from a certain grasping spirit upon their part, were concluded. Turenne, now at the head of a Spanish and French army amounting to about eighteen thousand men, advanced to the frontier, and took Le Catelet, Guise, and some other places.

The movements, however, of Du Plessis Praslin, who at the head of a small army of French troops, threw himself between the Spaniards and their supplies, forced them to raise the siege of the citadel of Guise, and, abandoning that enterprise, they returned towards La Capelle, which immediately surrendered.

Turenne now wished to march straight upon Paris, but the Spaniards would not consent to such a movement, and that great general was obliged to content himself with the capture of Rhetel, and of some other towns in that neighbourhood. Carried away by a probable hope of delivering the imprisoned princes by a *coup de main*, he then left the Spanish army on the banks of the Aisne, and advanced with three thousand horse direct towards Vincennes.

In the mean time the fate of the prisoners themselves had been but little varied since the night of their arrival at the place of their imprisonment. The Prince de Conti, on finding himself enclosed within the sombre walls of Vincennes, had asked for the famous work called the "Imitation of Jesus Christ;" and his bolder brother, gazing around, and already meditating his escape, demanded, on the contrary, "an imitation of the Duke of Beaufort," who, it may be remembered, had contrived to drop from the walls not long before. No means, however, presented themselves to Condé of following his example; and when news was brought him, that his wife had raised the standard of revolt in Guienne, he turned from some flowers which he found a pleasure in cultivating, exclaiming, "Who would have thought that my wife would be making war upon my enemies, while I am watering my carnations!"

Beside the general efforts of their friends to effect their liberation by force of arms, various enterprises were undertaken for the purpose of enabling the prisoners to effect their escape: the first of these enterprises was conducted by Gourville, whom we had more than one occasion to mention. He had been godfather to one of the children of a corporal of

the guard, named Francœur, who was at that time on duty at Vincennes, and through him he now established a communication with the other soldiers.

The princess dowager furnished money to smooth the way for the deliverance of her sons; and promises, which may be considered as the paper-money of gratitude, were showered liberally amongst the soldiery of the prison: privates were to become officers, corporals captains, sergeants colonels. Two hundred thousand livres were to be distributed amongst the conspirators, and a vague train of spectre advantages was seen beyond, if the prison doors could but be opened to Condé. What between enthusiasm for the great hero of the age, and the real and imaginary benefits with which their hopes were tempted, almost all the soldiers of the guard were gained over to the purposes of Gourville, and it was determined that the liberation of the princes should be effected on the following Sunday, at the hour of vespers. De Bar, the governor, was in the habit of going to church at that time with all the officers of the garrison, and the soldiers had determined to cause bars to be made by which the doors of the church could be shut upon 'them while the liberation of the princes was effected.

The whole plan was so feasible, and the soldiery so completely determined, that joy and satisfaction spread through the family of Condé. The princess dowager, however, thought it necessary to entrust the secret to four gentlemen attached to the person of her son, that they might aid in the enterprise. One of them took fright upon the eve of executing the project, and, pretending to go to confess himself at Nôtre Dame, he informed the grand penitentiary that he had committed a robbery, and wished by his means to make restitution. To that purpose he handed him a packet, in which he said the name of the person robbed would be found; but when, on reaching his own house, the grand penitentiary opened the paper, instead of what he expected to meet with, he found written, "On Sunday next, at three o'clock, the princes are to be set at liberty: there is an understanding in Vincennes to that effect."

The penitentiary immediately carried the note to the coadjutor, who, as well as the Duke of Beaufort, was at that time in strict union with the court. Beaufort at once mounted on horseback, put himself at the head of some troops of cavalry, and scoured the country in the neighbourhood of

Vincennes, in order to arrest any accomplices who might be lurking about to favour the enterprise. He found no one, indeed; but his appearance in the neighbourhood spread consternation amongst the conspirators, who immediately perceived that their project was discovered. Gourville communicated the fact to Francœur, and he to his companions. Amongst themselves the secret was admirably well kept; Gourville made his escape immediately into Poitou, the guard at Vincennes was changed, but no discovery of the conspirators was made, and the enterprise only ended in disappointment. Other efforts were not wanting, however, for the purpose of liberating them; and while they were at Marcoussi, to which place they were soon after transferred, the Duke of Nemours formed a similar design, which would almost inevitably have set them at liberty, had they not been suddenly removed to Havre.

Through the whole time of their imprisonment, the skill and industry of their friends found methods of carrying on with the prisoners a constant correspondence. One of the means employed was ingenious, and succeeded in completely deceiving the vigilance of De Bar. Reading and gaming, and the cultivation of his flowers, were the only amusements afforded to the great Condé; but the prisoners were suffered to receive, from time to time, sums of money, which, probably, might be agreeable to the governor and his satellites under various points of view; for the enjoyments and conveniences which prisoners can procure are so few, that they are always willing to pay for any little indulgence which money can obtain. The sums sent to them consisted in large crown-pieces; and amongst these their friends contrived to slip small silver boxes exactly modelled like the coin, and containing in their hollow centre any information that might be necessary to give them. They found means to convey their answers back, either by throwing the hollow crowns from the windows beyond the moat, or by gaining the officers of the prison to their views. So easy, indeed, had their communication with persons without become, that even swords and daggers were furnished to them. Other enterprises were afterwards framed for the purpose of delivering them from Havre when they had been conveyed to that place; but as it would have been necessary to have used force for the purpose of effecting their evasion from the strong citadel in which they were confined, and a risk to their own lives would

thereby have been incurred, the attempt was altogether abandoned. They were at Vincennes when the movements of Turenne took place; and it was the appearance of a design upon that prison which alarmed Mazarin, and caused him to remove the princes from their first place of imprisonment to the castle of Marcoussi. Turenne soon found that he would be frustrated in the object of his enterprise; and, retiring across the Aisne, he rejoined the Spaniards.

It was a part of Mazarin's policy, on all occasions, by exciting the hopes of his enemies to paralyse their exertions; and at this time he not only carried on negotiations with the Prince de Conti, in which he endeavoured to regain the princes to his interests by marrying Conti to one of his nieces, but he entered into communication also with the Spanish government, holding out a prospect of peace upon easy terms. These proceedings kept the army under Turenne in a state of inactivity for some time, till, finding that the vague hopes afforded by Mazarin were not likely to be realised, the Spanish force advanced, and invested Mouson, which did not surrender for several weeks. It being, by the time that place had fallen, the middle of November, the principal part of the Spanish forces retired into Flanders, leaving Turenne with about eight thousand men upon the frontier.

In the mean while the insurgents in Bordeaux had taken every possible means of strengthening their position. A number of experienced officers had joined the princess; negotiations had taken place with Spain, the government of which country did everything that it possibly could to support the revolt; and various small, but important, places in the neighbourhood had been occupied by the insurgent forces. The Duke of St. Simon, however, after having given the princess every reason to believe that he would join her party, had, on the contrary, declared for the queen, and greatly annoyed the insurgents from his strong post at Blaye.

The posture of affairs at Guienne had now become so menacing that Mazarin judged it necessary to lead the court towards the scene of action; and while the Maréchal de Meilleraie advanced upon Bordeaux with a small army, the king, the queen, the minister, and the whole court followed as far as Bourg. At the same time the Duke of Epernon and the Chevalier de la Valette had gathered together all the forces that they could muster, and, acting in union with Meilleraie, threatened Bordeaux with immediate investment.

The principal part of the troops of the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault had been posted at Blanceford; but they were soon driven in: and at the same time the royal forces attacked the castle of Vaire, on the Dordogne; and the governor,* having surrended at discretion, was immediately hanged as a rebel. Bouillon and Rochefoucault, however, knowing the danger of suffering such a precedent, ordered the Baron de Canoles, who had been taken some time before, for immediate execution; and such a prompt and decided measure of reprisal immediately put a stop to this kind of slaughter in detail.

The siege of Bordeaux then commenced; and the defence of so indefensible a place, surrounded by large and scattered suburbs, which the generals were not permitted to destroy, without any regular defences, and only a scanty body of disciplined troops and a crowd of citizen partisans, who more frequently impeded than accelerated the operations of their commanders, added greatly to the military reputation of the Duke of Bouillon, who took the lead in all the proceedings for the maintenance of the place.

The principal attack was made upon the Porte Dijeaux, and by the Fauxbourg St. Saurin. An open suburb, and a mere city gate without one outwork to protect it, except a large dunghill out of which Bouillon and Rochefoucault had attempted to construct a half-moon, appeared to the royalist generals a very easy conquest; but they found themselves mistaken. A severe contest took place for the suburb, which cost the royal army near eight hundred men in the attack; and, even when they had obtained possession of it, the half-moon before the Porte Dijeaux offered so vigorous a resistance, that, as Ramsay observes, it was wonderful to see a mere dunghill become the principal defence of an important city.

Mazarin, however, whenever he was forced to carry a sword in one hand, was sure to carry a roll of parchment in the other; and, while his generals were thus vigorously attacking the city of Bordeaux, he was as vigorously negotiating with the inhabitants. Some deputies from the parliament of Paris, to which body the parliament of Bordeaux had applied for support and assistance, had followed the court rapidly to the

* His name was Richon: the Princess of Condé herself was present when judgment was pronounced upon Canoles, who was hanged in reprisal. The name of the latter is sometimes written Canot.

south, and, after a short interview with the queen and Mazarin, they proceeded to Bordeaux, where they persuaded all parties to strive for peace. Deputies were sent out from the insurgent town to confer with the court at Bourg; a truce of six days was concluded; and at length, on the 29th of September, a treaty of peace was signed, in which the rebels were certainly treated more mildly than they had any right to expect.

The principal item of the treaty was full pardon to the citizens of Bordeaux; but by others it was agreed that the Princess of Condé and her son should retire to Montrond, that the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault should pledge themselves never to bear arms again against the king, and that the court should take possession of the city only accompanied by the ordinary guard. This being all happily concluded, the rebel leaders went out to visit their offended sovereign; on which occasion, to make use of the few, but meaning, words of Ramsay, the queen received them graciously, and the cardinal gave them their dinner. In the course of their interview with Mazarin, Bouillon and Rochefoucault underwent temptation from all the cardinal's powers of persuasion, which were used to induce them to join the court, and abandon the interests of the princes; but it would appear that they skilfully availed themselves of a plan, which had been before laid, for dividing the court from the Fronde. They listened to Mazarin sufficiently to increase the jealousy which De Retz and his fraternity began to feel towards the cardinal, without pledging themselves to anything further than that which had been stipulated by the terms of the treaty. They also had in view to cause dissensions between Mazarin and the Duke of Orleans; and that prince's daughter, who had accompanied the court to Bourg, did not fail to mark and notify to her father the long and private conversations which the two dukes had with the minister. The suspicions which were thus insinuated, were soon strengthened in the mind of the Duke of Orleans by the after conduct of Mazarin, who showed a determination, which nothing could shake, not to trust the imprisoned princes either in the hands of Gaston, or in those of the leaders of the Fronde.

After a hasty visit to Bordeaux, the court returned once more triumphant to Paris; and Mazarin, as we shall very soon show, forgot the line of policy which he ought to have pursued towards the Fronde, and once more called its re-

doubtable enmity upon himself. Successful, however, in his operations against the insurgents of Guienne, he determined to see whether he could not crush the forces of Turenne on the side of Champagne; and having joined to the small army which followed him from Bordeaux, some other troops drawn from the Flemish frontiers, a force was formed of about sixteen thousand men, which was placed under the command of Du Plessis Praslin, with orders to attack the strong town of Rhetel.

A vigorous resistance was made by the garrison which Turenne had placed therein; and that general himself advanced rapidly with all the troops he could collect, in order to force Du Plessis to raise the siege. Anxious, however, for success, Mazarin set out from Paris in person, and, arriving at a critical moment, it would appear, decided that an attack on one of the suburbs should be made, in regard to which Du Plessis had hesitated. The attack was successful, and the town almost immediately surrendered.

In the mean while Turenne had hastened forward, but arrived too late. After remaining in presence of the adverse army all night, that great general attempted to effect his retreat. Du Plessis, however, followed him during the night of the 14th and 15th of December, and came up with him at daybreak near Genneville. Turenne, however, still continued his march along some heights which form one side of a valley, while Du Plessis followed the heights on the opposite side, and a thick fog prevented either army from seeing the other.

Towards twelve o'clock the mists dispersed; and Du Plessis immediately took measures to force Turenne to fight. Finding that it was not to be avoided, although his force was very inferior to that of the royalists, Turenne determined to give up the advantages which the heights afforded him, and attack Du Plessis in a plain, which that general now occupied, rather than suffer the whole of the royal forces to come up. Both armies ranged themselves in two lines; and Turenne on the left, at the head of some squadrons of Lorraine cavalry, attacked the right of Du Plessis' army with such vigour as to overpower all resistance, and penetrate to the cannon which were behind the first line. In the mean while, the Maréchal de Hocquincourt, who commanded the left of the royal forces, had defeated the right of Turenne, and now advanced to support Du Plessis. Turenne, with his left wing, fought with desperation; but Du Plessis, bringing up the second

line, nearly surrounded the small force opposed to him, and the troops of the revolted general began to fly in every direction.

Turenne maintained the struggle as long as possible, but at length found himself in the midst of a party of Germans in the pay of the king, with but one of his own officers near him. Several of the Weimarians, who had served under him, knew him, and strove to take him prisoner; but he and his companion cut their way through. They were still, however, in the midst of the French, and had more than once been nearly captured; but, asserting that they were of the royalist party whenever they were stopped, they effected their escape, gathering together as many of the fugitives as possible. The rout was so complete, however, that only a hundred and fifty horse accompanied Turenne to Bar le Duc.

About one half of his whole army was all that could ever be re-assembled, and with it he took refuge in Montmedi rather than in Stenay, in order to prevent the archduke from suspecting that he was about to abandon the Spanish cause. That prince, however, acted towards Turenne with the most generous consideration, and, instead of attributing to any fault of his the misfortune which had befallen the Spanish army, he requested Turenne himself to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the deaths which had taken place in the late battle, sending him at the same time a large sum as an instalment upon the subsidy promised by Spain. Tidings, however, had by this time reached the French general from Paris, which afforded a fair hope of his speedy reconciliation with the court; and he consequently sent back the money untouched, informing the archduke of the cause, but promising not to lay down his arms till fair terms of peace had been offered to Spain.

CHAPTER X.

La Rivière driven from the Court—De Retz rules the Duke of Orleans—Objects and Plans of De Retz—The Court refuses him its Nomination to the Conclave—He treats with the imprisoned Princes—Leads on the Parliament to commit itself anew against Mazarin—Drives Mazarin from Paris—The Princes liberated by the Cardinal—Their treatment of him—He retires to Cologne.

WHILE these events had been taking place in Guienne and Champagne, the wheels of the great complicated and irregular machine in Paris had been moving round, and producing new combinations amongst all the figures which appeared upon its face. Immediately after the imprisonment of Condé, the

Abbé de la Rivière, who had so long governed the Duke of Orleans, finding that his favour was at an end, made one or tow faint struggles to regain his ascendancy, and was then driven from the court. Gaston had never yet been without a domestic governor, and his subjection to some one had become second nature. Mazarin and De Retz were both aware of this fact; but the minister failed to take those steps which were necessary to supply the vacant place of favourite by a creature of his own, and the coadjutor of Paris, a more dignified and talented, but not a more disinterested or unambitious ruler, took the government of the Duke of Orleans into his own hands.

During the contest in Guienne and the first attempts of Turenne in the North, the coadjutor had acted upon the principles which might be expected from him. His object in supporting the court had never been to strengthen the power of Mazarin: his ancient hatred of that minister continued, and he perceived that the popular enmity towards the cardinal, which had been slightly mitigated by the arrest of Condé and his relations, but was reacting with greater force than ever, would soon afford him the means of hurling him from the height of power to which he himself had aided in raising him. On the other hand, De Retz had lost a considerable portion of his own influence, and had greatly weakened the party of the Fronde by his temporary coalition with Mazarin. This had happened from two causes: the cardinal himself had gained some of the partisans of the Fronde, and the people had learned to distrust a faction which seemed as fickle in its purposes as the multitude itself. For the loss of adherents and of reputation, indeed the acquisition of the favour of the Duke of Orleans made some compensation; and De Retz now took advantage of it to the greatest extent, attaching himself closely to a prince who had always been doubted and feared by the cardinal.

We must remember, that De Retz evidently, though not avowedly, aimed through his political life at three great objects, each subservient to the other: first, to gain entire command over the populace; secondly, by his popular rule to obtain a cardinal's hat; and thirdly, having acquired that rule and that dignity, to found thereupon a claim to the post of minister itself. The popular rule he had fully gained; and now, before he proceeded to recover any little ground he had lost, and to overthrow Mazarin in order to make way for

himself, he strove for his second object—a seat in the conclave, and endeavoured to drive the minister to give him the formal nomination of the court of France to that high dignity, as Mazarin had promised him upon their reconciliation. To effect this purpose, he proposed various means: first, he sought to get into his own power the imprisoned princes; by which he would have increased his authority to an extraordinary extent, and would also have deprived Mazarin of all the advantages which might be derived from setting them at liberty, after making his own terms with them. He, secondly, determined to excite the jealousy of the Duke of Orleans against Mazarin, and to force that prince to demand from the minister the actual nomination of his favourite to the conclave; by which demand one of two great objects would be gained: either the high dignity itself at which he aspired, or an open rupture between Mazarin and the Duke of Orleans. That rupture, sooner or later, De Retz had resolved to effect, well knowing that it would restore to him all his credit with the people, and that the strength of the Fronde would be increased in a tenfold degree by having as its apparent head the lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

The various minor intrigues, negotiations, and tergiversation of the time, form an inextricable mass of confusion; the only clue to which, if clue indeed it can be called, is to remember that there were now three parties in the state: that of the court, that of the Fronde, and that of the princes; and that each of these parties was striving to confuse and divide the others. It must not be forgotten either, that the party of the princes had from the very first been labouring to create a division between the Fronde and the court, in order to weaken both; nor that the court had been striving to put down the party of the princes, to render it irreconcilable with the Fronde, and to sap the power of the one while it crushed the other. The same was the policy of the Fronde towards the court and the princes; and added to its purposes of the kind, was the design to create an irreparable breach between the minister and the Duke of Orleans.

In pursuit of these objects, the coadjutor laboured to have the princes brought from Vincennes to the Bastile; but he was frustrated by their being withdrawn to Marcoussi; which manœuvre was effected fully as much for the purpose of removing them from the neighbourhood of De Retz, as for that of guarding them against the attempts of Turenne.

Mazarin was generally too wise to let any of his cards appear before the whole game was played; but the old keeper of the seals, Chateauneuf, who was now restored to some degree of power, suffered the true motives of the court to appear, by exclaiming openly, after the removal of the prisoners, "The coadjutor must not talk so loud any more."

De Retz took his revenge, and regained a great deal of his popularity, by harassing all Mazarin's movements in Guienne, by stimulating the parliament of Paris to take part with the parliament of Bordeaux, and by holding out such menaces of a close union between the two cities, as to force the minister to grant an amnesty to the rebels upon much easier terms than he otherwise would have done. None of these measures were concealed from the court, and Mazarin, flushed with success, returned to Paris, openly venting his indignation against the coadjutor, and attributing to him every difficulty he had met with in his late undertakings. By this time, however, the suspicions of the Duke of Orleans had been excited against the cardinal to fully as great a degree as De Retz could desire. His daughter, usually called Mademoiselle, had accompanied the court to Bourg, and her report of the demeanour of the minister towards the partisans of the prisoners combined with all the rumours, the reports, the intrigues, and the representations which, upon a concerted plan, issued forth from Chantilly and from the hotel of the Princess Palatine, and induced the Duke of Orleans to believe that Mazarin intended to make good terms with the princes on his own and on the queen's account, and then to leave him, the Duke of Orleans, exposed unsupported to their whole enmity.

After its return from Bordeaux, the court proceeded to Fontainebleau; and Mazarin, who saw that the princes were still too near Paris, determined to remove them at once to Havre, if he could obtain the consent of the Duke of Orleans. For that purpose, he induced the queen to invite her brother-in-law to Fontainebleau, in order to detach him from the friends and advisers who gave him some degree of strength and consistency of character. The invitation was so strongly pressed that it could not be refused with decency, and De Retz was obliged to suffer the duke to depart, very doubtful what that weak and vacillating prince would do during his absence from the capital.

With the assistance of the other leaders of the Fronde,

the coadjutor had tutored him in regard to all his proceedings; and having determined now to make that attempt, which, if it succeeded, would wring from the unwilling hands of the minister all those concessions upon which he had fixed his mind, or, if it failed, would place the minister in an obnoxious position with regard to the parliament, the people, and the Duke of Orleans,—he obtained a promise from Gaston to grant nothing to the court without demanding the nomination of the French court to the Roman purple in favour of him, François de Gondi.

In this disposition the Duke set out for Fontainebleau; but Mazarin was far too artful for him to deal with, and the minister evaded the question of the cardinal's hat till he had wrung from the duke his consent to the proposed transfer of the imprisoned princes to Havre. The question of the hat was then brought on before the council, and the nomination of De Retz was strongly supported by Mazarin. He had previously found means, however, to induce almost all the other members of the council to oppose most vehemently the coadjutor's claim, to display in the most glaring light all the evil conduct of De Retz, and to beseech the queen openly not to raise to the highest clerical dignity a man who had already made such a bad use of his powers. The Duke of Orleans found himself both duped and disappointed, and returned to Paris in high wrath and indignation. It is more than probable that De Retz had foreseen all that occurred; and, at all events, he was prepared to take advantage of the favourable circumstances of his situation, many of which had not been perceived by Mazarin himself.

That the friends of the princes would rather have received their liberation from the hands of the court, than from those of the Fronde, there can be no doubt; but with Mazarin and De Retz, Condé stood in a very different position, and all the advantages were in favour of the latter. It was evident to all men, and to Condé himself, that in consenting to his imprisonment, De Retz had been actuated solely by the motive of self-preservation: he had violated no strong ties of gratitude to the prince, and there was no impediment, in any degree insurmountable, to an entire reconciliation between them. With Mazarin the case was very different. He had been despised and insulted by Condé, and after having been by his support restored to power, and delivered from imminent danger, he had contrived and executed the

imprisonment of that prince. In the way of any sincere reconciliation between him and Condé there were a thousand barriers, and Mazarin could never believe that Condé would sincerely pardon or frankly support him.

No sooner, then, did the Duke of Orleans return to Paris, bearing the refusal of the queen to nominate De Retz to the cardinalate, than the coadjutor determined to labour for the liberation of the princes. The parliament had often expressed a desire that they should be liberated; but in order to give that desire effect against the will of the court, the cooperation of De Retz and the Fronde had always been wanting. That co-operation, joined to the sanction of the Duke of Orleans, was quite sufficient to overthrow the minister; but before it could safely be granted, it was necessary to consider the interests of all the various leaders of the Fronde, and to reconcile those interests with the interests of the Prince de Condé and his party, in order to insure to the Fronde that his liberation would be beneficial, and not detrimental to it.

The person who managed the negotiation on the part of the princes in Paris was the celebrated Anne de Gonzaga, widow of Edward Prince Palatine. She had been through life the intimate friend of the mother of Condé, and she now laboured with skill, wisdom, and perseverance, for the liberation of her friend's son. With her De Retz treated directly, and in the whole course of the negotiations she displayed a degree of penetration which baffled all the subtlety of the coadjutor; and while she foiled his arts against herself, she directed them aright against their mutual opponents. By her activity and energy five or six separate treaties were drawn up and signed between the different personages whose interests were concerned, each in general ignorant of his comrade's participation.

The most important of these treaties were the general treaty between the party of the Fronde and that of the princes, the treaty between Condé and the Duke of Beaufort, and that between the princes and the Duke of Orleans. By the first, mutual assistance was stipulated, on condition of the marriage of the Prince de Conti with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. By the second, Beaufort engaged to use all his influence with the Duke of Orleans and with the people to procure the liberation of the princes; and to this, De Retz, in order to blind any one who might obtain a knowledge of

that document, added an engagement on the part of the Duke of Beaufort to break with the coadjutor himself, in case he opposed the objects of the contracting parties. Condé, in return for the aid of Beaufort, gave up to him all pretensions to the post of admiral. The third treaty was that of the princes with the Duke of Orleans, by which a marriage was stipulated between the young Duke d'Enguien and Mademoiselle d'Orleans, and the union of the Prince de Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was again mentioned. The cardinal's hat was likewise promised to De Retz, and mutual co-operation agreed upon.

Few of these personages were at all aware, as I have before said, of what was taking place with the others: and the only persons who were fully informed were De Retz and the Princess Palatine. A great deal of confusion was thus avoided; but the principal difficulty was to obtain the signature of the Duke of Orleans, who never could bear to take any decided step, however fond he might be of all the preliminary bustle. Like the leading ram of a flock of sheep after the shearing, one might bring him easily to the brink of the stream; but then it was necessary to push him over. Thus, when his signature was demanded, he hesitated, evaded, delayed, till at length it was requisite to force it from him. Caumartin, the confidant of De Retz, laid wait for the duke in a passage between two doors, with the treaty in his hand; presented it to him, with a pen full of ink; offered his own back for a writing-desk; and the duke, afraid of being caught by some one in the very act, signed the document at once to get rid of it, "as he would have signed," said Madame de Chevreux, "the protocol of a meeting of devils, if he had been afraid his good angel would catch him amongst them."

Everything having been settled to the satisfaction of De Retz, he proceeded to set all his engines in motion, for the purpose of uniting the parliament, the Fronde, the people, and the Duke of Orleans in one general effort to liberate the princes, and to overthrow the minister. In this, likewise, he was successful, although he had need of all his skill and dissimulation to conceal from the parliament that he was united with the party of Condé, which would have infallibly produced a strong opposition on the part of the first president, and all the older and more influential members of that body.

The first step, after his full arrangements had been made with the partisans of the princes, and after every method had

been concerted for the purpose of gaining their liberation, was to cause a petition to be presented from the young Princess of Condé,* praying the parliament to interfere in behalf of her husband, and to have him removed from Havre, which was represented as a residence detrimental to his health.

The younger members of the chambers clamoured loudly for the reception of the petition; and the chief president, fancying that the leaders of the Fronde would be vehemently opposed to the liberation of a man with whom he thought them at deadly enmity, merely objected to receive the document on account of its being informal, inasmuch as the young Princess de Condé did not appear to be furnished with a formal authorisation from her husband.

This defect was immediately supplied: a regular authorisation from Condé was manufactured in a few minutes; and though the forgery was gross and apparent, the document was held to be good, and a time was appointed by the parliament for taking into consideration the application of the princess. No sooner was intelligence of these proceedings communicated to the court, than a message was sent down, forbidding the parliament to deliberate upon the petition at all. The parliament instantly rose into resistance in defence of its rights and privileges; and that body and the court, as De Retz had expected, were once more placed in direct opposition to each other.

While these proceedings were taking place, all eyes were turned from time to time towards Champagne; and Mazarin himself, then absent, as we have seen, with Du Plessis, could only guide the proceedings of the court from a distance. In the midst, however, of the disputes between the parliament and the queen, arrived the tidings that a great battle had been fought near Rhetel, between the royal forces and those of Turenne; and the cardinal returned to Paris, full of triumph in his new success.

Consternation spread amongst the partisans of the princes, and through a great part of the Fronde and the parliament. But De Retz well knew that there is a particular stage of general discouragement when some bold and daring action will suddenly change the current of all feelings, and rouse from the lassitude of despondency into energy, activity, and even violence. He determined, then, to attack the minister

* The Princess Dowager of Condé had died shortly after her petition had been rejected by the parliament,—it is supposed, of grief and indignation.

in the very moment of his highest success, and to make that very success itself the motive and pretext for so doing.

In the previous meeting of the parliament at Martinmas, the chief president had besought the chambers to conduct themselves prudently and tranquilly, in order not to embarrass the procedings of the government in opposition to the declared enemies of the country. No sooner, then, was the battle of Rhetel gained, the army of Turenne annihilated, and Mazarin raised to the height of confidence, than De Retz, who had throughout the preceding occurrences displayed much moderation and gentleness, rose, and said, that now the enemies of the country were completely crushed, no further reason existed for his refraining from calling the attention of the parliament to the internal government of the country, and he found it his bounden duty to beseech the chambers to take notice of the shameful and perilous system of mismanagement which was daily producing new evils in the state. He then moved that a remonstrance should be made to the regent, simply upon the disorders of the government; but at the same time he managed the most difficult part of the whole manœuvre with a degree of skill which rendered it completely successful.

It was necessary to take some notice of the situation of the imprisoned princes; but still, if he appeared eager for their liberation before the parliament had absolutely committed itself to restore them to freedom, De Retz felt certain that an opposition would be raised up, which might frustrate all his purposes: and therefore, though in the end of his discourse he proposed a petition to the king to remove the princes from Havre to some more healthy spot, it was couched in such feeble and obscure language, that the chief president himself was deceived, and fancied that the coadjutor was only embarrassed by the necessity of saying something in their favour, and his personal enmity towards them.

The petition proposed by De Retz was not only agreed to, but moulded into much stronger language; and a decree was ultimately pronounced, with the sanction of the chief president himself, directing a humble remonstrance to be made to the queen, with the express view of effecting a reconciliation between the various members of the royal family, of inducing her majesty to set the princes at liberty, and of securing to their relations the right of remaining in the capital, in order to solicit their enfranchisement,

From this there was no retreating: it was the first decided step the parliament had taken in favour of the princes: but when taken, it was so decided, that all parties felt it could never be retracted, and De Retz was satisfied that he had gained his object with the chambers. It was his design, however, not only to liberate the princes, but to destroy Mazarin also, and for this purpose he resolved once more to excite the people to clamour, if not to tumult.

It happened about the same time that the carriage of the Duke of Beaufort was attacked at night in the streets of Paris, and one of his attendants killed; and the demagogues, of course, applied the event to their own purposes. De Retz affected to be alarmed for the safety of the leaders of the Fronde, the assassination was attributed to Mazarin, and a thousand wild reports and base calumnies were spread of the minister.

The Duke of Beaufort affected to take all kinds of precautions for his safety, as if he were constantly dogged by murderers; and De Retz never moved out after dark without posting sentinels in the most ostentatious manner, and causing himself to be accompanied by a crowd of armed attendants. The coadjutor, in the mean time, carried on the war against Mazarin in the parliament,—not, indeed, with his own lips, but through the instrumentality of a number of the younger members of that body, who, day after day and hour after hour, brought forward the most outrageous and extravagant proposals against Mazarin.

De Retz well knew that none of these proposals would be entertained for a moment, and that the parliament would reject them as soon as they were uttered; but nevertheless each left its trace upon the record; the chambers themselves became accustomed to hear the most violent and extraordinary calumnies put forth against the minister, and to deliberate upon the most severe resolutions against him. Such calumnies and resolutions, again, found their way to the people without; and the general effect both upon the people and the parliament was a deep impression that the cardinal was the enemy of the public peace, and the source of all the ills under which the country laboured.

Perceiving the machinations that were going on against him, and anxious to withdraw the Duke of Orleans from amongst the host of his enemies, Mazarin induced the queen to summon the duke to the Palais Royal; and there, in a

long conversation, the minister exposed to that prince the real character and designs of De Retz. The Duke of Orleans, of course, attempted to defend the man who had now become his favourite; but Mazarin and Anne of Austria each committed a great fault in their conversation with Gaston. Mazarin poured forth a thousand curses against the parliament, and compared it to that of England, which had just sent the sovereign to the scaffold; while the queen joined in the discourse, and in the heat of argument forgot her temper, launched forth into invectives both against the duke and the coadjutor, and in the end so completely gave way to passion, that Gaston quitted the palace, vowing he would never enter the presence of that rabid fury again.

He was now irrevocably separated from the government of the regent, and cast into the arms of the Fronde; and De Retz, seeing that the time was come for bold and open measures against Mazarin, prepared to throw off the mask, avow his designs in favour of the princes, and demand the dismissal and exile of the minister. Mazarin, however, thought it yet possible to strike a blow in his own favour before complete success crowned the efforts of his enemies, and he attempted to influence the parliament by a bold and violent accusation of De Retz, brought down to the chambers by the chief president in the name of the queen. It has always appeared to me that the real design of the minister, in this proceeding, was to afford Matthew Molé, the first president, an opportunity of treating De Retz as a person formally accused of crimes cognisable by the parliament, and consequently to remove him from his place in that body till he had undergone some kind of trial. The scheme itself, if such were really the purposes of the court, was not ill conceived; but it certainly was ill executed.

The declaration against the coadjutor sent down by the queen was coarse, violent, and absurd; the shouts of the people without intimidated the members of the parliament attached to the government, and De Retz chose the very moment of Mazarin's accusation to propose the decisive measure which he had long contemplated against the minister himself. He treated the declaration of the queen with cutting contempt, passing it over as a thing which had only served to interrupt the more serious avocations of the parliament for a moment; he thundered out into a tirade against the misuse of the king's name; he forged a Latin quotation to suit his

purposes so dexterously, that it was sought for amongst the Roman historians for some days; and he ended by saying, "I beg pardon for the liberty I have taken in quitting by these few words the original subject upon which we met to deliberate. My proposal now is, to make humble remonstrance to his majesty the king, and to supplicate him to send immediately a *lettre-de-cachet* for the liberation of the princes, with a declaration in their favour, and to drive from his person and his councils the Cardinal Mazarin. My opinion is, further, gentlemen, that the parliament should take the resolution of meeting again on Monday next, to receive the reply which his majesty may please to make to the deputies sent with this remonstrance."

The whole train of policy which De Retz had been so long following in darkness was displayed even to his enemies by this bold language. To every one of the principles developed in his resolution the parliament had already committed itself, and it could not now refuse to give them utterance.

A remonstrance to the queen was therefore determined upon almost in the terms which De Retz had dictated. But the court learned all that passed, and before this edict could be carried into execution, the Count de Brienne, one of the secretaries of state,* presented himself to the parliament, and besought the Duke of Orleans to proceed to the Palais Royal, and give the queen his counsel and opinion upon the state of her affairs at that moment. The chief president also entreated him to do so; many of the wisest and most influential members of the parliament joined their voices to that of Brienne. Omer Talon, the advocate-general, made one of the most splendid extemporary orations upon record, and went upon his knees before the duke, beseeching him to save the state.

The duke himself hesitated, and would very likely have yielded, had not De Retz, who well knew the weakness of his tool and the power the queen possessed over him, stepped in, and putting a false interpretation upon the words which the Duke of Orleans had at first employed, induced him to send back a message to the queen, purporting that the duke would offer her his humble respects as soon as the cardinal Mazarin was banished from her councils and the imprisoned princes set at liberty.

* It is extraordinary that Brienne himself makes no mention of these events; but the concurring testimony of Madame de Motteville and De Retz leaves no doubt with regard to the facts.

It would appear that now, for the first time, Mazarin and the queen really believed that the Duke of Orleans and the Fronde were sincere in their proposals for liberating Condé. They had known, indeed, that the duke and the faction of the coadjutor were both opposed to the minister. The personal quarrel of Gaston with the queen had excited their alarm to the utmost; but still Mazarin had hoped to sow divisions amongst his enemies, and, by procrastinating, to work out his own deliverance from their machinations. In vain the Princess Palatine, who was much more anxious that the imprisoned princes should be liberated by the court than that they should owe their enfranchisement to the Fronde, had represented to the minister, even while she was treating with his enemies, that if he did not set the prisoners at liberty, he was lost; that he would see such a coalition against him as he little expected, and that the very ground on which he trod was hollow beneath him.

In vain various other friends of the princes gave him the same intimation, and did all that they possibly could, without divulging the negotiatings which were taking place, to show him his danger, and to induce him to take a step, while there was yet time, which would at once have frustrated the designs of his enemies, and have set the princes free, without binding them to the party of the Fronde. Nothing would convince Mazarin that either the Frondeurs or the Duke of Orleans and his friends were sincere in their wishes for Condé's liberation, till it was too late to take advantage of the knowledge; and the decree of the parliament in favour of the princes and against himself, proposed by De Retz and sanctioned by the duke, was the first thing that thoroughly opened the eyes of the minister.

While these events were going on, and the two parties struggling for rule were proceeding step by step against each other, the court and the city were in a state of agitation and confusion scarcely possible to describe, and a thousand collateral occurrences were taking place hourly which added to the difficulties of the queen and her minister. The Duke of Orleans from time to time showed a disposition to have recourse to force against the court. He sent to the captains of the quarters, forbidding them to obey any orders but his own, and to be ready to take arms at a moment's notice. He applied with the same view to the *prévôt des marchands*, and to different officers of the town, as well as to the various generals and

marshals of France in the capital, and to a number of the servants of the king.

The hearts of all men became divided; but the military, in general, sided with the court, and urged it to have recourse to arms against the turbulent people that resisted its authority. A multitude of celebrated officers came voluntarily forward and proffered their services to Mazarin: but such offers, as well as all promises, vows, and engagements whatsoever, were known by the queen and her minister to be in those times more empty and unmeaning than the whispers of the wind. A number of the subordinate ministers themselves were labouring for Mazarin's destruction; Chateauneuf was eagerly seeking for his place, and doing all that he could to ruin him; and even those who were really endeavouring to serve him for the moment, could never be depended upon for two days together, so weak and unstable had the general tone of men's minds become in the French capital. Every relation too had been rendered so complicated by different interests and different passions during the multifarious changes which had lately taken place, that the court, the council, the parliament, the city—great bodies, small parties, distinct factions, and private families—were all divided amongst themselves; and while the parliament and the Fronde assailed Mazarin and and the court, the Duke of Mercœur challenged his brother the Duke of Beaufort, who afterwards, again, killed his brother-in-law the Duke of Nemours, when new changes had produced new enmities.

Many persons, after the decree of the parliament against Mazarin, advised the queen to bring the army into Paris, to canton it in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal, and once more to reduce the refractory city to obedience by force of arms. The queen, however, would not consent to such a measure, for fear of the consequences which might ensue to the royal family; and Mazarin, bitterly regretting that he had not taken warning in time, and removed the young king from the capital while it was yet possible, saw no alternative but either to abandon a post which he could no longer maintain and quit the government, or to make such concessions to his opponents as would disarm their hatred. For a day or two he attempted the latter expedient, and the chief president did all that he could to afford him time by delaying the proceedings against him as far as possible. But, betrayed by the agents he employed to negotiate with the Duke of Orleans,

pressed by the parliament, which was urged on by the Fronde, and advised by every body, of almost every party, to retire for a time and let the storm pass by,—Mazarin at length determined to quit the capital, in which his life was no longer in safety, and to see whether he could not gain something in compensation for all he lost by liberating the princes with his own hand.

Having obtained the queen's permission, and an order to De Bar, who held Condé and his relations in prison at Havre, Mazarin prepared to effect his flight from Paris on the 6th of February 1651. During the greater part of the day, he behaved with calmness and fortitude, maintaining a serene aspect, and concealing from every one but those to whom it was absolutely necessary to reveal it, the purpose which he had determined to execute on that night. The mortification and irritation which he felt, however, could not be entirely subdued, and he broke forth to the Count of Brienne in a manner which showed what were the real feelings concealed beneath the external calmness which he assumed. In a conference with that nobleman, in the presence of Anne of Austria, he communicated to him his intention of quitting Paris and liberating the princes; but he could not refrain from reproaching Brienne, on account of some expressions which had been used by that nobleman's daughter, the Marchioness de Gamaches. Brienne of course defended his child; and Mazarin, giving way to all the violent passion which in calmer moments he more studiously concealed, told Brienne furiously that he regarded him less than the earth on which he trod. The count replied, "You should know, sir, that I am a man of honour, and you should not be ignorant that you are not speaking to a scoundrel; but, after having given way in the manner in which you have done, I would have you learn that, were it not for the respect which I entertain for the queen, you should not quit this town quite so easily as you came into it."

To cover his discomposure Mazarin afterwards endeavoured to soothe Brienne; and he, as well as the queen, maintained during the rest of the day an appearance of serenity which completely deceived those who surrounded them. Every one saw, indeed, that the minister would be obliged to fly; but no one believed his flight to be so near. He took his place at the queen's council as usual, stood beside her in the circle, and listened, apparently amused, to the buffooneries of the Court

de Nogent. The passions of the people, however, had been gradually excited to a high pitch during the last two days; and while Mazarin still remained, to all appearance unmoved, in the midst of the court, cries were heard from the street of "To arms! to arms!" mingled with imprecations upon his government and threats of violence towards his person. About the same time, intelligence reached him that some of his servants whom he had directed to quit Paris, and precede him on his journey to St. Germain, had been attacked and nearly killed by a mob in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries; and seeing that no further time was to be lost, he ordered horses to be held in waiting for him in a different direction, and bade the queen adieu in a few words spoken with a low voice.

He then retired to his own apartments, disguised himself in a red coat and a plumed hat, and, followed by two of his gentlemen, made his escape by the Porte de Richelieu. He found his horses prepared, and reached St. Germain in safety: but there, free from the apprehensions which he had entertained in Paris, he lingered for some days while the queen made various efforts to soften his enemies, and the parliament publicly returned her thanks for his dismissal. Anne of Austria also endeavoured to persuade the Duke of Orleans to return to her councils, but in vain. De Retz took care to prevent that prince from falling again under the influence of the queen, and the duke refused to go to the palace till Condé and the rest were at liberty. As soon as it was known that Mazarin remained at St. Germain, and thence governed the queen as easily as when in Paris, his enemies in the parliament began to raise new outcries against him. Des Landes Payenne proposed that an edict should be pronounced, forbidding any cardinal to meddle with affairs of state in France, inasmuch as, having sworn fidelity to the Pope, they could not properly serve another master; and, on the 9th of February, a declaration having been agreed to by the court, pronouncing the imprisoned princes innocent of all the crimes with which they had been charged, the parliament took advantage of its terms to pronounce a decree against Mazarin to the following effect:—

"In consequence of the said declaration and will of the king and of the regent, within fifteen days from the publication of the present decree, the said Cardinal Mazarin, with his relations and foreign domestics, shall quit the kingdom of

France, and all lands and places under the dominion of the king; and in default thereof, the said time being passed, extraordinary proceedings shall be held against them, and the commons and all others shall be permitted to hunt them down; without their being allowed to return upon any pretexts, causes, employments, or occasions whatsoever. And further, prohibition shall be made, the said time having passed, for all the governors of provinces, mayors, and sheriffs of towns to receive them."

In regard to many of the measures which had been lately employed, the queen now perceived that her servants and her counsellors had deceived and betrayed her; and though she bore up with magnimity and courage, she could not help feeling, when she looked round upon the cold, the heartless, and the faithless, that filled her court, the dejection natural in such a situation. She concealed it from the greater part of those who surrounded her; but it burst forth towards her faithful attendant Madame de Motteville in these bitter words:—"I could wish that it were always night; for although I cannot sleep, the silence and the solitude please me, because during the day I behold nothing but people who betray me." Her situation was, indeed, painful in the extreme, and she now contemplated a step which might have been taken before with effect, but was no longer practicable. This was to carry the young king out of Paris, and, rejoining her minister, to retain the princes in Havre, to straiten Paris as before, and not to lay down her arms or to grant the liberty of the princes till she had effected such a treaty with them as would establish her authority upon a firmer basis. Some one, however,—it is supposed the Maréchal de Villeroy,—gave notice to the Duke of Orleans that it was the queen's intention to execute this design during the night between the 9th and 10th of February.

De Retz was alive to his danger, and had everything in readiness to frustrate such a scheme: he roused the people, he called them to arms, the Palais Royal was surrounded, the gates of the city were seized, and the queen and the royal family were completely in the hands of the party of the Fronde. It is supposed that on this eventful night, De Retz advised the Duke of Orleans to take the most violent measures against the queen; that he proposed to him to seize upon the person of the young king, to assume the regency, and to place Anne of Austria in a convent. These vehement

measures, however, were not for the timid spirit of the Duke of Orleans; it was impossible to obtain from him even the order to surround the Palais Royal, and that which was ultimately acted upon was signed by his wife in his name.

The queen, obliged to abandon her purpose, and surrounded by dangers, has caused the young king to go to bed; and when at length she found herself invested in her palace, Louis had fallen into a sound sleep, in which state she showed him to the captain of the guard of the Duke of Orleans. That officer went out, and assured the people that everything within the palace was tranquil; that there was no sign whatever of any intention of flight, and that he had himself seen the young king in bed and asleep. This, however, would not satisfy them; a species of disloyal loyalty had seized them, which would not suffer them to depart without beholding the young monarch with their own eyes. The queen instantly commanded some of the attendants to open the doors and suffer a part of the multitude to enter. They were brought at once to the bedside of the young king, who in the sweet slumber of innocence slept on amidst all the tumults and anxieties of that night. The frank demeanour of the queen and courageous confidence—the sight of the handsome boy, born to high rule, and plunged so deep in slumber while the doors of his palace were assailed by the tumultuous multitudes and the apparent tranquillity of everything within the royal dwelling, reassured the people. Many were much moved by what they saw; and all, retiring satisfied that no design of carrying off the king existed, loaded him with blessings as they went.

To put an end to all doubt upon the subject, the queen ordered the keys of the city gates to be given up to the citizens; and a night which might have well been expected to end in a general massacre, passed off without any act of bloodshed.

The insult offered to the royal authority, however, was so great, that the Duke of Orleans felt ashamed of the part he had played therein, and still more of the use that others had made of him. On his going down to the parliament to justify his conduct, De Retz found it necessary to console him by exciting the mob both to applaud his actions, and to free him from difficulty by intimidating those members of the parliament who might have dared to censure him. Matthew Molé, however, was not to be intimidated, and he boldly reproached

the Duke of Orlerns for all the evils of the preceding night, asserting, truly, that the king was a prisoner in his own capital. The Duke of Orleans, however, who never acted wisely, always spoke well; and his eloquence was of that kind which, seizing the passions of the hearers rather than their judgments, carried them away at once, without giving them time to reflect. No one attempted to support the chief president in his censure of the duke, and Gaston replied at once, "The king has been a prisoner in the hands of Mazarin, but, thank God! he is so no longer." The people took up the cry that the king was a prisoner no longer, and everything passed as the duke would have wished it.

The news of these events reached Mazarin at St. Germain,* and, seeing that there was no chance whatever, of effecting his immediate recal to Paris by means of negotiation, he took the determination of proceeding at once to Havre and setting the princes at liberty. It has been suspected that he intended to seize upon the citadel, in hopes that the queen would be able to make her escape from the capital: but it would appear that De Bar, who commanded in Havre, would not permit him to enter with more than two attendants. He had full powers, however, from the queen to set the princes at liberty; and he was immediately conducted to the presence of the Prince de Condé, whom he informed that the gates of his prison were open without any conditions whatsoever.

During the whole course of his imprisonment, the prince had maintained the same equanimity which he had displayed at first. He had never lost his spirits, or suffered himself to be in any degree depressed; and even on being removed from Marcoussi to Havre, at the very moment he was about to put in execution a plan which had been arranged by the Duke of Nemours for his escape, he did not suffer the disappointment in any degree to affect him. Thus, when the Count of Harcourt, who had undertaken the disagreeable task of escorting the princes from Marcoussi, took his place in the carriage with them, the only expression of anger or scorn

* Madame de Motteville says, in her memoirs, that Mazarin had set out for Havre before these events took place: but it appears to me that such could not be the case, and that the account of all the other writers, who represent the cardinal's retreat to Havre as having been hastened by the tumults in Paris, must be accurate. The very dates would seem to show that such was the case; the tumults took place in the night between the 9th and 10th of February; Mazarin though travelling with all speed, did not arrive at Havre till the 13th. The distance is about one hundred and thirty miles.

which broke from the lips of Condé was the well-known stanza which he composed upon the occasion:

"Cet homme gros et court,
Si connu dans l'histoire,
Ce grand Comte d'Harcourt,
Tout couronné de gloire,
Qui secourut Casal et qui reprit Turin,
Est maintenant recors de Jules Mazarin."

Which may be translated,

"That man so fat and short.
So much renowned in story,
The famous Count de Harcourt,
All blazing forth with glory,
Who succour'd Casal at its need, and who retook Turin,
Is now turn'd bailiff's follower to Julius Mazarin."

The prince, nevertheless, was not insensible to the evils of imprisonment. When Mazarin appeared to open for him the gates of that prison in which he had remained for thirteen months, Condé received him politely.* and, in the first joy of his liberation made use of some expressions of regard towards the prelate himself, which might have filled him with false hopes. The cardinal, however, dined with the princes, and before they set out on their return to the capital, he had abundant opportunity of seeing that nothing was to be expected from his enforced liberation of Condé. Gradually, as the first joy of the intelligence he had received wore off, the prince became more and more cool towards the fallen minister, and scarcely took any notice of him, when he, with his fellow-prisoners, set out for Paris. He evidently saw, and was not displeased at the mortification of Mazarin, observing, to those about him, that Lionne, who stayed behind, "remained at Havre to console the cardinal."

Convinced that nothing was to be hoped from Condé, Mazarin, with a train of about one hundred horsemen, set out for Picardy, and reached Dourlens, where he was hospitably received by the governor, although the inhabitants of Abbeville had refused him passage through that town. From Dourlens he was soon driven by the proceedings of the parliament against him: and although it would appear that many of the officers commanding in the towns of the frontier offered him

* We are told by Joly, that Mazarin cast himself at the feet of Condé, with tears and entreaties; but Madame de Motteville, who certainly was not friendly to the minister, and La Rochefoucault, who was certainly inimical to him, give a more dignified representation of the cardinal's conduct: and they had far better opportunities of learning the truth than the factious impostor of the Rue des Bernardins.

protection and support against his enemies, he showed no disposition to play so hazardous a game. He next retired to Sedan, where he took counsel with his friend Fabert, and thence proceeded to Cologne, being treated with the utmost distinction and hospitality in all the foreign towns through which he passed.

In the mean time, the Duke of Orleans, according to the promise he had made, proceeded to visit the queen; and the princes, immediately after their arrival in Paris, followed his example. Coldness and dissatisfaction pervaded both these interviews; and Anne of Austria, little better than a prisoner in her own palace, waited like her minister for time to bring about that which policy could not effect, and to work her deliverance from her enemies by dividing them amongst themselves.

CHAPTER XI.

State of Parties on the Liberation of the Princes—Assembly of the Nobles—They demand a Meeting of the States-General—Thwarted by Condé—Condé separates from the old Fronde—Rules the Court—Overawes and wins the Duke of Orleans—Sudden Transition of Parties—De Retz affects to retire from Political Cabal—Condé's new Exactions—Conduct and Foresight of Mazarin—De Retz called to the Aid of the Queen—His Measures against Condé—Stormy Meeting of the two Factions in the Parliament—Danger of Paris—Alarm of all Parties at their own Acts.

WHILE everything looked so unprosperous to the regent, the small and scarcely perceivable changes of passions and feelings which went on underneath the turbulent waves that foamed and fretted on the surface of events, were gradually producing an amelioration in her position, of which for some time she was scarcely conscious herself.

To understand the future proceedings of all parties clearly, we must for a moment cast our eyes over the general state of affairs immediately after the liberation of the princes. In the first place, the Princess Palatine, who had laboured so effectually for the emancipation of Condé and his relations, had kept a promise, which she had made long before to the queen, of ranging herself on the side of the court as soon as she had gained her object in favour of the princes. She still kept up some communication, however, both with the old Fronde, headed by De Retz, and with different members of the new Fronde, as the party of the princes was now called. In this respect, as well as on account of her distinguished talents, firmness, and decision of character, her counsel and assistance were highly important to the queen.

A separation of interests too took place ere long in the old Fronde, by the defection of the Duke of Beaufort and Madame de Montbazon, both of whom, offended deeply by the want of confidence shown by De Retz on various occasions, soon attached themselves to the party of the Prince de Condé, and brought with them thereunto a very great accession of popularity.

La Rochefoucalt, also, we must remember, though acting with De Retz on various occasions, following his dictation, and often serving his purposes, hated him with that degree of enmity which, perhaps, can only be known by two men of wit towards each other. He had great influence over Condé, and still greater over the Duchess of Longueville; and, consequently, his attachment to the party of the new Fronde added to the tendency to separate entirely from the old Fronde which already existed therein.

At the same time, the powerful and important family of Bouillon were easily to be gained in favour of the government by the final adjustment of the question regarding Sedan; while Turenne, the brother of the duke, defeated at Rhetel, and heartily sick of commanding a Spanish army, had seen the last ostensible cause of his opposition to the court removed by the liberation of the princes, and was eagerly desirous of wiping out the memory of a rebellion which had tired and disgusted him even more than it had done the court, by exerting himself vigorously in the service of his king.

At the same time, a number of the governors and officers commanding on the frontiers of Picardy, Artois, and Champagne, were strongly attached, not alone to the queen, but even to her minister; and with him, though now in exile at Brühl, near Cologne, a constant communication was kept up, while his three creatures, Servien, Le Tellier, and Lionne, known by the name of the under-ministers, continued to obey all his commands, furnished him with information of everything that took place, and enabled him to rule France as completely, from the banks of the Rhine, as if he had remained in the Palais Royal. All these circumstances were strongly in favour of the queen's party and views; but at the same time there was a transaction going on which she might well look upon with an eye of apprehension.

During the latter period of the imprisonment of Condé, great assemblies of the nobility of France had been held in the chief hall of the Cordeliers, for the purpose of effecting the

liberation of the princes. Their discussions, however, soon embraced a wider range, their numbers increased, their proceedings assumed a more regular form and more important character, and their assemblies were protracted after the object for which they first met had been obtained. Such transactions, as in a former case, were likely to go on till they produced the assembly of the states-general of the kingdom, a body in which the preponderance of the commons, when headed by a judicious leader, might always be employed to purposes the most dangerous to the royal authority. All things were tending rapidly to such a result, even when the princes were liberated; and the same proceedings went on afterwards, step by step, till nothing remained to be done but to issue mandatories for the election of deputies of the third estate.

The clergy offered to coalesce with the nobles to effect this object; and the Fronde, headed by De Retz, who dragged the Duke of Orleans at the heels of his triumphant ambition, was very well disposed to bring about an assembly, all the acts of which were sure to be dictated by itself.

In the midst of these proceedings on the part of the assembly of the nobles, and while the various political parties were rapidly assuming the position I have represented, Condé, Longueville, and Conti arrived in Paris; and nothing but embraces, gratulations, and thanks took place between them, the Duke of Orleans, De Retz, and Beaufort. The people, who had celebrated the arrest of Condé by acclamations and bonfires, now by bonfires and acclamations celebrated his liberation; and those persons even who hated him most pressed eagerly to salute and congratulate him: "for so," says a writer of that day, "the comedy of society would have it."

The Frondeurs, to show the utmost degree of generosity and candour towards the princes, gave up the treaties which had been made with them during their imprisonment; and Condé, to evince his gratitude and good faith, renewed all the promises and pledges which he had previously made. The fountain of generosity, however, in factions, furnishes but a scanty stream, which, though gushing forth with apparent abundance, soon sinks again into the sands which surround it. Scarcely were fine professions made and solemn pledges given, when the inclination to break the latter was experienced on all sides, and feelings of old distrust and

hatred rose up to do away friendship, attachment, and gratitude.

Of these circumstances the queen, under the direction of Mazarin, skilfully availed herself. The first injunctions of the minister were to gain the Prince de Condé in preference to everything; and the cardinal himself laboured for that purpose by means which proved very efficacious. Rochefoucault, as we have said, hated the coadjutor, and through all the preceding transactions he had counselled Condé, strongly, rather to strive for his own liberation, by uniting with the court, than by treating with the Fronde. He had even gone so far as to confer with Mazarin, and to warn him of his approaching danger; and the exiled minister now found no difficulty in engaging him to labour with all his energies for the purpose of separating Condé from the old Fronde, if not of bringing him back to the party of the court.

La Rochefoucault and the Duchess of Longueville both apprehended, and not without reason, that the empire they had obtained over the mind of Condé might be destroyed by the influence of the coadjutor, especially if the marriage of the Prince de Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse took place according to the terms of the treaty; and Condé, who was by no means partial to De Retz, was soon led to take measures which induced that prelate to oppose rather than to court him. One of the first steps in the parliament after Condé's return was to issue a decree against Mazarin, excluding him for ever from the ministry, on account of his being a cardinal. Old Broussel immediately proposed that the terms of the edict should be made such as to affect for ever all cardinals, even should they be French by birth. It was well known that De Retz sought the cardinal's hat with no less avidity than he strove for the prime minister's portfolio; and his enemy, the chief president, therefore now eagerly advocated a measure calculated to mortify him so greatly, while Condé took no pains to conceal that he was well satisfied with it also. But the matter in which the hostility of the prince towards De Retz was brought into action more than on any other occasion, regarded the assembly of the nobles to which I have already alluded.

The nobles had proceeded to the last step in the course which they proposed, and in distinct terms, demanded the assembly of the states-general. It was a demand which the

queen could not have resisted, had the Duke of Orleans and Condé united with the nobles and the clergy in their application.

Mazarin, however, took alarm, and pressed the queen anxiously to employ every kind of influence with Condé, in order to put a stop to all such proceedings. Nor was Condé ill-disposed to meet the wishes of the cardinal in this respect; for, in the assembly of the states-general, the part which he would have had to play would have been quite secondary to that of the Duke of Orleans, and the pride of Condé could ill brook that a man whom he felt to be so inferior to himself should take a leading share in transactions by which the rights and privileges of the princes of the blood might be greatly affected. The assembly of the states, indeed, would have given the Duke of Orleans a great accession of power and influence, and De Retz, by whom he was entirely ruled, took care that all the motives which could influence Gaston should be laid open before his eyes, in order to induce him to urge on an event so favourable to his views. But at the same time the Duke of Rochefoucault and Madame de Longueville, anxious to cause a rupture between Condé and De Retz, urged the prince eagerly to dissuade the Duke of Orleans from uniting with the nobles; and Condé soon contrived to terrify Gaston, by vague pictures of dangers to the state, and especially to the royal authority, which might accrue from the assembling of the states at such a moment.

De Retz, however, from some cause which he does not seem to explain with his usual candour, did not display in all these transactions the fiery activity which characterised him in general. Either from forbearance, or from one of those fits of apathy which will fall at times upon the most active minds, he would take no offence from Condé, and refrained as far as possible from putting himself in any position which might bring him into a disagreeable collision with the prince.

In the present instance, he tamely suffered Gaston to be terrified by the suggestions of Condé; and that prince led the duke away to the assembly of the nobles for the purpose of persuading them to desist from their demand. There the two princes, after some discussion, became guarantees of a promise made by the queen, to the effect that the states-general should be assembled without fail when the king attained his majority, an event which was rapidly approaching; and though such promises and guarantees were all illusory,

and many of the nobles felt and declared them to be so, the assembly broke up promising to wait patiently for the appointed time. This was the first service that Condé rendered to the court after his liberation; and Anne of Austria eagerly solicited him to come frankly and sincerely to her aid. The prospect which such conduct might have opened to the prince's eyes was certainly very tempting. "What power might he not have," demands a writer of the day, "who could unite the royal authority freed from Mazarinism, with the party of the princes freed from faction?"

Such might have been the position of Condé; but his very first demands were high. He required that the seals should be taken from Chateauneuf, who had sat in judgment upon his gallant uncle Montmorency, and should be given to the first president, Molé, who had always defended his cause; and he demanded that Chavigni, who had suffered much in his service, should be recalled immediately to the council. The queen consented to all: Chateauneuf was hateful to her as an enemy and rival of Mazarin; and the recal of Chavigni, who was abhorred by the Duke of Orleans, would, she imagined, embroil that prince with Condé, which was one of her great objects.

To set the prince at variance with the old Fronde was even of still greater importance; and she demanded of Condé, as the price of the changes he required, that he should break off the promised marriage between his brother Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. The mind of Condé was already well prepared for such a step: Madame de Longueville, who had been long jealous of the beauty and graces of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, could little bear to contemplate the probability of her being raised to a rank even more elevated than her own, and still less, that she should obtain the great influence which such a person was likely to acquire over both her princely brothers. She had, therefore, exerted all her influence over Condé, and with him had been quite successful: but Conti was still in the height of his passion for the beautiful and fascinating girl who had been promised to him during his imprisonment; he supped every evening at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, and his affections, as well as his honour, were fully engaged. The reputation of the fair lady, however, afforded a means of attack which Condé employed with success upon his brother. The Prince de Conti soon received proof that she was not by any means so immaculate as he had believed: her

scarcely doubtful connexion with the coadjutor was placed in its true light, and, convinced that the object of his passion was unworthy of the love of a man of honour, he began to look upon her with horror. The changes in the council, and the rupture of the marriage between Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, took place almost at the same time; for though the actual declaration of Conti's intentions was subsequent to the change, his coldness had been perceived and his purpose divined before.

On the morning of the 3rd of April, 1651, the Duke of Orleans, on arriving at the Palais Royal, was informed by the queen that she had sent for Chavigni out of Touraine. The duke reproached her for having taken such a step without consulting him: but she answered haughtily, that he had taken many more important steps without consulting her. He instantly quitted the palace, and the news of the other changes followed him. At his own dwelling he found Madame de Chevreuse and her daughter, with the coadjutor; and he was followed speedily by the Prince de Condé, Conti, Beaufort, and a number of others belonging to the party of the princes. Every one being ignorant that the blow came from Condé himself, a council was instantly held to ascertain what the Duke of Orleans was called upon to do on the occasion. The most violent expedients were suggested, but Condé threw cold water upon every proposal that was made; Beaufort rudely checked De Retz for speaking in his name, as had usually been done before; and the Duke of Orleans, with the leader of the old Fronde, soon perceived that Condé and his friends were the authors of the affront which the lieutenant-general had received.

After some time passed in sharp discussion, the duke retired into the apartments of his wife with De Retz; and there a brief consultation ensued, in which the Duchess of Orleans, Madame de Chevreuse, and the coadjutor endeavoured to persuade him to arrest the leaders of the opposite party and rouse the people to insurrection. The Duke of Orleans was in some degree moved; Condé, Conti, the Duke of Beaufort, and others, had retired into the library; and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, springing towards the door, exclaimed, "Nothing is wanting but a turn of the key! It would be a fine thing indeed for a girl to arrest a winner of battles!"

The impetuosity of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, however, alarmed the timid Duke of Orleans. Had he been brought

to it by degrees, he might have consented to the act; but her movement towards the door startled him, and he began to whistle,—which, as De Retz observes, was never a good sign. Then declaring that he would consider of the matter till the next morning, he walked placidly into the library, and suffered the guests to depart in peace whom he had been so sorely tempted to make prisoners. In the course of that morning's conversation, however, two or three words had been spoken by different persons, which showed that the characters of the great movers in these events was becoming far better known to themselves and to each other than had been the case in the commencement of the Fronde.

More than one person present treated the proposals of De Retz as exhortations to carnage; and when the Duke of Orleans tried to stimulate Condé to act with him in opposition to the queen, Condé replied, that he would willingly raise troops in the country for the service of his royal highness,—but that he felt himself to be a thorough coward in popular tumults, and understood nothing of the war of *pôts-de-chambres*. Such words were not easily forgotten; but the very next morning a more unpardonable affront was offered to the leaders of the Fronde, by Condé and Conti sending the President Viole to Madame de Chevreuse, in order to announce that the proposed marriage between her daughter and the Prince de Conti could not take place.

The incivility of the manner was more galling than the act itself, and though Mademoiselle de Chevreuse laughed when she heard of the loss of her deformed lover, the determination of taking vengeance was deeply fixed in the hearts of all those concerned. Scarcely, however, was the announcement made, when intimations were conveyed to De Retz—who, as usual, was present at the toilet of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse—of various important events which were taking place at the palace of the Luxembourg.

The agents of the queen and of Condé had been closeted with the Duke of Orleans during the whole morning; messages had even passed between him and Chavigni; the seekers of court favour had fled from the friends of De Retz as from persons just showing signs of a pestilence; and everything, in short, announced to the coadjutor, that intimidated by the coalition of the queen and Condé, the weak Duke of Orleans was only embarassed by the confidence which he had hitherto reposed in him, and by the connexion which he had thereby formed with the Fronde.

Knowing that imbecile and treacherous prince to the heart, De Retz was well aware that the Duke of Orleans would become at once his enemy, and would lend himself to the most severe means against him if he continued to embarrass him by urging consistency of conduct, energetic exertion, courageous resistance, or the assumption of any of those qualities which he did not possess. He therefore determined upon his conduct in a moment; and still hoping, after a time, to regain his ascendancy over the duke, if he did not incur his hatred by attempting to strengthen his feebleness, he resolved to retire apparently from political life, and free the Duke of Orleans from the importunity of his presence and his counsels.* He proceeded immediately to the Luxembourg, and announced to Gaston, without either reproaches or menaces, that having served him in the two great objects of expelling Mazarin and liberating the princes, he had determined to retire altogether from political life, and dedicate himself entirely to the duties of his profession.

"It is impossible to express," says De Retz, "the joy that appeared in the eyes and on the countenance of the duke." But that joy had all the effect which De Retz intended. It preserved the prince from becoming infected with the hatred towards him which a weak man always feels towards those he

* Anquetil makes a mistake in regard to these facts, which becomes important by offering a false picture of the spirit and character of the times. He gives one to understand that all these changes took place slowly, and says, "that time and the solicitations of the queen, operated on the mind of the Duke of Orleans, and produced the events which we have just related. Such, however, was not the case: the whole of this transaction is one of the most striking exemplifications of a peculiar feature in the spirit of that age, viz., the extraordinary rapidity with which the greatest revolutions of feeling and changes of combination were effected in the Fronde. The whole of these events took place in the short space of one day. On the morning of the 3rd of April, the announcement of Chavigni's return was made to the Duke of Orleans; he was informed of the changes in the ministry; he held that council with the princes and others, in which it was proposed, in order to gratify his rage and animosity against the queen, to call the populace to arms, and take the seals by force from him to whom she had confided them: he discovered that the blow had come from Condé and his partisans; he heard and deliberated upon the proposal for arresting them; and before the next morning, at the hour when Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was dressing herself, he had been completely gained over to the party of the queen and Condé, and was only embarrassed by shame at breaking his connexion with De Retz and the Fronde. By the same hour, Condé and the leaders of the new Fronde had finally separated from the party which had really delivered them from prison, and the Duc de Beaufort had gone over openly to the side of that prince who, not long before, had accused him of conspiring to murder him with the very men whom he now abandoned. All this took place in less than four-and-twenty hours; and it affords an extraordinary picture of the versatile character of the factions in those days, which is entirely lost if the rapidity of the transition is not marked.

has injured. Secret means of communication were arranged between the duke and the coadjutor; and the latter next turned his steps to the hotel of the Prince de Condé, in order to announce his resolution there also. Condé laughed at his purpose, but did not seem to divine his object. Conti congratulated him on his conversion, and on taking leave of him, exclaimed laughing, "Adieu, good brother hermit." On all sides he was met by ridicule and jest; but he held his resolution steadily, and retiring to the archbishopric, dedicated himself, in all appearance, with the utmost sincerity and devotion, to execute those sacred functions which he had so long neglected for political cabal.

Various intimations which he received, a knowledge of the faithless fickleness of the Duke of Orleans, and a consciousness of no great credit with either the Prince de Condé or the queen, induced him to believe that an attempt might be made to arrest him before the people could gather together to give him assistance. To prevent so fatal an event, he collected a number of determined soldiers, principally from amongst the exiled cavaliers, whom the iron rule of Cromwell still kept at a distance from their native land; he fortified the archbishopric; he changed the neighbouring houses into barracks, and he turned one of the towers of the cathedral into a magazine. Arms, ammunition, and provisions were laid up in abundance; and he was thus always prepared to make good his resistance against any attempt to seize him till the people could rise for his deliverance.

Whether the queen and Condé did or did not mistake his ambitious nature so far as to believe that even for a time he was reduced to tranquillity, or whether the struggle which immediately succeeded between them diverted their attention altogether from the coadjutor, till they needed his assistance, does not appear; but towards him Anne of Austria was soon obliged to turn her eyes, as the only one who could give her aid in circumstances of the utmost need. Once more Condé began to play the part which he had enacted before his imprisonment; and his exactions knew no bounds. But there was this striking difference between his former and his present conduct; he now rested upon the parliament for support, and politicly made the measures which he contrived against Mazarin, in co-operation with it, the means of wringing from the queen all the concessions which he desired. Everything that was granted, however, produced a new de-

mand; and, at length, the pretensions of Condé extended to the following articles, in addition to the governments, places, and posts which he already enjoyed:—that the government of Guienne and Provence should be assigned to him; that he should have in those provinces a degree of authority which almost annulled that of the king; that a number of towns and fortresses in the neighbourhood should be given up to him; that a body of troops should be kept up therein, paid by the king, but under his command; and that all his friends, followers, and retainers, should have something, either in governments, money, or offices, from the general pillage of the crown which was then taking place.

He had already his own garrisons and officers in the towns of Clermont, Stenay, Bellegarde, Mouson, and Dijon; and that which he demanded would have made a kingdom in itself, resting under the Pyrenees, and embracing the mouths of the Rhone and of the Gironde. Champagne and Burgundy were almost equally at his disposal; and on both sides he could have stretched out his hands to Spain in case of any opposition from a king of France.

Whether or not the suspicion is well founded, which many writers have entertained, that Condé was gradually lured on by the regent to make such extravagant demands in order to open the eyes of the parliament and the people to his ambition, it is certain that Servien and Lionne, the two creatures of Mazarin, treated seriously with Condé upon the subject, and afterwards assured De Retz that they acted with perfect good faith in the whole business.

Very differently, however, did Mazarin behave; and one of his letters is extant in which his clear foresight is as strongly displayed in regard to this negotiation as in any other transaction of his life. No sooner did he hear that it was proposed to grant the exorbitant demands of the prince, than he wrote to the queen, remonstrating in the strongest terms. "You are well aware, madam," he said, "that the greatest enemy I have in the world is the coadjutor: make use of him, madam, rather than yield the prince the conditions which he demands. Make him a cardinal, give him my place, put him in my apartments; he will still probably attach himself more to the Duke of Orleans than to your majesty. But the Duke of Orleans does not wish to ruin the state; his intentions at the bottom are not bad. In a word, anything, madam, rather than grant the Prince de Condé that which he

demands. If he should obtain it, there would be nothing left but to carry him to Rheims."*

Thus authorised, the queen no longer hesitated to turn her eyes towards De Retz. Her anxiety to recal her minister had increased every hour since his departure, and she determined to see whether the influence of the coadjutor could not be exerted to facilitate the return of Mazarin. At all events, it might be employed to defend the crown against Condé, and the only doubt was, how far that influence had been diminished by late events. The queen was too shrewd to suppose that De Retz had lost any part of his authority by the state of retirement in which he now lived; but the attachment of the Duke of Beaufort to the party of Condé might have diminished the power of the coadjutor over the people.

Anything was to be tried, however, which might deliver her from the exactions of Condé. He had already obtained the appointment he desired in Guienne: he was pressing more vigorously than ever for the satisfaction of his other pretensions; and, in order to urge the queen to immediate compliance, he was daily declaiming in the parliament, both against Mazarin, and against all those in France who still continued to hold any communication with him. It was therefore absolutely necessary that Anne of Austria should either immediately grant his demands, or should find some support to enable her to resist them. She accordingly despatched the Maréchal du Plessis to speak with De Retz, at the archbishopric, towards one o'clock in the morning; at which hour he generally returned from his nocturnal visits to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. Du Plessis showed him the letter from Mazarin, which we have cited above, and of which De Retz probably judged justly when he believed it to be partly sincere, and partly quite the contrary.

Mazarin might perhaps wish the queen to make De Retz prime minister, rather than yield to the Prince de Condé; but the cardinal was very sure that the coadjutor's seat at the head of the queen's council-table could not be of any long continuance. De Retz, however, was willing to seize the opportunity of avenging himself upon Condé, and he probably judged that he might do so without bringing about the return of Mazarin. He accepted, then, at once the queen's invitation to visit her in secret, and threw the letter of safe con-

* The place where the coronation of the kings of France is almost always celebrated

duct which she had sent him into the fire, in order to show his confidence in her promises. The following night, at twelve o'clock, he was brought into the queen's oratory by a back staircase, and a long conversation ensued between them, in which De Retz assured her of his willingness to serve her. He positively refused, however, the office of prime minister, which she pressed him to accept. He also refused in any degree to countenance openly the return of Mazarin, assuring her that the slightest appearance of such a design on his part would render his services perfectly useless to her, both with the populace and with the Duke of Orleans; and, at the end of a long harangue, during which the queen interrupted him impatiently more than once, he assured her that he had not come there to receive favours, but to merit them.

"What will you do, then?" demanded the queen, anxious to know in what all his vague eloquence would end. "What will you do?"

"Madam," replied De Retz, "I will oblige the Prince de Condé to quit Paris before eight days are over; and will carry off the Duke of Orleans from him before to-morrow night."

"Give me your hand on that," replied the queen, "and the day after to-morrow you are a cardinal, and moreover the second amongst my friends."

He afterwards adroitly insinuated to Anne of Austria, that, under certain circumstances, he might not be quite so much the enemy of the cardinal as he appeared; but it was then determined that somebody should be placed, *pro tempore*, in the vacant niche of Mazarin, in order to deprive the Prince de Condé of the power of saying that the queen still kept it open for her favourite. Many persons were suggested, but some objection existed in every case, and at length it was determined that Châteauneuf should fill that office. Though this transaction is represented with a great apparent difference in all the particulars by Madame de Motteville on the one hand, and De Retz on the other, yet, when their two accounts are accurately compared, it will only be found that Madame de Motteville did not know the whole, and that De Retz did not tell the whole.

The Duke of Orleans, though reconciled with Condé, had made it a point of honour to repeat his demand that the seals should be taken from the first president, to whom they had been given, and that Châteauneuf should be restored to

power. It was to satisfy him, therefore, and to give him all that he in fact wanted—a fair excuse for quitting Condé and going over to the queen, that De Retz now proposed Châteauneuf for the post of minister, well knowing that Condé must oppose his elevation, and the Duke of Orleans must support him. All the other particulars were arranged between De Retz, the queen, and the princess palatine; and De Retz communicated to the Duke of Orleans all that had taken place. That prince was very well contented, and laughed with strange triumph at the idea of seeing Condé and the Fronde once more embroiled with each other.

The princess palatine and Anne of Austria both pledged their words that the coadjutor should be raised to the dignity of cardinal; and the worthy archbishop issued forth from his retreat, announcing his approach to the enemy he was about to attack by a cloud of the same libels, satires, and epigrams, which he had always found so efficacious in prejudicing the people of Paris against any one whom he thought fit to hold out to popular odium. The presses of the French metropolis groaned under tracts and pamphlets setting forth the ambition of Condé, the extravagance of his demands, and the danger of granting him provinces situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Spain and Italy. Nor did his enemies fail to point out also the continual negotiations that were taking place between the party of the princes and Mazarin, and the peril which the state ran from the constant recurrence of such transactions, and from the agitation and apprehension which the exactions of the prince produced in the public mind. At the same time a multitude of criers and hawkers were sent through the town, spreading, at the very lowest price, and amongst every class of people, all the sarcasms which had been composed at the archbishopric in the morning, to render the conduct of Condé ridiculous, contemptible, and hateful in the eyes of the multitude.

At length, when the coadjutor believed that everything had been sufficiently prepared, he made the palatine write to inform the queen that he was about to go to the parliament. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was with the regent at the time she received this intimation; and the joy which it occasioned was so great, that the virtuous and pious Anne of Austria caught the archbishop's mistress in her arms, and kissed her more than once, exclaiming, with no very great regard for decorum, "You rogue! you are now doing me as much good as you have done me harm."

The coadjutor kept his word, and proceeded to the chambers, accompanied by four hundred men. He found the Prince de Condé standing before the fire as he was going in; and the two who were about to enter the political arena in mortal conflict with each other, met with every appearance of deference and politeness. De Retz, however, found Condé in possession of the ground; for neither the coadjutor nor the Duke of Orleans having for some weeks frequented the parliament, Condé had acquired a habit of commanding therein of which it was difficult to deprive him.

The long absence of the coadjutor had even brought the parliament to believe that his virulence against Mazarin had become in some degree softened; and, probably to put his purposes to the test, Condé no sooner saw him resume his seat, than he launched forth into new invectives against Mazarin, added bitterness and severity to all that he had before urged against the government of the queen, and showing plainly that Mazarin still continued to rule in France, from the banks of the Rhine, by the subserviency of the under ministers, Servien, Le Tellier, and Lionne, he demanded that they should be forced by the parliament to quit their places in the government.

De Retz was far too wise even to show moderation in regard to Mazarin; but he knew that a great number both in and out of the chambers were tired of the insolent tone with which Condé persecuted the regent, and he suspected that the prince's animosity against the under ministers proceeded more from disappointment at their having drawn back from the concessions which they had at first made to his ambitious spirit, than from real disapprobation of their pliancy to the will of the cardinal. The coadjutor, therefore, while he outdid the prince himself in bitterness against Mazarin, passed over his attack upon Servien and the rest, and gradually brought the parliament to feel that if the queen consented in good faith to the permanent exclusion of Mazarin, the choice of her inferior ministers should not be interfered with. A war of pens succeeded between the partisans of the two factions; and though that of the coadjutor had greatly the advantage, the progress made against Condé was so slow, that Mazarin, the queen, and De Retz, began to revolve more summary measures.

A cloud hangs over those measures; but that cloud is not so dark and impenetrable as to prevent us from seeing, within

the shadow thereof, fearful and criminal purposes, to which even the more open vices of the age are light. The cloak which was spread over a worse design, was the necessity of once more arresting Condé; but that prince was now so much upon his guard, that there existed scarcely a chance of finding him unprepared for resistance; and his life, as well as that of many others, was of course likely to fall a sacrifice.

We are told by De Retz, that the Maréchal de Hocquincourt, with more frankness than the rest, proposed in direct terms to assassinate Condé; and Madame de Motteville informs us that the queen consulted a priest upon the more severe means which were proposed to her for delivering herself from the prince. The priest, with facility more courtier-like than Christian, sanctioned the means which the queen mentioned. What those means were the lady does not state; but De Retz supplies the vacancy, and clearly shows that Anne of Austria contemplated calmly the assassination of Condé. The coadjutor himself, however, Madame de Chevreuse, and other leaders of the Fronde, but above all Senneterre, who had about this time obtained a great share of the queen's confidence, opposed not only the bold crime proposed at first by Hocquincourt, but also all the schemes which he and others afterwards suggested, and which, though apparently more mild, were all likely to end in the same event. Anne of Austria remarked, that the coadjutor was not so daring as she had thought him; and the Maréchal du Plessis declared that scruples were unworthy of a great man. Still, however, if we may believe De Retz, he held firm; and though he proposed to draw Condé to the Luxembourg, and arrest him there with the connivance of the Duke of Orleans, he resisted all schemes which might compromise the life of the prince.

At the first glance, it would seem that in these transactions the queen sought alone to alarm Condé, and to drive him out of Paris by the fear of imprisonment or death: and that supposition receives confirmation from the fact that her own ministers and servants, Servien and Lionne, were the first to communicate to Condé all that was devised against him. Such, however, is proved not to have been the case, by the transactions which followed, in the course of which, Condé having been induced to quit Paris, was eagerly solicited by the queen to return.

That Lionne betrayed both the queen and the cardinal in

some degree, and, fancying that the faction of Condé might ultimately predominate, cultivated underhand the good-will of the prince, there can be little doubt; but during the absence of Mazarin all was confusion; the ties seemed to be cut which had held the various parties together, and whereas the leaders had in former times striven for their own interests by combining together, each individual now sought his own purposes in his own individual path.

Couriers were still going daily between Paris and Cologne; treaties between the Fronde and Mazarin, bearing strong signs of authenticity, were intercepted or forged, and published in the capital; the post of prime minister remained unfilled, notwithstanding the arrangements for placing Châteauneuf in that office; and the Duke of Mercœur, notwithstanding all the thunders of the parliament, set out publicly for Bruhl, with the purpose of marrying the niece of Mazarin. All, in short, announced that the banishment of that hated minister was but temporary; and yet the people of Paris no longer listened to the declamations of Condé against him with any degree of pleasure.

The situation of the prince was now dangerous: his negotiations with the court had been made public; all his proceedings had been clearly traced to ambition; he no longer found himself supported by the parliament; the populace were more or less inimical to him; his enemy Mazarin was absent, and enjoyed all the advantages of absence with a fickle and unstable people; and, day by day, Condé received warnings, which proved to him that enterprises were in preparation against his liberty or his life.

At length intimation was given him that the purposes of the queen were on the eve of execution, and that a strong body of troops had been ordered quietly to take possession of the streets and gates in the neighbourhood of his house. He immediately sent out one of his attendants to ascertain what were the real facts, and found that two companies of the guards were in motion, though it would appear that their movements had some totally different object.

Condé, however, saw therein a confirmation of the news he had received, and, at two in the morning of the 6th of July, 1651, quitted the Hôtel de Condé, and proceeded to his house at St. Maur. His flight was not only justified by his danger, but also by policy, and it served to regain for him at once almost all that he had lost. A large body of the high nobility

instantly went out to join him, amongst whom were Bouillon and Turenne, whose peace had been made with the court after the liberation of the princes. As soon as he had placed himself in security, he sent messengers to the Duke of Orleans and to the parliament, to announce the cause of his sudden departure, politicly assigning both the danger which he himself ran, and the continual communication with Mazarin, which was kept up in spite of the prohibition of the parliament, and which placed the fate of every French prince in the hands of an exiled and vindictive foreigner.

The queen and her friends became alarmed; and the Duke of Orleans, who, notwithstanding his suddenly renewed co-operation with the queen, had kept up the outward semblance of friendship towards Condé, pressed her to take some steps to recal him. The Duc de Grammont was, accordingly, despatched to St. Maur, to act in their joint names; and it was very evident that the prince was tired of the factious character he had assumed, and anxious, if he could do so with advantage, to reconcile himself with the queen. She on her part showed a disposition to receive him again into favour; and the weak Duke of Orleans, fancying that Anne of Austria was about to abandon him to the enmity of Condé, outran all discretion in his offers to the prince.

De Retz on the other hand, there can be no doubt, saw with pleasure new obstacles rising up to the return of Mazarin, and did all that he could to induce the queen to break off every communication with her former minister. He longed, undoubtedly, to see a place effectually vacant that there was every probability of his filling himself, if the statesman to whom the regent clung so pertinaciously could be removed beyond the possibility of recal. He therefore represented to Anne of Austria that there was no possible means of delivering herself from Condé on the one side, and the Duke of Orleans on the other, and of regaining that portion of the royal authority which she had lost, except that of taking some step which would convince the people of the sincerity of her repeated declarations that Mazarin was dismissed for ever. He also attempted to show her that the suspicions which all men entertained with regard to his own views upon the ministry were absurd, inasmuch as no man could ever attempt to force himself into a government by factious movements against the head thereof. But De Retz,

while he used such an argument, knew its fallacy, though he was the first man perhaps in Europe who put in practice the system, since so frequently adopted, of obtaining power in the state by convulsing the state, and reaching authority by opposing those who actually possess it.

The queen, however, contrived to temporise, and though Condé for some time continued to demand, as the preliminary to his return, the expulsion of the three under ministers, he was at length induced to come back to the capital, upon the express guarantee of the Duke of Orleans, extorted from that *strange lord*, as Anne of Austria was accustomed to call him, at the very moment that he was the most inimical to Condé himself. The return of the prince to the capital was the signal for renewing all the intrigues that had been going on before; and, the period of *patent witnesses* being over, what may be called the period of *salaried hooters* commenced. Each party had a paid mob at its disposal, which acted from any impulse given it from above, and was ready to hiss, insult, pelt, or applaud any person pointed out to it at the will of him whose iniquitous wages they received.

Thus, the Duchess of Chevreuse and her daughter having gone down to the parliament house to hear the proceedings, the Prince de Conti seized the opportunity of insulting the woman he had so nearly made his wife; and his salaried mob assailed them, as soon as they appeared, with every sort of insult, and drove them home to their own hotel, with hissing, hooting, shouts, and obscenity. The principal topic on which the rabble assailed these ladies was, the somewhat too great intimacy between Mademoiselle de Chevreuse and the coadjutor; and De Retz resolved to avenge himself and them by the same means that had been used against them. His mob, being swelled by inclination as well as by hire, far exceeded in strength that of his opponents; and, catching the Prince of Conti as he quitted the Palais de Justice, it treated him even more severely than he had treated the duchess and her daughter, and forced him to pass before those ladies, bowing low to them as he went, with every sign of humility and deprecation.

All sort of decency and propriety was at an end in Paris; and those first fine bonds that attach men to civil order having been cut in every direction, it wanted but an accidental word or blow to have changed the saturnalia which reigned in the French capital into a chaos of bloodshed and crime.

The chief scene of this period of the Fronde was now rapidly approaching. A sort of compromise had been effected with regard to the under ministers; but Condé not only soon renewed his pretensions, and his demands for their expulsion, but was tempted, in reckless weariness of the sickening struggle into which he had plunged, to enter into negotiations with Spain, in order to secure himself a refuge in case of an irremediable breach with the court.

The particulars of this transaction have never been made very clear; but it is evident that such negotiations took place. At the same time he separated the troops which were attached to himself from those of the king; he sent his wife and child to Montrond; and the aspect which he assumed was so threatening, that Anne of Austria conceived herself justified in sending down to the parliament a distinct accusation of high treason against Condé. This occurred on the 17th of August, 1651, and some very stormy debates ensued thereupon; but the principal consideration of the question was delayed till the 21st, when a scene took place in the parliament house such as Europe had very seldom witnessed at that time.

The accusation of a great crime was before the parliament; a party had been made against Condé in that body; the coadjutor, and the multitude which he led, were prepared to move heaven and earth to put him down; and Condé, equally resolute, determined to meet his opponents on their own ground, and carry on the struggle with them, should it be necessary, with the sword. The populace and the parliament, the court and the citizens, were all divided in their opinions, and, without knowing that they were moved by such pitiful motives as court intrigue, and the selfish ambition of a few individuals, high and low, were lashed into a state of furious frenzy, which had well-nigh deluged the whole capital in blood. The coadjutor, well aware that the success of his whole scheme must depend upon the event of that one day, and seeing, by the train which usually followed the Prince de Condé to the parliament, that recourse might be had at any moment to force, determined to forestal the measures of the prince; and, at an early hour on the day of the 21st, he caused all the halls, galleries, and cabinets of the Palais de Justice to be occupied by his armed retainers; he posted bodies at different spots, where they might act with the greatest effect against the adherents of Condé; and he filled

the closets with grenades and ammunition, to be ready on a moment's notice.

The word given amongst his troops, for a great part of them were noblemen and officers high in the service, was "*Notre Dame;*" and Condé, who, well aware of what was taking place, marched to the court with two thousand retainers, gave out as the watchword of his party "*Saint Louis.*" Thus, with that strange and absurd opposition which we so constantly see between pretences and actions, the two men, who at the very moment were prepared for mutual massacre, who were bent upon objects contrary alike to law and to religion, and were advancing to stain the temple of justice itself with gore, took for their rallying cries the Mother of the Lord of Peace and the greatest lawgiver that France ever produced.

De Retz was first on the ground. The Palais de Justice was filled to suffocation; all men saw what was coming; all men, though they regarded the approaching storm with awe, prepared to take a sanguinary part therein; and, though no man forsook his post, many trembled and turned pale; while a wild and gaping sensation of expectation benumbed the senses of every one, except that intrepid and extraordinary magistrate Molé, who presided calmly in the midst of every scene of horror and tumult, without one nerve shaken, or one bright perception diminished.

About an hour after the arrival of De Retz, Condé and his train appeared; and as soon as he had taken his place he addressed the chambers, remarking upon the state in which he had found those halls, and declaring, justly, that they looked more like a camp than the temple of Justice. He ended by repeating twice, in a menacing tone, as he looked upon De Retz, that he had not believed there was anybody in the realm so insolent as to dispute the walk with him. De Retz immediately replied, that there was certainly none so insolent as to dispute *the top of the walk* with him; but that there were many who neither would, nor could, on account of their own dignity, quit the walk, but for the king himself.

"I will soon teach you to quit it," replied Condé.

"That will not be easy," answered De Retz; and another word would have commenced a massacre in the halls of the Palace of Justice, which would only have been circumscribed by the walls of the capital—perhaps not there. Molé, how-

ever, and several others threw themselves between De Retz and Condé, and besought them to remember the consequences of what they were doing. By their remonstrances they gained so much upon both, that Condé sent the Duke of Rochefoucault to desire his friends to retire from the outer halls, and leave him, while De Retz proceeded himself to dismiss his retainers also.

They both fulfilled their mission, desiring all parties who were armed to retire; but La Rochefoucault having done so rapidly, re-entered the hall in which the parliament was assembled, shutting the door in the face of De Retz, who followed him. The coadjutor knocked for admission, and the duke, partly opening the door, suffered De Retz to pass half way in, but then caught him between the two valves, and fixed them with an iron hook from behind the door, at the same time calling to some of his companions to kill the archbishop, whose head and shoulders were within the hall of the parliament, and the rest of his body amongst the rabble without. A number of his friends attempted to force open the door for De Retz, but in vain; and in the mean while the cries and the bustle at that spot caused the two parties in the outer halls to draw their swords: so that we may well believe the assertion of Madame de Motteville, that De Retz was not very much at his ease, having to fear that some of the many weapons drawn around him might find a sheath in his body, fixed immovably as he was, and half crushed in the doorway.

For the second time that day, the slightest indiscreet movement would have caused the four or five thousand swords that were drawn at that moment to be dyed in the blood of the opposite party. The first blow struck would have been the signal for a general rising through the town, for the whole capital in arms was waiting the event of that sitting of the parliament. The Palais de Justice was surrounded by a countless multitude, agitated by passions which, though unreasonable and temporary, were not the less strong and violent; the graver citizens themselves, scarcely less moved than the mere populace, prepared to take their several parts on the very first alarm; and the palaces of the queen, the Duke of Orleans, and other members of the royal family, were filled with troops ready to act against each other.

Such was the state of Paris at the moment when those swords were drawn; and it is probable, that had a blow been

struck, or a shot been fired, ere night, scarcely anything would have remained of Paris but ashes. By a chance almost miraculous, for a single moment no blow was struck; and the Marquis de Crenan, captain of the Prince of Condé's guards, seizing the opportunity, with extraordinary presence of mind, exclaimed, in a voice which was heard through the whole hall, "What are we about? We shall have both the prince and the coadjutor killed. Shame upon him who does not put his sword into the scabbard!"

A cry of "Vive le Roi!" burst from the multitude, and all weapons were sheathed as quickly as they had been drawn. In the mean time, Champlatreux—the son of the first president Molé, and a favourite officer of the Prince de Condé—seeing the situation of the coadjutor, rushed forward, and, pushing back La Rochefoucault violently with severe and scornful reproaches, opened the door, and assisted De Retz to enter. The Duke de Brissac, Montressor, and the others who were around, covered La Rochefoucault with bitter and contemptuous taunts; and De Retz, having taken his place, reported to the parliament what had occurred.

It so happened that La Rochefoucault was placed between him and Brissac; and, turning furiously to De Retz, he said, that if they had been in another place he would have strangled them both. De Retz looked at him with the scorn he merited, and, applying to him a name which his real want of frankness and assumption thereof had gained him during the first war of Paris, replied, "Friend *Frankness*, do not be spiteful! You are a coward, and I am a priest; so that we shall not do each other any great harm."*

The chief president, and the more reasonable part of the assembly, now busied themselves to restore tranquillity, and the retainers of the prince were induced to quit the Palais de Justice by one door, while those of De Retz issued forth by another. This being done, and some degree of order obtained, the hour at which the assembly generally rose arrived, and that dangerous morning passed over without bloodshed. It was not, however, without its effect, for the reaction was most extraordinary.

* La Rochefoucault slurs these events over in his memoirs, as might naturally be expected; but the accuracy of the facts, as told by De Retz, does not rest upon his authority, nor upon that of his creature Joly. His statement is confirmed in every essential particular by Madame de Motteville, whose impartiality in narrating the event is put beyond doubt by her attempted justification of the Duke of Rochefoucault, even while she relates his ungenerous and disgraceful proceeding. Although her morality appears occasionally to have been of a somewhat distorted kind, her candour may almost invariably be relied on.

All parties, from the highest to the lowest, throughout the capital, who at daybreak had been agitated by the most furious passions, and, under the excitement of those passions, would have hurried forward to crimes of the deepest dye, beheld the precipice from which they had escaped with horror and terror, and looked back upon the wild and furious course they had run with equal shame and regret. Paris awoke like a man from the delirium of a fever, exhausted, enfeebled, depressed, but most willing to take all those means for regaining a healthy state which in its frenzy it had so furiously rejected. Condé himself, when he thought over the events of the morning, exclaimed, "This day Paris had nearly been burnt to the ground! What a bonfire for Mazarin! and yet it was his two principal enemies that were about to light it."

The parliament, lately so eager to snatch at the royal authority, and to take cognizance of all things which were beyond its functions, were willing to resign the great office of judging between the queen and Condé, and decreed that all the papers on both parts should be laid before her majesty, with a prayer that she would bring about a reconciliation between all members of the royal family. De Retz—the fierce and turbulent De Retz, whose element was the storm and the tempest, now only sought how he might honourably avoid the recurrence of such a perilous scene as that which had taken place in the morning, and not risk the existence of the whole capital by another armed encounter with Condé. Anne of Austria, firm, determined, and unflinching as she was, trembled to think of the dangers just passed over, and was easily prevailed upon to forbid that De Retz should any more appear in the parliament on her behalf against the prince: and to Condé himself, she held out the positive assurance, that she was not only willing to receive him into favour, but even to grant that the three statesmen to whom he objected, though neither disgraced nor banished, should no longer appear in public as her ministers, on the sole condition that he would come to the court, and pledge himself to abandon all intrigue and faction for the future.

Condé hesitated, for he could not believe the queen sincere; and he demanded, also, that a formal declaration of his innocence should be made, and laid before the parliament in the name of the king. Anne of Austria, on the contrary, offered a simple disavowal on her own part without implicating the king's name in the business. But this would not satisfy him; and, representing that nothing could clear him from a charge

of high treason but the king's own declaration, he at length induced her to consent that such a reparation should be made on the day of the king's attaining his majority, which was now rapidly approaching. That day, however, was destined to produce new mortifications to Condé, and a new epoch in the political contentions of those times.

CHAPTER XII.

The King attains his majority—Procession—Conduct of Condé—Changes in the Ministry—Conduct of the Duke of Orleans—Revolt of Condé—His plans—Negotiations—De Retz affects love for the Queen—Is outwitted—The Court quits Paris—Plots against De Retz—Bouillon and Turenne gained by the Court—Military Operations against Condé—Successes of Spain—Success of the royal arms—The Duke of Orleans supports Condé—Vacillating conduct of the Parliament—Mazarin returns—Angers taken—Two new Armies on foot against the Court—Beaufort and Nemours join—They quarrel—Condé traverses the Country in Disguise—Turenne joins the Court—Orleans excludes the King—Horquincourt defeated—Turenne saves the Court—Anecdotes of the young King—The Armies near Paris—Tumults—Skirmishes—The Duke of Lorraine marches to the aid of Condé—Driven back by Turenne—Battle of St. Antoine—Massacre of the Hôtel de Ville—The Court gains strength—The Parisians grow weary of Anarchy—The Duke of Lorraine returns—Mazarin once more exiled—Manœuvres of Turenne—State of Paris—Turenne's skilful Retreat—Condé retires from France—The King returns to Paris—Duke of Orleans banished—Royal Authority fully restored.

Anne of Austria had evaded calling the states-general till the majority of the king was declared; and she had evaded giving to the Prince de Condé that public declaration of his innocence which he demanded till the same day, notwithstanding the pressing recommendations of Mazarin, who advised her to grant everything, except the dismemberment of the empire, rather than suffer Condé to break out into open rebellion. The nomination of the new ministry, which had been determined on, had also been delayed till that moment: for Anne of Austria felt strongly that, far from losing any portion of her power by the young king being declared major, her authority would be greatly increased—the tender age at which the kings of France issue out of their minority not admitting the slightest chance of resistance to her will, while the fact of his being considered as reigning for himself placed the opponents of the government in much more difficult circumstances than before, and brought many acts under the law for high treason which before might be committed with impunity.

It is true that the difference existed in a mere fiction; but it was by such fictions that the parliament of Paris was ruled; and the very body which would insult or make war

upon the regent, using the king's name and authority for perpetrating what was really high treason against himself, would with great difficulty be brought to such violence when, by a solemn declaration of the king's majority, it had bound itself up in the technicalities of those laws which it registered and administered.

At the same time, Anne of Austria calculated, and calculated rightly, on producing a considerable effect upon the public mind in general by a display of all the pomp and parade of royalty in the young monarch's procession to the palace of the parliament. All the old ceremonies were recalled, and the morning began by a visit of state, rendered by the queen and the whole court, preceded by the master of the ceremonies, to her son in his bedchamber.

The royal party then took horse and proceeded towards the palace of the parliament, where the king was about to hold what was called a bed of justice, in order to declare his majority. After a body of trumpeters, and what were called guides, to the number of fifty, habited in the royal livery, came a body of eight hundred noblemen on horseback, two by two, dressed with the utmost splendour, and followed by the light horse of the queen, on whose steps again came the light horse of the king, at the head of which body appeared the Count D'Olonne, in a robe of gold embroidery, and bearing his sword in a baldrick of rich pearls. He was mounted on a white horse with scarlet housings embroidered with pearls, and wore a hat surmounted with a large plume of white, phillimot, and fire-coloured feathers, making altogether one of the most splendid figures in the procession.

Next followed the company of the Grand Prévôt, with the company of the Hundred Swiss, dressed in their peculiar and picturesque costume, and led by their lieutenants, bearing the eaglet plume in their black velvet caps, which they had won long ago in the service of the kings of France. These were succeeded by the lieutenants-general of different provinces, and the governors of fortified cities; and everything which their individual wealth could supply was lavished to increase the splendour of the procession. Heralds and trumpeters followed, preceding the master of the ceremonies, who was again succeeded by the Maréchal de Meilleraie, grand master of the artillery, leading all the marshals of France, except the Count de Harcourt, who, as *grand écuyer*, advanced alone, carrying the king's sword, with the scabbard

resting on his arm. Then came an immense crowd of pages and attendants, bareheaded and on foot, preceding the garde-du-corps, likewise on foot, who went immediately before the king.

At length appeared Louis himself, in the fourteenth year of his age, mounted on a fiery horse, which he managed with infinite grace and spirit, displaying to his people that person which, even at the early period of life that he had now attained, gave every promise of the strength and beauty for which he was afterwards so much distinguished. Round about the king were his esquires, and a number of the high officers of his household; and he was followed by all the princes but one, and all the high nobles who had attained the rank of the peerage. An immense crowd of guards, officers, and attendants came after without order, and the procession was brought up by the queen and the ladies of her household in carriages surrounded by her own guards, and a company of gendarmerie.

The king, in the first place, heard mass in the holy chapel, and thence proceeded to the contiguous building, where he held the bed of justice, with the queen on his right hand. The members of his court filled up every vacant space, except that immediately before the king; and after all had been arranged, and silence obtained, the young monarch addressed the parliament with grace and dignity, announcing that he had attained his majority, and that he took the government of the realm upon himself. The chancellor next enlarged upon the king's speech; and the queen formally resigned the royal authority into his hands. The young monarch and his mother then embraced; all present did homage to the king; and the doors of the hall being thrown open for the admission of the people as far as possible, various decrees were read as the first acts of the king on assuming the reins of government.

Amongst the most important of these was the declaration in favour of the Prince de Condé; but, to the surprise of many, and perhaps to the disappointment of the queen, the prince himself was not present, having retired to the house of the Duke de Longueville, at Trie, merely sending a letter of excuse, in which the offence of his absence was aggravated by the terms of his apology. Anne of Austria was now irritated beyond all control, and she declared aloud that Condé or herself should perish.*

* It was precisely on this occasion that the queen made use of the strong expression here attributed to her, and not, as is so generally stated, at a period long anterior.

But, if his letter produced in her so violent a movement of rage, the changes which she made in the ministry, according to her previous arrangement with De Retz, were even more irritating to Condé. He saw his friend Chavigny at once deprived of influence; he saw Châteauneuf, the hereditary enemy of his house, raised to the highest post under the queen; and he saw Molé, from whom he had snatched the seals, restored to office and loaded with honours.

Chavigny at the same time sought him at Chantilly, and, of course, did not fail to aggravate the indignation of his friend. A chance word, too, dropped by the Duke of Orleans, who had said, on hearing of the new ministry, "This will not last longer than that of Holy Thursday," convinced Condé that the present was only a temporary arrangement, and that the real object of the court was to recal Mazarin without his consent.

Some letters passed between him and the duke upon the subject; and the latter prince, as usual, attempted to deceive both the queen and Condé. Delighted to see his gallant cousin on the eve of quitting the court for ever, he would have done anything in his power to have hastened his departure; but, for the very purpose of concealing that wish, he went into the other extreme, and offended the queen in a manner that was never forgotten. He professed the utmost devotion to Condé; he entreated him on no account to retire from the court; and when he saw him absolutely on his way towards Guienne, he besought the prince to halt at Angerville, and not to go on till he had seen or heard from him. But at the same time he gave strict orders to the messenger he afterwards sent, not to arrive at Angerville till he was sure that the prince was gone.

Overtures were also made on the part of the queen, and it was proposed to Condé to retire into Guienne, and there, with greater power than was usually granted to the governors of provinces, to wait in security and honour for the assembling of the states-general, which Anne of Austria pledged herself should take place within a year. But Condé did not receive this proposal till he had reached Bourges-en-Berry, where the acclamations of the people and the devotion of the authorities had raised his expectations too high to admit of his listening to any reasonable terms. There can be no doubt, however, that from the first he had demanded far more than was now offered; and there can be also no doubt

that before quitting Paris, previous to the majority of the king, he had entered so deeply into negotiations with Spain, that it was scarcely possible for him to detach himself from the enemies of his country.

Gourville states distinctly that such was the case; and that Condé himself informed him, before he quitted Paris for the last time, that he had determined upon war. This account is confirmed by Bussy; and although it is possible that, as his family have ever since maintained, Condé did send reasonable terms of pacification to the queen, which she accepted, but that the double policy of the Duke of Orleans prevented her assent from reaching Angerville till the prince was gone; there can, nevertheless, be no earthly doubt that all his arrangements bespoke a strong inclination to appeal to the sword.

Having quitted Chantilly with the determination of hurrying into Guienne, he paused at Angerville, at the mansion of one of the officers of his household, the President Perrault, and there waited for some time impatiently the arrival of the promised messenger from the Duke of Orleans. He hesitated, perhaps, upon the eve of warfare, even when he had gone too far to retract; perhaps he longed for peace, after all the irritating intrigues through which he had lately passed. But he was surrounded by evil advisers, whose proper element was faction, and who hoped to gain by civil strife. A body of cavalry, sent out in all probability to watch his movements, was seen in the neighbourhood; the friends who had accompanied him now applied themselves to persuade him that he was about to be arrested, and to hurry him forward to some decided step. Condé hesitated a few minutes longer, and declaring that he drew the sword against his will, and at their solicitation, warned them that it might be longer than they liked before he put it back into the scabbard.

He at length yielded, however, mounted his horse, and, followed by a large body of friends and retainers, hastened on to Montrond, where he had arrived by the 15th of September, just one week after the declaration of the king's majority. His wife and child had been sent on thither some time before, and he was now surrounded by the Prince de Conti, the Duchess of Longueville, La Rochefoucault, Nemours, and many others of his boldest and most powerful adherents. But short deliberations were necessary, and every one at Montrand applied himself diligently to announce to all his friends the resolution

of the prince, and to call to his aid all who were well disposed towards him.

Having despatched messengers for this purpose in various directions, Condé left several members of his family behind him, and advanced rapidly into Guienne. Everything had been prepared beforehand; he was received in Bordeaux with joy and acclamations, a numerous body of troops was raised at once, the royal revenue in that part of the country was seized to wage war against the king, ten thousand men were speedily levied to support his rebellion, and Spain eagerly hastened her preparations in order to feed a civil war in France which afforded so strong a diversion in favour of her own exhausted territories.

The plan laid down by Condé on quitting Chantilly is distinctly stated by La Rochefoucault, and it was followed as far as possible. The Prince de Conti, Madame de Longueville, and the Duke of Nemours were left at Bourges and Montrond, to raise troops, and keep possession of Berry and the Bourbonnais; while Condé himself, followed by his wife and son, proceeded, as we have said, to Bordeaux, in order to keep up his communication with Spain, as well as to rouse Guienne. The Count de Doignon secured to him Brouage, the Isle of Rhé, and La Rochelle. The Duke of Richelieu exerted himself in his favour in Sainctonge; La Force, La Rochefoucault, Montespan, and Arpajon* raised troops and money in Poitou, Angoumois, Upper Gascony, and Rouerge; and an invitation was sent to the Count de Marsin, commanding the French troops in Catalonia, to desert the service of the king, and come over to the party of Condé. At the same time, Lenet was despatched to Madrid, with full powers to treat with the King of Spain, and to supply all that had been omitted in the treaty already carried on between the prince and the Count of Fuensaldaña.

There was one part of the plan, however, which could not be executed. Condé had confidently hoped to engage Turenne and his brother, the Duke of Bouillon, in his cause, and by giving up to them Bellegarde, Stenay, Clermont, and Danvilliers, together with a large body of old troops who had long served under his own command to enable them, aided by a corps of Spanish troops which had been promised from the Low Countries, to carry on the war in that quarter, while he

* There would seem to have been a little double dealing in the conduct of Arpajon.

himself directed all the movements in the South. Had his plan succeeded in this respect, the crown of France would have been at Condé's disposal; for, with a larger force in the North than any that the queen could bring against him, under so skilful a general as Turenne, the capital would have been almost at his command; and, at all events, the royal troops would never have been withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Paris, even for the purpose of reducing the South to obedience.

The views of Turenne, however, were very different from what they once had been. After having obtained from the court what he considered reasonable proposals of peace in favour of the King of Spain, having seen them rejected by that monarch, and having obtained a positive promise of full compensation for the principality of Sedan, he had rejoined the court with the full determination of never separating himself from it again. It is true that when Condé retired first to St. Maur, Turenne and his brother had visited him, with a number of other nobles; but not all the persuasions of Condé himself, nor the intrigues of La Rochefoucault, had been able to engage either Turenne or the Duke of Bouillon to anything but vague professions of attachment.

La Rochefoucault, indeed, asserts that they distinctly promised to join the prince if the parliament of Paris gave a decree in his favour; but there is every reason to believe that there was no clear engagement on their part of any such kind; and the conduct of Tavannes, who, immediately on hearing that the prince was in insurrection, withdrew his forces from the royal army, under the Duc d'Aumont, and joined Don Estevan de Gamarra, without any reference to Turenne or Bouillon whatsoever, shows that Condé himself little calculated upon the house of La Tour. Turenne and Bouillon remained attached to their duty; and though at first they were somewhat suspected by the court, they nevertheless showed no disposition whatsoever to join Condé. The Duc de Longueville also remained cold and at a distance, having learned to consider the party in which his wife was engaged as anything but his own.

Thus, in the North, public affairs went against Condé; though in the South, everything succeeded as far as he could desire. De Marsin, blockaded in Catalonia by the Spanish troops, had need of no further effort than the announcement of his purpose of joining Condé to the Castilian general, to

open a passage through the surrounding army. He thus passed across the Spanish camp with a regiment of French cavalry, and another of Swiss; and, without meeting the slightest obstruction, traversed the whole of Catalonia, and joined the prince in Guienne. Shortly before he arrived, the Baron de Batteville, a subject of the King of Spain, and native of Franche Comté, appeared in the mouth of the Garonne, with twelve ships of the line, and some smaller vessels. He brought with him also a small body of troops, and, what was even of greater importance, a considerable supply of money. So strengthened, Condé determined to lose no time; and, though the season was far advanced, prepared to make himself master of those places in the vicinity of Bordeaux which were still held out by the loyalty of the king's officers. Thus commenced the disastrous civil war of Guienne.

In the mean time, the queen and her ministry were not negligent of the measures necessary to put a stop to the progress of the revolted prince; but as she was animated by a very different spirit from that which moved her nominal minister Châteauneuf, the method of negotiation which she first essayed was by no means likely to prove successful. In regard to the negotiations, which went on after the war had absolutely commenced, it will be only necessary to say, that she employed the Duke of Bouillon to treat with Condé in her name, and offer him great advantages if he would lay down his arms and give her his support. Châteauneuf, at the same time, treated with the prince, and promised him almost the entire government of the state, if he would lay down his arms, join with him and maintain him in power. But the whole of this negotiation affords another extraordinary specimen of the thorough confusion of all things which reigned in those days; for the negotiations of the queen and her minister were going on at the same time, and mutually destroying each other. The object of Anne of Austria was the immediate recal of Mazarin; the object of the minister his perpetual exclusion; and to render the affair, if possible, more absurd, the negotiator employed by both to carry on their several proceedings, at the same time, was frequently the same man— the well-known Gourville, who went backwards and forwards between Paris and Guienne, burdened with all the most heterogeneous and contradictory negotiations it was possible to conceive.

We must now, however, turn for a moment to Paris, and before we proceed further, consider the scenes which were taking place on that great stage of faction and intrigue. De Retz's nomination to the cardinalate had been forwarded to Rome; but, as we have before stated, that dignity he only considered as a stepping-stone to the office of prime minister. The moment of Condé's revolt was favourable for his ambitious designs. Mazarin was absent, and excluded from power by a number of decrees of the parliament; the Duke of Orleans, Condé, and the capital, were all united in opposing his return; Châteauneuf was hated by the queen, and possessed no real authority; and Anne of Austria herself, shut up within the walls of Paris, was absolutely in the hands of De Retz.

Having learned that the determined nature of Anne of Austria was not to be worked upon by faction and opposition, to choose a minister that forced himself upon her, and having made his influence sufficiently felt, both against her and in her favour, to show her how important his services were, De Retz determined now to seek her good opinion, and endeavour to win from her weakness as a woman, what he had not been able to force from her weakness as a queen. But he fell into the greatest mistake that ever politician committed. Women have often been able to render love subservient to policy, because it was a strife in which they made use of their natural arms: men have never been so successful because they must necessarily employ therein arms of which their adversaries are more masters than themselves.

De Retz, one of the ugliest men in Europe, had been famous, or perhaps we may say notorious, for his success in criminal amour; and in those days such success might prove a recommendation even to a queen. He now conceived the hope of making an impression upon the heart of Anne of Austria herself; not perhaps believing that he should do so with the queen to the same extent which he had done in other cases—for, be it remarked, he does Anne of Austria justice, even in regard to Mazarin—but trusting that, at all events, he might so far win her good graces, by flattering her vanity, as to reconcile her to the idea of dismissing totally her former minister, and filling up the vacant place with the eloquent and apparently love-stricken demagogue.

The idea of acting this part was first suggested to him by the Duchess de Chevreuse; and a doubt has crossed my mind

as to whether, in making such a suggestion, that intriguing woman was really playing the game of De Retz and attempting to deceive the queen, or playing the game of the queen and thoroughly deceiving De Retz. It is scarcely to be conceived that Madame de Chevreuse, who so well knew all the paths of intrigue, could be unaware that De Retz, whatever success he had obtained in gallantry so long as the object and the means were the same, entered upon an art in which every woman was superior to him, the moment that he made gallantry a ladder for ambition. However that may be, as soon as Anne of Austria saw the views of the coadjutor, and found herself engaged with him in a game where she was his superior, she led him forward blindly with hopes which she had not the slightest intention of gratifying, till she bowed him entirely to her purpose. Night after night they held secret meetings for the arrangement of the different affairs of state which were to be concerted between them. De Retz sighed and languished, and gazed at the queen's beautiful hands. The queen blushed and bridled, and talked to his confidants of his beautiful teeth, which, it appears, afforded the only point that could possibly be praised in his appearance; and, in the end, De Retz was persuaded to suffer her to take the young king out of Paris and proceed to Fontainebleau.

So long as the court had remained in the capital, it had been completely in the power of the coadjutor; but the moment that Anne of Austria had quitted the city, she felt that the chains by which she was enthralled were broken, and she began to act at once with authority and vigour. De Retz, as soon as he had fallen into the folly just mentioned, felt the oversight he had committed in the strongest manner; but, nevertheless, he hoped still to regain his ascendancy, by affecting to serve her even with great zeal and fidelity while at the same time he played upon her fears, and endeavoured to show her how necessary he was to the government.

But in the mean while, his own fate had nearly been changed entirely by one of those bold attempts to which perilous times gives birth. The indefatigable, the energetic Gourville, after having raised himself from the lowest stations to such a pitch of confidence and respect, that whenever he appeared in the hall of the great Condé, the prince caused him to sit down at the same table with himself, now proposed to deliver his leader from one of his greatest enemies, by carrying off the coadjutor from the very midst of Paris. For

this purpose he concerted his whole scheme with Condé; and having spent a short time in Angoumois, engaging such persons as he could trust in the enterprise, he set out alone, with but little money, and proceeded to a small town, where the collector of the king's taxes was then raising sums for the service of the court. As he went, Gourville engaged four men to assist him, and entered, pistol in hand, the little public-house in which the collector was seated.

"*Qui vive?*" demanded Gourville, as he entered. The collector, knowing him to be an adherent of Condé, exclaimed, "Long live the princes!"—"Long live the king!" replied Gourville, and immediately swept up all the money which had been collected, and boldly gave him a receipt in due form.

After a number of adventures, on which we cannot pause, he arrived safely in Paris, and was followed, one by one, by the confederates he had engaged. Having learned that the coadjutor, upon one pretence or another, visited the Hôtel de Chevreuse every evening, and never came away till after midnight, he lodged his bands in houses round the spot, and watched all the movements of De Retz, who generally sent away the greater part of his attendants, and returned home but slightly accompanied. Having fixed upon a particular night for the enterprise, Gourville posted fifteen or sixteen men in the shadow of a landing-place which led from the river to the quay. Of these men, two were to seize the lacqueys and put out the flambeaux, by which carriages were always accompanied in those days, two to stop the horses, two to seize upon the coachman, and the rest to prevent any one escaping to give the alarm. Gourville himself, dressed as an exempt, was to march up to the door of the carriage with his staff in his hand, and arrest the coadjutor in the name of the king; and horses, a pillion, and stout horse-girths were prepared for the purpose of binding De Retz lightly to a trooper, and carrying him out of the city at full speed.

Everything having been thus prepared by eleven o'clock at night, and having learned to a certainty that De Retz had entered the Hôtel de Chevreuse, Gourville waited impatiently till a person he had placed to watch should bring him word that the coadjutor was coming out.

Towards midnight the man made his appearance; but it was only to inform his principal that five or six carriages had come out of the gates, but that he had not seen that of the coadjutor. After some hesitation, Gourville determined to

knock at the door, and ask for De Retz. It was opened by the porter, half undressed, and he was informed that the archbishop had gone away in the carriage of Madame de Rhodes, which induced him to believe that some suspicion had been entertained of his design. Gourville determined to make another attempt, however; but it also was unsuccessful, the person he had stationed at the door of Madame de Poméreuil having amused himself in getting drunk at a public-house, instead of keeping watch for the coadjutor.

After this second attempt and its failure, Gourville became more fully convinced than before that notice of his purpose had been given to De Retz, and he took measures for quitting Paris immediately. His suspicions, indeed, were correct, and his escape not an hour too soon; for although the fact of his having twice missed the coadjutor was in no degree connected with De Retz's knowledge of the enterprise, as that prelate had taken no precautions in consequence, yet the attempt had effectually got wind, and Talon, a relation of the advocate-general, had, on both occasions, given the archbishop intimation of the danger which he ran. After the second attempt, De Retz took more vigorous measures; and one of Gourville's companions, who lingered behind in Paris, was arrested, and confessed the whole scheme. De Retz himself, the Duke of Orleans, and others, imagined that the intention of Gourville had been to murder him; and the prisoner had very nearly, in accordance with the laws of those days, expiated on the rack a slight offence, because people suspected him of a greater crime. The coadjutor himself, however, interfered to save him, and after a few months' imprisonment in the Bastille he effected his escape.

During all the events which we have lately narrated, Mazarin had continued to direct the proceedings of the queen. Placed at Bruhl, in the neighbourhood of Cologne, he kept up a constant correspondence with Paris, sometimes by means of couriers, sometimes through the good offices of his friend Fabert, who, in the government of Sedan, maintained the authority of the king, against the temptations of Mazarin on the one hand, and the Duke of Bouillon on the other. There is every reason to believe that to Fabert also was owing that arrangement which, by attaching the Duke of Bouillon and Turenne absolutely to the crown, placed between those noblemen and Condé an irrevocable barrier, insured to the queen a degree of support which she could not have hoped

to receive from any other quarter, and eventually enabled her to recal the minister in whom she confided from exile.

The two brothers, we are informed by De Retz, lived in Paris in the greatest state of retirement: Turenne unemployed, and Bouillon, though resisting the solicitations of Condé, evidently dissatisfied that the vexatious question of the compensation for Sedan had not yet been settled. To both the queen and Mazarin, Fabert represented, in the strongest terms, both the absolute necessity of satisfying the claims of the duke and his brother, and also of doing so at once, without any of those troublesome delays of which the cardinal was so fond.

In the difficult circumstances in which Anne of Austria was placed, she hesitated no longer; her consent, and that of Mazarin's, were given, that by a solemn contract the duchies of Albret and Château Thierry, the counties of Auvergne, Evreux, Epernay, Châtillon-sur-Marne, and some other territories, should be given to the Duke of Bouillon, in perpetuity, in exchange for his forfeited principality of Sedan. While the matter was yet incomplete, a Gascon of the name of Bertet was despatched to Paris by the queen to inform the coadjutor, Bouillon, and Turenne, that she had fully determined on recalling her minister, and to endeavour to persuade them to agree to that step. De Retz, of course, refused, and Bouillon and Turenne hesitated, till Bertet, when the coadjutor had departed, informed them that he had got the contract, signed, in his pocket; after which they hesitated no longer, but made as much haste as they could to get out of Paris. They well knew that a storm would be called up in that city by the very first intelligence that Mazarin was about to return; and that the indignation of the parliament, the people, the coadjutor, and the Duke of Orleans would render a sojourn in the capital dangerous for any one who had consented thereunto. Even as it was, they ran more risk than they imagined; for, before they set out, the Duke of Orleans, apprised of what had taken place, had given orders for arresting them, and they only escaped by a few hours.

In the mean while, the queen put herself at the head of the army, which was found to be much more generally faithful than had been expected, and advanced direct upon Bourges-en-Berry, which received her instead of resisting her, and testified almost as much joy on her entrance as it

had shown on the coming of the Prince de Condé. At Bourges the court remained for some weeks; and here the army was divided into two unequal parts, the larger of which advanced under the Count de Harcourt, to oppose Condé in Guienne, while the smaller, under Pallnau, better known afterwards as the Maréchal de Clerambault, turned upon Montrond, and blockaded that place. The Duchess of Longueville and the Prince de Conti, with the Dukes of Nemours and Rochefoucault, had retreated from Montrond on the first approach of the royal army, and retired to Bordeaux with all speed. The Marquis de Persan, however, remained in command, and the city held out against a regular siege for nearly a year.*

In the mean time, the army under the Count de Harcourt advanced to oppose Condé; and all accounts agree that the want of discipline and skill which existed amongst the troops of the insurgent prince were the causes of his doing nothing against a general greatly inferior to himself. The court followed the army as far as Poitiers, and Châteauneuf would fain have hurried it forward to Angoulême, doing all in his power to render his administration agreeable to the queen, and to impede the return of Mazarin. But Anne of Austria was now free and successful: she was at the head of a victorious army, out of the reach of her factious capital; and the civil war having begun, to prevent which had been the purpose of Mazarin's expulsion, she had scarcely any object in continuing to exclude him. Even while Châteauneuf was labouring so hard to keep his rival in exile, the messenger bearing his recal was on the way to Bruhl; and Hocquincourt, decorated with the colours of Mazarin, was hastening to join him, in order to raise an army to reconduct the cardinal triumphantly into France. Fabert, too, made every effort for a minister whom he had always served faithfully, notwithstanding some ill-treatment: the governors and commanders on the frontier were almost to a man attached to him; and a body of eight thousand excellent troops was

* Anquetil, vol. xii., p. 30, declares that the queen's troops kept the mother and the son of Condé blockaded in Montrond. His mother had been dead nearly two years, and his son was with him in Guienne. The gallant defence of Montrond has not been, I believe, noticed by any modern historian; but it is described in the Memoirs of Artagnan, vol. iii. p. 76; a very curious and important work compiled by Sandras de Courtilz, beyond doubt from the authentic papers of Artagnan himself. The writer attributes the skill and resolution displayed to an officer named Dobas, who served under Persan. Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency Princess Dowager of Condé, died in 1650, at the age of fifty-seven.

speedily prepared to take the field under the green scarfs of the cardinal. Mazarin was eager to avail himself of the favourable moment, but the Spaniards paid him the compliment of refusing him passports to return; and he was therefore obliged to make his way as best he could, across a dangerous and invaded country, to Sedan, where he passed Christmas-day with Fabert, and then leaving his nieces under that general's charge, advanced into France in the beginning of the year 1652.

Spain had not been idle on her part during the civil contentions of France; and while she supplied to Condé the means of carrying on the war for his own advantage, the archduke, upon the frontier of Flanders, seized the opportunity afforded him by the occupation thus given to the royal armies, and obtained possession of a number of places which the French government could not afford to defend. Amongst these were Furnes, Bergues St. Winox, Bourbourg, and several other towns. But the most important advantages gained by Spain were reserved for the following year, when Gravelines and Dunkirk, with a number of other places, fell into her hands, requiring much blood and treasure at an after period to recover them. In Catalonia also the successes of the Spaniards were very great; and that province might be considered lost to France from the day of Condé's revolt.

Nor was the ruin and destruction inflicted upon almost all parts of France by the civil dissensions of the times, an insignificant item in the list of evils produced by turbulence, disorder, and faction. We cannot dwell upon all the particulars of the state of France during this period; but any one who looks through the memoirs of contemporaries will find that commerce, arts, and sciences were almost put an end to; that the industrious classes were reduced to the extreme of misery and indigence; that the peasantry, especially near the scene of actual warfare and upon the frontiers, had become little better than robbers and marauders; and that in many places utter misery and total demoralisation had reached such a pitch, that the country people shot indiscriminately everybody they met, if unacquainted with their persons.*

The result of Condé's revolt, even in the beginning, was not much more favourable to himself than to the country. After having seized upon some towns in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, and strengthened himself in several posts, he

* See Memoirs of Gourville.

attempted to take possession of Cognac; but the town was relieved by the Count de Harcourt, in presence of Condé himself, who could accomplish nothing against him. Harcourt then bent his steps towards La Rochelle, which city had returned to its duty, with the exception of the towers commanding the port, in which was a garrison of the troops of Condé; and the royalist general soon made himself master of those posts, the soldiery within having murdered their commander, after resisting gallantly for two days. Such success gave Harcourt courage to advance upon his great adversary himself, who was obliged to retreat before him; and the news which the prince received about the same time of the formation of an army in the neighbourhood of Sedan, as well as the certainty that Turenne and Bouillon had joined the queen's party, showed him the necessity of despatching some faithful officer to put himself at the head of the troops attached to the insurgent cause in the North, and endeavour to effect some diversion upon that side. The Duke of Nemours was chosen for that task, and set out immediately.

But the progress of the king's arms had already discouraged the people of Guienne; and in the Agenois strong demonstrations were shown of a design to submit to the court.

The evils which Condé suffered in the South, however, were more than compensated, for the time, by the news which reached him from Paris. While almost in despair at the little effectual support he met with, the well-known Fontrailles reached his camp, despatched by the Duke of Orleans to inform him, that, having received certain information that the queen had recalled Mazarin, the old party of the Fronde, with the coadjutor and lieutenant-general at its head, had determined to make common cause with him and his friends, for the purpose of excluding Mazarin. This had been brought about, as may be well supposed, in a great part by the influence of De Retz, who, finding that he had let slip the golden opportunity, was now gradually approaching once more that state of opposition to the court on which all his power was, in fact, founded.

Seguier, the chancellor, and Molé, now keeper of the seals, had remained in Paris, together with Vieuville, who had become superintendent of finance, the Maréchal de l'Hospital, and some others, for the purpose of maintaining the queen's party in the capital against the machinations of De Retz and the Duke of Orleans and a declaration of high treason had

been carried through the parliament against Condé, in spite of all opposition.

The people, however, stirred up by the Fronde, assembled in multitudes in the streets; and, after having surrounded the palace of the Luxembourg for some time, proceeded, by the malicious direction of the Duke of Orleans himself, to the house of Molé. The chief president was at that time in consultation with Vieuville, De l'Hospital, and others, and consternation took possession of almost every one of the party on hearing the shouts of the enraged multitude without. But, while they fled, the chief president, with the intrepidity which distinguished him, ordered all the doors to be thrown open, and presenting himself to the people, who cried out that they had come to kill him, reprimanded them severely for their violence, and in a stern tone ordered them to return peaceably to their homes. The influence of his great mind was felt as usual; the people dispersed without attempting to injure him: but Vieuville and De l'Hospital, who had left him to his fate and retired home as fast as they could, had nearly been drawn out of their carriages and murdered by the way.

In the mean time, the parliament was agitated tremendously by the reported return of Mazarin: the Duke of Orleans declared himself furiously against him: and in the embarrassment in which the court was placed, it would appear that a determination was taken to call the chief president, then keeper of the seals, the grand council, all the agents of finance, the secretaries of state, and, in fact, all the effective parts of the machine of government, to Poitiers, where the court then was, and to leave the capital to its fate, in the expectation that the state of confusion into which it would fall, like the fermentation of a vessel of new wine, would ultimately work it clear. The chief president immediately obeyed, as well as the rest, and Paris gave itself up to its hatred for Mazarin with a fury which strangely contrasted with its after conduct.

On the 29th of December, having learned that Mazarin had passed the frontier, the parliament gave a decree by which the cardinal was declared guilty of high treason; he was placed beyond the pale of the law, the people were commanded to put him to death wherever he was met with; his magnificent library and all his goods and chattels were ordered instantly to be sold, and a hundred and fifty thousand livres were promised to any one who should bring in Mazarin alive or dead. A few days after, the troops of the Duke of Orleans were ce-

dered to oppose the progress of the cardinal, deputies were sent from the parliament to raise the commons throughout the country across which he was to pass;—and, in short, every violent measure was taken which hatred and indignation could suggest.

Mazarin, however, in the mean while, advanced through France without any real opposition. Some of the officers sent by the parliament to raise the country against him were taken by the unceremonious Hocquincourt, and treated with no great lenity; and the army of the cardinal, as it was called, reached Poitiers, bringing an immense accession of strength to the royal forces.

Anne of Austria had in all her actions promoted the return of Mazarin, in opposition to her temporary minister Châteauneuf, and to the whole country; but she had endeavoured to conceal her inclination, and had on many occasions spoken so coldly of the cardinal, that doubts are still entertained as to whether he had not really lost much of her favour during his absence. He is accused also of having shown his royal mistress some ingratitude at an after period, and her conduct on this occasion has been put forth as the cause, or rather the excuse; but it would seem that the demeanour of Anne of Austria was merely part of her scheme to prevent any violent opposition to the cardinal's return till he was actually on the way, and that any degree of neglect which he afterwards evinced towards the queen proceeded solely from the insolence naturally produced in an ungenerous heart by the enjoyment of undisputed power. On arriving at Poitiers his reception was such as he could hardly have dared to expect. The king and his young brother went out to meet him on the way, and he entered the city by his royal master's side, while the queen waited at a window to see him arrive.

Châteauneuf had throughout opposed Mazarin's return; but, nevertheless, he was not immediately commanded to resign his place, as might have been expected; and we are informed by La Rochefoucault, that Mazarin made some advances towards his old enemy. The old statesman very soon met with that opposition, however, which showed him that he could no longer hope to retain office with either honour or advantage.

One of the first questions discussed after the return of Mazarin was, whether the king should at once advance towards Angoulême, and crush the rebellion of Condé by

his presence, or march along the Loire towards Angers, which had been led into revolt by the Duke of Rohan Chabot, its governor. Châteauneuf strongly advised the former course, Mazarin supported the latter; the opinion of the cardinal was preferred, and the old minister chose that occasion for resigning the semblance of authority which had really passed from him.

The king's army marched immediately upon Angers, which was besieged by Hocquincourt and Meilleraie; and, after a very slight resistance, the Duke of Rohan, finding that he could not depend upon the wavering faith of the citizens, eagerly concluded a convention with the royal commanders, by which he was permitted to retire to Paris, and join the Duke of Orleans, who was now becoming a rallying point for all the weak and undecided in the kingdom.

Nothing could well present a more lamentable spectacle than the conduct of the parliament of Paris at the period of Mazarin's return, and for some time after. Like a deserted ship at sea, it went hither and thither, from one extreme to another, without any guidance or any regularity, as the wind of fear, of factions, or of passion, blew. Now it besought the Duke of Orleans to send troops against Mazarin, now refused to pay those troops or find them provisions, now ordered forces to be raised, now forbade any one to enlist soldiers but the king. At length, deputies were sent to the court to remonstrate against the return of the obnoxious minister; but by this time Mazarin was far on his way to Poitiers, and on their admission to the presence of the monarch, their own chief president, acting as keeper of the seals, pronounced by order of the king a severe reprimand upon their turbulent proceedings, justifying Mazarin's recal, and warning the parliament to return to its duty. The vacillation of that body, however, still continued; and the uncertainty of all its measures even outdid the uncertainty of the Duke of Orleans himself, and at length drove him, as we have already shown, to take part openly with the princes. The forces which he maintained, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, were then placed under the Duke of Beaufort, who was ordered to join the old troops of Condé, which, reinforced by some Spanish regiments, were now advancing into France, from the side of Stenay, under the command of the Duke of Nemours. The junction of Beaufort and Nemours was effected without difficulty, and the consummation of all the confusion of the

Fronde was now exhibited. The army of the king's lieutenant-general marched, in union with the forces of a rebel and the troops of a foreign enemy, to aid the first prince of the blood in civil war against the king, while the parliament of Paris daily issued decrees directly contrary to each other, pronounced all parties guilty of high treason, and yet, more or less, supported all parties but the king. At the same time, the united army of Nemours and Beaufort had received two orders, in immediate opposition to each other;—the Prince de Condé having commanded it to cross the Loire, march to the relief of Montrond, and then hasten to join him in Guienne; while the Duke of Orleans ordered it to remain on the hither side of the Loire, and on no account to proceed far from the capital.

These contradictory directions, of course, very soon produced dissensions between Beaufort and Nemours, which were probably not diminished by their being brothers-in-law; and, day by day, tidings reached Condé, in Guienne, of their disputes, which had more than once nearly ended in bloodshed. To him these disputes rendered their movements perfectly useless, while his own situation in Guienne had become perilous in the extreme, being scarcely able to maintain his position at all against the royal arms. Forced to retreat upon Agen, with factions tearing the town of Bordeaux with dissensions reigning amongst his own partisans, with Conti and La Rochefoucault at variance, he determined to quit a scene where the only part he could play was unworthy of himself and of little use to his ultimate objects, and to make one great effort to traverse the whole centre of France, in order to put himself at the head of the veteran troops commanded by the Duke of Nemours. Nothing could be more difficult than the undertaking, nothing more hazardous; but yet he accomplished his undertaking, though not without great labour and difficulty. In the first instance, he consulted with Marsin and La Rochefoucault, who represented to him all the dangers of the undertaking, but both requested eagerly to follow him in case he should determine upon attempting it. He did so determine, but resolved to leave Marsin, an officer of great skill and resolution, to maintain his interests as far as possible in Guienne; and having made what arrangements he could for the safety of the towns still in his hands, he set out on Palm Sunday, 1652, accompanied by La Rochefoucault, six other gentlemen, and the indefatigable

Gourville, under whose direction all the arrangements of the expedition seem to have been contrived.

The whole party were disguised as common troopers, and each took a false name, even amongst themselves, to which they were soon so much accustomed as to call each other familiarly by this *nom de guerre*. Using many other precautions, they proceeded till they came to Cahusac, where they encountered some troops belonging to La Rochefoucault; but being anxious to conceal their journey almost as much from their own partisans as from the enemy, the prince and his noble companions hid themselves in a barn, while Gourville went out to forage. He succeeded in procuring some scanty fare; and they rode on till some hours had passed after nightfall, when they reached a little village public-house, where Condé volunteered to cook an omelet for the whole party. The hand, however, which could wield a truncheon with such effect, proved somewhat too violent for the frying-pan, and, in the attempt to turn the omelet, he threw the whole hissing mass into the fire.

Manifold more serious difficulties and dangers, however, were to be encountered. On one occasion they had to pass a large town, garrisoned with the king's troops, which was so close to the river, that there was but space for the road along which they were travelling, and which was well watched from the gates of the city. Gourville, however, rode on in front, having decorated himself with a white scarf, as if belonging to the king's service; and, riding up to the guards at the gates, he begged them, in a confidential tone, not to let any of his troopers, who were following, enter the town, for fear of disorders: a request with which the guards very willingly complied, and Condé and his friends passed under the very muskets of the king's troops without the slightest suspicion. On another occasion, a peasant recognised the prince, and named him aloud; but, by the effrontery of Gourville, he was absolutely laughed out of his conviction.

La Rochefoucault was seized with the gout; his son, who was of the party, became so fatigued that he could scarcely sit his horse; and, in the end, they all became so weary, with the exception of Condé, whose iron frame resisted to the last, that they could scarcely advance any further. After passing the Loire, they had again nearly been taken at the gates of La Charité, in consequence of a mistake of the guide, who led them straight up to the sentinel, by

whom they were instantly challenged. Gourville replied, that they were officers of the king, who were going to rejoin the army; and the prince, knowing who commanded within, called to some of the soldiers, over the gates, to tell the Count de Bussy that it was his friend Motheville, who wished to come into the town. This was said, trusting to find some way in the mean while of getting out of the scrape; and no sooner had the soldier gone to fulfil his errand, than one of the other insurgents, turning to Condé, exclaimed, "It is all very well for you to stay here and amuse yourself if you like; but, as our leave is out to-morrow, we must go on." Condé replied, aloud, that they were strange people, but that nevertheless he would not part company with them; and leaving his compliments for Bussy with the soldiers at the gate, he once more passed on without being suspected.

Shortly after, the prince despatched Gourville to Paris, in order to communicate his plan to Chavigni; and still following the road he was upon, he pretended, wherever he came, that he and his companions were going to join the king's army. At length, however, approaching Gien, at which place the court then was, he was passed by two couriers, the last of whom recognised one of his companions, and, as it appeared, strongly suspected the whole facts. A mile further on, the same courier met the prince's valet, and, threatening him with instant death, made him confess that Condé was in the party which he had passed. The news of the courier's having questioned his servant soon reached the prince, showing him that he was discovered; and, immediately quitting the high road, he endeavoured to reach Chatillon as fast as possible, leaving behind one of his armed companions with orders to shoot the courier if he saw him return. The courier, however, took another path, and hastened back to the court with all speed, to bear the tidings that Condé was traversing the country for the purpose of joining the Duke of Nemours. Parties were sent out immediately to take him alive or dead; and he had twice very nearly fallen into their hands, once upon approaching Chatillon, and once upon the banks of the canal of Briare. Having escaped almost by a miracle, he soon after gained information that the army of Beaufort and Nemours lay in the neighbourhood of Lorris, at about eight leagues from Chatillon, and advanced with all speed to join it. At length, to his great joy, he saw the advanced guard before him; and several of the troopers immediately galloped

up with a loud "*Qui vive.*" Some of them, however, almost instantly recognised Condé, and shouts of joy and surprise soon made known through the whole army what had occurred. "Never," says La Rochefoucault, "had anything been more unexpected, or more necessary, than his arrival;" for the quarrels between the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours had arrived at such a height, that the ruin of their army would have been the consequence had not Condé himself appeared.

While such were the proceedings of the revolted prince, Mazarin, after having seen Angers reduced to obedience, determined to march back along the course of the Loire, in order to keep in check the army of Beaufort and Nemours, and to overawe the city of Paris. Harcourt was left behind to deal with the party of Condé in Guienne; while Hocquincourt, who had so successfully conducted Mazarin from Sedan to Poitiers, remained in command of the army which escorted the court.

A far greater general, however, had by this time been fully brought over to the royalists; and at Saumur, Turenne presented himself to the minister. Embarrassed between gratitude to Hocquincourt and respect for Turenne, Mazarin proposed to the latter to divide the command with the former general. Turenne, though in every sense the superior officer, made not the slightest hesitation, but accepted the proposal at once, and from Saumur the court and army removed to Tours. In that city took place one of the most favourable events which could have befallen Mazarin; namely, the presentation of a strong remonstrance promulgated by the Archbishop of Rouen, and a great body of clergy, against that decree of the parliament of Paris, by which the cardinal was placed beyond the pale of law. A manifest change also was taking place in popular feeling. As the royal army advanced, every city and strong place upon the banks of the Loire threw open their gates at once to the king, with the sole exception of the town of Orleans; into which town Mademoiselle the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, who at this time affected to be an eager Frondeuse, had thrown herself in a curious manner. The Duke of Orleans had been advised to go thither himself; but, not choosing to quit Paris, he sent his daughter, as his representative. She set out accordingly on horseback, accompanied by a number of the gay and daring ladies of the capital, and the young Duke of Rohan, together with some grave counsellors of the parliament, and a body of

young cavaliers, much more to the taste of the fairer members of the party. Advancing to Orleans with all speed, she arrived at one of the gates of the town, with her gay and gallant escort, exactly at the same moment that Molé, the keeper of the seals, presented himself at the other to demand the admission of the king's troops. The citizens and the governor were puzzled which to admit; but while they consulted thereupon, Mademoiselle advanced along the edge of the moat to the river, where she was seen by some boatmen, who came to salute her with great joy. Knocking down some masonry that stopped up either an old sally-port or a conduit,—which, is not very clear,—they brought her into the town, where she soon gained complete command of the inhabitants.

The summons of the king was consequently rejected, and the princess called to her councils the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours, whose army, not yet joined by Condé, was on the other side of the river. In one of their consultations, however, the disputes ran so high, that the Duke of Beaufort struck his brother-in-law,—an offence for which he was never forgiven, though he made an apology on the spot.

The royal forces, not being sufficient to attack the town of Orleans in face of the enemy's army, marched on towards Gien; but, in advancing, it became necessary to secure the bridge of Gergeau, which afforded the united army of Beaufort and Nemours an opportunity of taking the troops of Turenne in flank. That great general consequently advanced in person to reconnoitre, and had just reached Gergeau, when the bridge was taken possession of by the Baron de Sirot, who effected a lodgment in the middle, and planted cannon so as to command the passage.

Turenne sent off immediately to order some regiments, which were still at two leagues' distance, to come up; and, finding that there were but two hundred men in the place, and they without ammunition, he stationed them in the windows which commanded the bridge, while he, with only thirty men, advanced in person, forbidding the soldiery to fire in so loud a voice that the enemy could hear the command. While he thus concealed the want of powder, he marched on along the bridge towards the enemy's lodgment, in order to give time to Hocquincourt, and some officers who had arrived, to throw up a barricade behind him; and, having thus endured the enemy's fire till the barricade was prepared, he retired

behind it, and succeeded, without any ammunition, in defending it for three hours, till the regiments he had sent for came up. The moment they appeared, he put himself at their head, marched to the lodgment, carried it after a murderous attack, in which Sirot was killed and, driving the enemy across the river, blew up the bridge, so as effectually to secure the royal army.

The queen thanked him for having *saved the state;* but Turenne himself, in announcing the event to his sister, merely writes in a postscript, "An affair took place at Gergeau of no great consequence."

Marching on, the royal army passed the Loire at Gien, leaving the court in that town; and Turenne and Hocquincourt separating, the former took up a position at Briare, while the latter advanced to Blenau. A want of forage for the cavalry being now felt, the infantry alone remained with their generals, while the horse were dispersed throughout the neighbourhood. But Turenne, who had already suffered from similar conduct, now took measures to secure himself against sudden attack. Not so Hocquincourt, who, although Turenne pointed out to him that his quarters were very much exposed, employed no means to place them in safety.

On the very night after he had received this warning, the quarters of Hocquincourt were attacked by the enemy. No sooner did Turenne hear of the fact, than he sprang into the saddle, and marched both to the assistance of his fellow-officer, and to the defence of the king, who, resting secure at Gien, might have fallen into the hands of the rebels, if the division of Hocquincourt had been destroyed, as Turenne had every reason to apprehend it would be. As he advanced, through the darkness of the night the marshal saw the quarters of Hocquincourt in one blaze of fire, and exclaiming, with the appreciation which genius has of genius, "The Prince de Condé is arrived!" he hurried on with the utmost rapidity towards a spot in the neighbourhood of Blenau to which he had ordered his cavalry to follow him with speed.

Towards break of day he arrived at the point where the strife had been going on, and found that, as he had anticipated, the quarters of Hocquincourt had been forced in every direction, and his troops dispersed. A part of the infantry had found shelter in Blenau, but the cavalry which had been scattered round about had been driven across the country towards Burgundy. The safety of the whole court was at stake,

and though Turenne had but four thousand men, while Condé advanced upon him with fourteen thousand fresh from victory, he determined to oppose the rebels in a position which he had remarked, and determined to take up in case of need, on the preceding day. Thither, then, he led his army; and the more accurately he surveyed the nature of the ground, the more fully convinced he became that he could maintain it against any force for a sufficient time to enable Hocquincourt to rally his troops and come to his aid. The plain which he chose as his position offered a wood upon the right, a marsh upon the left, and a narrow causeway between them, which was the only line of advance the enemy could pursue, unless they made a circuitous march, to form on his flank, or in the rear of his position. He planted a battery to bear upon the causeway, and took measures to defend the wood, and the open ground between it and the marsh. Notwithstanding his skilful disposition and determined countenance, his army could not free itself from the remembrance of its inferiority to the enemy; and Turenne's principal officers ventured even to remonstrate with him on the rashness of his enterprise, urging him to retreat upon Gien, and carry the king to some place of safety.

Turenne condescended to explain to them, that when the city of Orleans had dared to refuse admission to the king in presence of a large and victorious army, not a town could be expected to receive him, defeated and fugitive; and he added somewhat sternly, "We must conquer or perish here!"

Having encouraged his troops to do their duty, he waited at the head of the causeway with a few squadrons of cavalry to reconnoitre Condé's army as it approached; but, at the same time, showed the full confidence he had in the strength of his position, and in his own military skill, by sending the Marquis of Pertui to tell Mazarin that the king might remain in safety at Gien. As soon as the insurgent army approached, Turenne retreated across the causeway; and finding that Condé paused—struck with the strength of his adversary's position, and the skill he had displayed in availing himself of it—the royalist commander determined to lure the prince on to attempt a battle there, lest he should take a circuit and appear upon his flank. He accordingly ordered his men to make a movement towards the rear in double-quick time. Condé, with all his own knowledge and genius was deceived, and marching up to the causeway in battle array, directed

fifteen or twenty squadrons to pass it. No sooner had they done so, however, than Turenne wheeled, drove back the squadrons in disorder, and ordered the battery which he had raised against the causeway to open a fire upon them as they passed; which was done with terrible execution. Condé, judging from what he now saw, believed that position in the hands of Turenne to be impregnable; and it being too late to execute any other manœuvres with success during that day, he continued to cannonade the royalist army till the evening, without any other attempt to bring it to a battle.

Towards night, Hocquincourt appeared upon the field, having rallied a considerable part of his cavalry; and a small body of men were likewise brought up from Gien by the Duke of Bouillon,* which rendered the disparity of the two armies not so great as it had been in the beginning of the day. Condé then retired, finding that his attempt was frustrated, and took the way to Montargis;† while Turenne rejoined the court, and was received by the queen with all the gratitude which such great services merited. Her first words went to thank him for *having placed the crown a second time upon her son's head.*

The terror and confusion which had reigned in Gien during the whole of the preceding night and that day, may very well be conceived, when it is remembered that the safety of the king himself and of the queen was at stake, and that the life of the favourite minister might at any moment be placed at the mercy of his bitterest enemy, justified in putting him to death immediately by the highest legal authority in the realm. Neither were the ill-disciplined and irregular forces of Condé at all desirable neighbours to the troop of ladies who had followed the court; and, as soon as it was known that Condé had fallen upon Hocquincourt, the whole of the little town was one scene of dismay and confusion.

Almost all the carriages and horses belonging to the court were at the distance of five or six leagues on the other side

* Madame de Motteville declares, upon the authority of her brother, who was present, that the young king, as soon as he heard that Turenne and Condé were in presence of each other, mounted on horseback and rode out of the town to join the army, but that he was stopped by Mazarin at the entrance of the plain. La Porte, however, mentions nothing of the kind; which most likely he would have done had it been true, as he dwells more than usual upon the events of that day.

† In the Life of Turenne we find it stated that the royal party did not follow Condé for eight days; but La Porte, who was present during the whole time, expressly declares that they set off that very day, stating that they went from Gien to St. Margeau so bewildered that they did not know what they were about.

of the Loire. The queen sent off immediately to seek them, and by daybreak they were assembled at the end of the bridge. Like the boats, however, of a sinking ship, they were soon filled with more persons than they could carry; and each setting off as fast as it could go, when it was loaded, such confusion, embarrassment, and precipitation took place, that notwithstanding every effort made to save themselves, all the members of the court might have been taken like fish in a casting-net, if Condé had been able to force the position of Turenne. The queen, indeed, we are told, showed the same courage which she displayed on all occasions of danger; and, while the cardinal sent courier after courier to the field of battle, and the attendants cleared her apartments of all that they contained, she remained tranquil at her usual occupation, without evincing the slightest symptom of alarm.

The royal army and that of Condé now both marched towards Paris, nearly upon two parallel lines. But the great distress which the court suffered from want of money, caused almost as much insubordination to be apparent amongst the troops of the king as amongst those of the rebels. Little respect was shown to Mazarin himself; and the young king was often treated with but scanty ceremony, and provided for but barely. A curious scene, which is mentioned by La Porte, took place in consequence of Louis being obliged to sleep in the same room with his brother, the Duc of Anjou. On waking in the morning, the king accidentally spat upon the bed of his brother, who, a quick and passionate boy, immediately spat upon that of Louis in return: the king replied by spitting in his brother's face; from which they proceeded to still more nasty marks of their indignation against each other. Having, at length, exhaused their powers in that way, they tore the clothes off each other's beds, and ended by a pitched battle.

Though to find the majestic Louis Quatorze in such a situation is somewhat amusing, the casual remark with which La Porte ends his account is more important:—"The Duke of Anjou," he says, "was much more angry than the king; but the king was much more difficult to be appeased than the Duke of Anjou."

After quitting the neighbourhood of Gien, Condé, pressed by the desire of directing in person the negotiations and intrigues which were going on in Paris, left his army under the command of the celebrated Tavannes, and hastened to the capital. He

was not received, however, either as he could have wished or had anticipated: the citizens feared the neighbourhood of his forces, and the municipal body, instigated, doubtless, by De Retz, besought the Duke of Orleans to oppose his coming. The duke replied, that the prince would come with a small suite, and remain but a short time; and though some few gratulations met the hero of so many battles, they were not such as to give him any great hopes of the cordial support of the capital. The parliament, unstable and vacillating as it had hitherto shown itself, now did not fail to remember that it had pronounced a decree of high treason against Condé; and the assemblies of the Hôtel de Ville were generally favourable to the court.

During the absence of Condé from the capital, he had entrusted his interests almost entirely to Chavigni, who had applied himself to gain the confidence of the Duke of Orleans, and had in some degree succeeded, though De Retz still maintained a great share of influence over that weak prince. With Chavigni, again, Mazarin had opened a communication by means of their mutual friend Fabert; but Chavigni, in his very first letter to Fabert on the subject, expresses his belief that the principal object of Mazarin is to lead him on till the suspicions of the princes are excited against him by the appearance of treating underhand with the court. He offers, therefore, his services to negotiate between Condé and the queen, but refuses to enter into any engagements with a man whom he accuses of utter want of faith. The treaty with Fabert went no further, but things remained much in the same state till after the return of Condé to Paris, when the negotiation with the court was renewed through the means of Chavigni.

During all these events the game of the celebrated De Retz had been a doubtful one, and by no means combined with his usual political skill. His union with the court, and his pretensions to the cardinal's hat through the royal nomination, had put him, in fact, in what the French are accustomed to call a false position. Neither did he ever recover completely the error he had made in suffering the queen to quit Paris. When the arrival of Mazarin had terminated all his hopes upon the ministry, he was still restrained for a time by the fear of losing the nomination of the court of France to a seat in the Conclave, and he had endeavoured to raise up an intermediate party between the court and Condé, comprising

the old Fronde and the parliament, with the Duke of Orleans as its nominal head. The vague uncertain character of the duke, and the fluctuations of the parliament, however, frustrated, as we have seen, this purpose, and the queen, not deceived by the archbishop's affectation of attachment, instantly revoked the nomination to the Conclave which she had formerly given. Mazarin, however, had by this time returned. That minister was hated and despised by the reigning pope; the revocation was attributed to his machinations; and, in a secret consistory, De Retz was elevated to the purple without the knowledge of the French ambassador. The court, however, had still one hold upon the factious prelate, as it was usual that any one pretending to the dignity of one of the cardinals of France should receive the hat from the hands of the king. Although the elevation of the coadjutor had taken place against the will of the court, it assumed the merit thereof: Mazarin wrote to congratulate De Retz with his own hand, and, in order to keep a check upon his proceedings, the hope of receiving the hat from the king was held out to him, while the absence of the court from Paris gave a very fair excuse for delaying the ceremony.

Such was the state of affairs with De Retz when the Prince de Condé arrived in Paris in the middle of April. A variety of petty intrigues succeeded; and at first the prelate endeavoured to act both against the court and the prince, by means of the Duke of Orleans and the parliament: but never were two more useless instruments in the hands of a factious man than these had now become. The parliament, embarrassed by its own contradictory decrees, now assailed Condé, now thundered against Mazarin; but all was feeble and contemptible; and Gaston showed some disposition to support his cousin.

In the midst of these transactions appeared Fouquet, afterwards known for his splendour and misfortunes, but now merely acting as one of the members of the parliament, and as a bold and devoted adherent of Mazarin. In this last capacity he one day demanded publicly of Condé, in the chambers, a clear statement of all his treaties with foreign powers, and caused the demand and refusal to be put upon the record. To such blows the prince was subjected every day: but still, though he could do nothing with the refractory body of the law, he gained much upon the good-will of the lower classes; and some of his military movements, in

which the citizens took part, formed day by day a bond of union between them, from which much was to be hoped. Shortly after the arrival of Condé in the city, the movements of the royal troops gave the Duke of Orleans a pretext for calling his own forces and those of his cousin to the neighbourhood of Paris, and they consequently marched to Etampes without opposition.

It would be impossible to follow all the petty intrigues, or even to name all the events which affected the relative situations of the parties in the capital; but we must take notice of one important step. To give a favourable colouring to their rebellion, and at the same time to leave themselves open a fair excuse for treating with the court, the Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé made a solemn declaration that they were ready to lay down their arms as soon as Mazarin should be expelled from France. How far a nation, or an individual in that nation, might be justified in taking up arms to expel a minister obnoxious to the whole, was a question at that time difficult of solution. But had the pretence been a reality, it is more than probable that Orleans and Condé would have met with that strenuous support from the fanatical opponents of Mazarin which would have enabled them to overcome the pertinacity of the queen, and to have expelled the minister whether right was on their side or not. But that which rendered all their efforts vain, which gradually undermined their power, and ruined every party which opposed the established authority of the government, was not the strength of that government, was not the skill or policy of the minister, was not the justice of the king's cause, was not the courageous pertinacity of the queen; but it was the deep, thorough, intense conviction in the minds of the whole country of the utter insincerity of all men, and of all parties:—it was a knowledge that every one was striving solely for his own interests and his own purposes, that the good of the country was a mere pretext, and that Condé fought for Condé, as much as Mazarin struggled for Mazarin.

We may lay it down as a political maxim, which all the intestine strifes of states will evince, without, we believe, an exception, that the only condition on which any man or any party can hope for permanent as well as vigorous support, in opposition to established power, is sincerity, or that successful assumption of it which works the same effects. Such was not to be found in any party throughout France;

and if it existed at all, it existed on the part of the queen, who, as a general principle, admitted fully her views and objects. That sincerity gave strength in some degree to her less sincere followers; but it was the want of it which ruined the faction of Condé. At the very moment that he was declaring to the parliament of Paris, in the most solemn manner, that the sole object of himself and the Duke of Orleans was the permanent expulsion of Mazarin, he was carrying on, through Chavigni, Goulas, and Gourville, a treaty with the court, the principal provision of which was the security of Mazarin's person, his return to power, and his maintenance therein, upon the condition of suffering him (Condé) and his partisans to plunder the state in the first instance. Such proceedings of course became known, and neither parliament nor people could place any faith in the prince.

Chavigni had his own interests to serve as well as those of Condé; and he treated with different objects, and on a different basis, from those which had been laid down for him. His having done so could not be concealed from Condé, and the prince lost all faith in him. So was it throughout all parties and in all connexions; honesty, honour, fair dealing, equity, veracity, fidelity, were all banished from the bosoms of men and women alike; and there certainly can be nothing so well calculated to render man misanthropical as the history of one day of the Fronde. The general result of such a state of things is anarchy, bloodshed, and massacre, terminating in a subsidence of all things into their former channel, where the turbulent stream that foamed and roared, and overran its banks, is seen reduced to a smaller volume than before, and flowing on, a still and quiet rivulet. To the state of anarchy and bloodshed all things were now tending more and more. The most dangerous proposals were daily made, either in the parliament, or at the assemblies of the Hôtel de Ville; and encouragement to the most violent excesses was given by those who found that they had no advantages to hope for in the maintenance of order. In one of the assemblies it was proposed to demand a general union between Paris and all the cities, towns, and villages of the kingdom; and it was with difficulty that this proposal was evaded by those who saw its consequences. Before the arrival of Condé himself in the capital, tumults of a serious character had been excited by the Duke of Orleans. The same prince, shortly afterwards, on being informed that the people had broken into

and pillaged one of the city custom-houses, avowed his extraordinary view of internal polity: "I am sorry for it," he said, "but it is no bad thing that the people should rouse themselves up from time to time; if they have not killed anybody, the rest is no great matter." This man was, for the time, looked upon as a firm patriot, and has descended to us as a cowardly traitor. Five days after this, the *prévôt des marchands* and the principal officers of the city were encountered by the mob within a few hundred yards of the palace of the Luxembourg, and were instantly attacked. They sent for aid to the Duke of Orleans and to the Prince de Condé; but aid was refused them, and with difficulty they escaped with their lives. Ere long, some of the officers of the parliament were nearly killed in the parliament house; and we shall soon have to depict still more violent effects proceeding from the same causes.

In the mean time the court had arrived at St. Germain, and the royal army had taken up its position at Palisseau; while negotiations still proceeded between the Prince de Condé and Mazarin, in which they both displayed a foible common to both. That foible is clearly pointed out by La Rochefoucault, who informs us that they neither of them had any fixed principle in negotiating, but always varied the terms they demanded in proportion as their adversaries yielded.

In the beginning of May, however, military operations were resumed on both parts; and a small body of the royal troops marched towards St. Cloud, with the intention of attacking part of the regiment of Condé, which had constructed a lodgment on the bridge. No sooner did Condé hear of this movement than he mounted on horseback, gathered together what noblemen he could collect, and issued out of the town. A number of the citizens, however, armed themselves and followed him; so that, on a halt which he made at the Bois de Boulogne, he found himself at the head of nearly ten thousand men in arms. Having learned that the royal troops had retired, Condé resolved to make use of his armed citizens in an attack upon St. Denis, which was garrisoned by two hundred Swiss, and fortified only by a wall, in which were several old breaches. He accordingly marched thither, and arrived toward nightfall, he himself leading the way, supported by about three hundred of the first noblemen of Paris.

The Swiss, however, were aware of his approach, and opened a fire upon the assailants as they came up. At the first flash the whole of the gentlemen took fright, and fled as hard as they could go, leaving Condé himself with only six other persons to support him. With his usual promptitude, he rallied the citizens, who had been of course shaken by the flight of their leaders, and led them on through the breaches into the town, of which they obtained possession after some unimportant barricade fighting; while the fugitive nobles crept in one by one, sadly crestfallen and ashamed.

St. Denis was soon after retaken by the royal troops; and Turenne began more serious operations against the forces of Condé. The first opportunity that he seized was afforded him by the return to Paris of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of the Duke of Orleans. She sent to demand a passport of the adverse general; and Turenne, knowing that in all probability her passing through the army of the princes would cause amongst the gay and gallant officers a good deal of confusion and insubordination, not only granted her a passport, but informed her that he would receive her with all sorts of military honours.

In the camp of the princes, the effect was such as he had imagined that it would be. The Duke of Orleans had written to Madame de Frontenac and Madame de Fiesque, some weeks before, addressing them as "*maréchales de camp in the army of my daughter.*" The pleasantry had been repeated, and the officers of the prince's army received the ladies really as *maréchales de camp.* When the princess quitted the camp of Condé to proceed to that of Turenne, she was accompanied part of the way by all the gay cavaliers of the party; and a great body of the troops were drawn up beyond their lines to do her honour. Scarcely, however, had she set out, when Turenne, who had left a part of his staff to receive her, appeared with a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Etampes, attacked the confused masses of the enemy, and drove them back fighting into the suburbs of the town.

Anquetil and other historians make light of this event; but La Rochefoucault himself acknowledges that the suburb was taken and pillaged, and that from a thousand to twelve hundred of the best soldiers of the prince's army were killed in covering the retreat of the rest.

Turenne retired as soon as he had effected his purpose,

but returned ere long with the determination of besieging the army of Condé in Etampes. The undertaking was a bold one; for the armies were not very different in point of number, and that of Condé was likely to be reinforced by the troops of the Duke of Lorraine, with whom he was in treaty. While Turenne laid siege to Etampes, Mazarin endeavoured to gain the Duke of Lorraine; but that prince, allied to Spain, continued to advance during the progress of the siege, and his army, equal to that of Turenne, at length encamped under the walls of Paris.

The Prince de Condé was still in the capital, and great anticipations of success on the part of the rebels were now entertained; but it was soon discovered that the Duke of Lorraine was carrying on negotiations with the court, and had, in fact, interposed solely for the purpose of seeing how much he could gain from both parties. In the midst of his tergiversation, however, he was surprised to find Turenne decamp from before Etampes, and present himself in battle array against him, when nobody believed that he could have quitted the siege without the greatest risk. Turenne, however, had conducted his retreat with skill and success, and having passed the Seine at Corbeil and traversed the forest of Senard, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Villeneuve St. Georges just at the moment that the Duke of Lorraine was throwing a bridge over the Seine, for the purpose of joining his troops to those of Condé in case of necessity. Turenne then gave the duke notice that unless he retired immediately into Flanders, the attack should commence at once; and without consulting those he pretended to support, or even giving notice of his purpose either to Condé or the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Lorraine retreated at the bidding of Turenne, leaving that general to deal with Condé as he thought fit.

It is a singular fact, that the negotiations for this retreat were carried on by two persons who in turns were kings of England. Charles II., then an exile, was in the camp of the Duke of Lorraine, and treated, on his account, with the adversary; while James II., then Duke of York, who had been for some time serving under Turenne, employed his utmost endeavours to urge the terms that general offered upon the Duke of Lorraine. The Duke of Beaufort was in the camp of the latter prince, with a small body of the Parisian troops; and on his return to Paris, he spread a report that the cow-

ardly retreat of the Duke of Lorraine had been entirely brought about by the cabals of the two British princes; which so irritated the people of the capital, that for several days no Englishman dared to show himself in the streets, though at that time every town in France was swarming with our exiled countrymen.

In the mean time, the siege of Etampes had been raised; and the army of Condé had issued forth, probably with the intention of attacking Turenne if he were found engaged with the Duke of Lorraine. Condé no sooner heard that such was the case, than he issued forth from the capital, and hastened to put himself at the head of his troops, fearing that they might be attacked by Turenne, now freed from the forces of Lorraine. He ran a considerable risk of being taken before he could join them; but having effected that object, he led them from Villejuif, on which they had first directed their march, to St. Cloud, where he encamped along the banks of the river; but the proximity of his camp to Paris did him far greater harm than even a defeat would have done. With but scanty means of supporting them, Condé was, of course, obliged to permit every sort of licence. All the crops were ruined in the neighbouring fields; whatever harvest remained was reaped by those to whom it did not belong; the peasantry were plundered, injured, and their domestic peace destroyed; and the country-houses of the rich Parisians were pillaged and burned in all directions. The evils of civil war now came home to the hearts of the people of the capital, and, forgetting how great a part they themselves had taken in producing the results they lamented, they cast the whole blame upon Condé, and regarded him thenceforth with a malevolent eye.

In the mean time, that prince was torn with different passions and different feelings. He was himself desirous of peace, and willing to make sacrifices to obtain it. His fair mistress, the Duchess of Chatillon, joined with La Rochefoucault and the Duke of Nemours, confirmed him in seeking it: but, on the other hand, his sister, the Duchess of Longueville, who sought to break off his connexion with Madame de Chatillon, whom she hated mortally, joined with the Spaniards, to whom he had bound himself by so many ties, to lead him away from Paris, and to protract the war. The daughter of the Duke of Orleans, too, mingled in all these intrigues, and took the same unwise means to force herself as a bride upon

the young king, which De Retz took to force himself as minister upon his mother. But while these separate interests tore the capital, the peril of the army of Condé became imminent. Turenne having brought the court to St. Denis, caused a number of boats to be drawn up from Pontoise, and commenced the construction of a bridge opposite to Epinay.

In vain the prince endeavoured to prevent him: Turenne, with much superior forces, continued unremittingly the task he had undertaken; and, ultimately, completed the bridge in the end of June. The army of the Maréchal la Ferté had by this time joined the rest of the royal forces, and the prince saw that his position in the neighbourhood of St. Cloud was no longer tenable. Under these circumstances, he determined to lead his men from the dangerous situation in which they were placed, and to take up a new position in the neighbourhood of Charenton, upon the tongue of land formed by the junction of the Marne and the Seine. The great difficulty was to accomplish this march unattacked, and he consequently set out just after nightfall, on the 1st of July, 1652.

The march was long and laborious, and led him to the very gates of Paris, exposing him to attack almost continually during the whole of its course. In consulting with the Duke of Orleans on the morning preceding this decided step, Condé had proposed a measure much more secure in every respect and easy of execution. This was to retreat under the walls of Paris, and take up a position close to the Faubourg St. Germain; but the Duke of Orleans, knowing that he might at any moment, from the palace of the Luxembourg, see his cousin attacked beneath his eyes, and might be forced, either to sustain in arms him whom he encouraged in rebellion, or to abandon a friend and ally with more disgraceful circumstances than ever had characterised any of his preceding acts of treachery, was so dismayed at the thought of having such an alternative forced upon him, that he insisted upon Condé's abandoning his plan, and posting his troops at Charenton. The duke, however, proposed to him to come into the town himself, and to leave the command to the Duke of Nemours: but Condé replied proudly, "I neither can nor ought to leave my friends upon such an occasion; I must conquer or perish with them."

No sooner was his retreat known to the court,—and it was known almost immediately,—than Turenne prepared to follow

him; and sending off messengers to La Ferté, who was on the other side of the river, with orders to advance immediately, he galloped off after Condé, at the head of his cavalry, for the purpose of engaging him so far as to detain him till La Ferté could come up. Passing by St. Denis, he held an interview with Mazarin, and assuring him that he would overtake the prince before he could reach a place of safety, concerted with the minister what was to be done by the court, in order to remove any means of escape which might be left open to Condé, by the proximity of Paris. Early in the morning, the young king was accordingly led to Charonne, whence he could see the march of the armies; and from that place he was made to write a letter with his own hand, commanding the municipal authorities of Paris, let what would happen, not to open the gates of the city to the rebel army.

In the mean time, Condé had advanced into the suburbs of Paris, to a spot called the Cour de la Reine, opposite what was then named the Gate of the Conference; and it would seem that he hesitated whether to ask permission to pass through the town or not; but at length, fearing that he might be refused, he determined to march on, after suffering his men to take some short repose.

After his conference with Mazarin, Turenne followed the prince at full speed, and overtook a part of the army in the Faubourg St. Denis. These were immediately attacked and driven on before him, as well as some squadrons of cavalry which he met with in the Faubourg St. Martin. Although these attacks might have been merely made by the advanced guard of the royal army, there was something in the manner in which they were conducted that led Condé to believe Turenne was there in person, and riding up to the heights of Montmartre, he gazed over the scene below to ascertain whether his further retreat were practicable. He found that it was not: he saw the whole of the royal army under Turenne in quick pursuit, he doubted not that the forces under La Ferté were also in motion, and he determined to defend himself in the Faubourg St. Antoine.

So rapidly, however, was he followed by Turenne, that Condé would scarcely have had any time to strengthen himself in the suburb, had it not been for a number of barricades which the citizens had formed some time before as a security against the troops of Lorraine when they were encamped in that neighbourhood. The whole baggage of his army he was

obliged to pile up at the brink of the ditch; and he kept round about him no guard but his own household, and a number of gentlemen who had no command in the army, and who amounted to about thirty or forty in number.

No sooner did Turenne perceive that Condé had determined upon the part he was to act, and that he was diligently employed in strengthening the barricades, piercing the houses for musketry, disposing his force so as to defend all the most exposed points of the suburb, and establishing his *place d'armes* in the open space before the Porte St. Antoine, than he hastened all his own movements for attacking a general whose genius supplied so many deficiencies, before he could strengthen every weak point, and seize upon every defensible post.*

Three principal streets led through the Faubourg St. Antoine towards the gate of the city as their common centre, traversed by other narrow streets at irregular distances. To attack the prince in this position, Turenne formed his army into a crescent, with the right resting on the foot of the heights of Charonne, the left extending to the Seine. Advancing in this order, Turenne attacked by the three principal streets, he himself taking the great street in the centre, while the Marquis of St. Mesgrin followed that which opened upon the right, and Philip de Benac, Duke of Navailles, led his men forward by that upon the left. The orders of Turenne were strict, that as each party advanced, it should make sure of the cross streets, so as to hem the enemy in between the royal army and the walls of the city.

In this order, and with these commands, the king's forces advanced upon those of Condé, while he on his part suffered them to approach within thirty yards of the first barricade. At that moment, however, he passed the entrenchment at the head of his household and the gentlemen who accompanied him, charging the leading battalion of royalists, and forced it back at the point of the sword upon those which

* Ramsay, in his Life of Turenne, declares that that great general was inclined to wait for the arrival of La Ferté, and that it was not till he had received repeated commands from the court, which by that time had assembled on the heights of Charonne, that he commenced the battle unsupported. The Duke of Rochefoucault, however, who was by Condé's side in the battle, declares, on the contrary, that Turenne, instead of making the slightest delay, attacked the prince with the most "extreme diligence, and with all the confidence which a man has who thinks himself assured of victory."

It appears to me that the testimony of La Rochefoucault as an eye-witness is more to be relied upon than any other.

followed, taking prisoners the greater part of its officers, and carrying off the colours.

In the mean while, St. Mesgrin pressed forward from the side of Charonne, and was gallantly opposed by Tavannes, who drove back the infantry under a terrible fire. St. Mesgrin himself then charged at the head of the light-horse of the guard, but, engaged in a narrow street strongly barricaded, could effect nothing, and was killed, with several other officers of distinction.* At this period of the battle, too, fell the young Mancini, nephew of Mazarin, who died of his wounds shortly after; and the hatred of his uncle towards Condé, we may well suppose, was not diminished by such an event.

While these events were going on upon the left of Condé's position, Turenne was forcing his way up the great street, and Navailles was advancing upon the right. But in these directions the gallant prince seemed multiplied, and watching the progress of the battle from the open spaces, which enabled him to see on both sides, he carried the power of his genius and the encouragement of his presence wherever they were most wanted. Thus, after having, as before mentioned, driven back the first battalions of Turenne, he turned for a moment to encourage the right of his army, which was severely pressed by Navailles. But in the mean while, Turenne, with fresh troops, had pushed forward up the high street, had forced the infantry of the prince to retreat, and taken several of the barricades. Condé again hastened to oppose him, at the head of his little squadron of nobles, and once more pushed him from the Abbey of St. Anthony, which he had reached, completely out of the suburb.

The attack upon the right had still continued, however, and Navailles, advancing with determined courage, had driven the rebel troops from the gardens and fields on the side of Rambouillet into the streets, where, still fortifying himself as he advanced, he had forced his way on to the last barricade in the road to Charenton, forty paces distant from a square, which I conceive to have been that before the convent of the Conception. Of the barrier he soon gained possession, and piercing the neighbouring houses, filled them

* Ramsay says that he had gained possession of the street, and was driven back by the Prince de Condé himself; but I have still preferred the account of La Rochefoucault, who was by Condé's side, and I shall continue to do so till that period of the battle at which he was wounded and carried off. For all that took place on the part of the royalists, I rely principally upon the Duke of York.

with musketeers. Condé immediately ordered the opposite houses to be pierced also; but the Duke of Beaufort, anxious to distinguish himself, and somewhat jealous that Nemours had been by the side of the prince through the whole battle, led on the infantry at the charge to dislodge the royalists. The fire, however, was tremendous; the infantry was tired and discouraged, and it suddenly halted, refusing to advance. Beaufort now committed another blunder, mistaking a squadron of the prince's cavalry, which had retreated into the square, for a squadron of the enemy, and leading forward La Rochefoucault, his son, and the Duke of Nemours, who had just arrived at that spot with a small body of horse, to attack it.

The movement, however, occasioned a panic amidst the royal troops who guarded the barricade, and the four leaders whom I have mentioned, rushing forward unsupported, regained the barrier, and dismounting, maintained it for some time amidst a most tremendous fire from the neighbouring houses. It was in vain that Condé tried to rally the infantry and lead it forward; but gathering together what cavalry he could, and seeing that the Duke of Nemours was sinking under thirteen wounds, that La Rochefoucault also was severely wounded, and that the other noblemen were endeavouring to carry the two off, while the royalists were advancing to take them, he made a charge at the head of the troop, and freed his friends from their perilous situation.

It was at a terrible loss, however, that this was accomplished; for the number of his best officers and dearest friends that fell around him drew tears from the hero's eyes. He was then obliged to hurry to the attack in the principal street; for the sound of artillery, which had not yet been heard, now shook the air. La Ferté, with his division and the cannon of the royalist army, had arrived, and Turenne was making preparations for using to the best advantage the overwhelming force now at his disposal. The troops of Condé were driven in on every side; faint, dispirited, and weary, they abandoned the barricades, and retreated slowly to the open space before the Porte St. Antoine: and the royalist general, seeing them, as he believed, absolutely in his power, suspended the attack for a few minutes, in order to refresh his troops ere he led them forward to what must inevitably have been a scene of fearful carnage. It may be now necessary, however, to relate what had occurred in Paris while this terrible struggle had been going on at the very gates.

The greater part of the citizens had not only become heartily tired of the war, but, as we have before said, enraged with Condé and his troops for the evils which had been committed in the neighbourhood. In passing by the various gates of the town, it is probable that Condé hoped that an offer of admission might be made to him, but the people showed not the slightest inclination to admit him. Nearly one-half of the town was in favour of the court, and De Retz himself, though still maintaining the semblance of enmity to Mazarin, was still more decidedly inimical to the prince himself. It is certain, whether by the management of De Retz or not, that the colonel of the quarter, and the officers of the Burgher guard, which was stationed at the Porte St. Antoine on the day of the battle, were almost universally adherents of the court, and that through the early part of the day they did everything they could to prevent any one from entering or going out.

It had become apparent to the whole people of the city, as the prince and his troops marched round beneath the walls, that he could by no means escape without a battle; and during the whole morning the Duke of Beaufort employed himself zealously in endeavouring to rouse the populace in his cause. For a long time, however, his efforts proved in vain: the people paid scarcely any attention; the town council was assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, with the letter of the king before them, forbidding them to open the gates on any pretence whatsoever; the Duke of Orleans was at the Luxembourg, shutting his ears to all petitions in favour of Condé; and De Retz was at the Archbishopric, sending messengers on whom he could rely, every half hour, to confirm the Duke of Orleans in that hesitating inactivity which was so natural to his character, and, in this instance, so serviceable to the purposes of the prelate.

In the mean while, throughout the city a number of the agents of the court were busy in circulating a report that Condé and Mazarin had already entered into a secret treaty, and that the pretended combat, the first musketry of which already began to make itself heard in Paris, was nothing but a farce produced to save the credit of the prince. Multitudes believed this rumour, and some writers have even supposed that the Duke of Orleans himself was deceived by it; but the sights which the Parisians could themselves behold from their own walls soon showed them that it could be no

mock engagement which was going on in the Faubourg St. Antoine. The roar of the fire-arms was severe and long-continued; multitudes of wounded were brought into the open space before the gate, and piteously besought admission; the hearts of the citizen guard were moved with compassion, and the wicket being at length opened to receive the wounded, officers and noblemen well known by sight to the common people were borne in bleeding, mutilated, and dying.

Pity took possession of all bosoms, and agitation spread from class to class; the most distinguished ladies of the city poured into the palace of the Luxembourg, and besought the Duke of Orleans with tears and entreaties to open the gates to his cousin, who was perishing before his eyes: the populace, also, began to gather in great numbers around the Duke of Beaufort, who was haranguing them in the squares and public places; the multitudes poured on to the Luxembourg, and shouted loudly the name of Condé; while Mademoiselle de Montpensier, at her father's feet, entreated him with weeping and supplication either to arm the people for the defence of all the gallant men who were dying without, or to suffer her to open the gates of the city and give them admission. Still the duke resisted, and Beaufort, having done all that he could, declared that he would not see his cousin die without going to his aid, and issued forth with a small body of retainers.

In a few minutes after, the well-known Duke of Rochefoucault was borne in on horseback, supported by his young son, the Prince de Marsillac, who had been fighting by his side; and though he was blinded by a shot which had passed through his face just below the eyes, he made those who supported him stop from time to time, as he was carried on from the Porte St. Antoine to the Hôtel de Liancourt, in order that he might beseech the people, who crowded round him, to open the gates to Condé, and save him from destruction otherwise inevitable. The agitation and the tumult in the city became tremendous; the wives, the sisters, the mothers of those who were dying without the walls, complained, entreated, and wept around the Duke of Orleans. His palace was surrounded by a dense mob, shouting to him to open the gates; and, at length, his daughter wrung from him an order for that purpose.

There was still a difficulty, however, to be overcome, for the governor of Paris, with the sheriffs and town council,

assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, had positively forbidden the gates to be opened. But with the order of her father in her hand, Mademoiselle de Montpensier put herself at the head of the multitude, and led them at once to the Hôtel de Ville, to demand the consent of the council. There was a moment's hesitation; but the vociferations of the people overcame the reluctance of the counsellors, the permission of the city was given, and the princess flying to the Porte St. Antoine, sent out a messenger to Condé to give him notice of the fact.

It was just after his right had been affected, in the manner we have mentioned, by the attack of Navailles, that the messenger of the princess reached him; and as soon as the short suspension of the fight which followed had taken place, Condé hurried for a moment to the gate to speak with her. Though he was not wounded himself, she says, yet he was covered from head to foot with blood and dust, his cuirass was battered with blows, and having lost the scabbard of his sword in the fight, he held the blade naked in his hand.

As he entered, the memory of all those he had seen fall around him seemed to rush suddenly upon Condé, and casting himself upon a seat, he burst into tears. "Forgive me," said the great commander; "I have lost all my friends."

The princess consoled him in some degree by assuring him that those who had been borne into Paris were only wounded, and many of them not dangerously. She then sought eagerly to detain him; but Condé would not stay, telling her that he would only take advantage of the asylum she had procured for him, in the last extremity; adding, "It shall never be said of me, that I fled in open day before the Mazarins." Thus saying, he returned to his army; but the arrival of La Ferté, the effect of the cannon which now came up, and the straits to which his troops were reduced, hemmed in between the advancing enemy and the walls of Paris, at length obliged him to direct his infantry to retreat into the city.

In order to cover this movement, he put himself at the head of his cavalry, and once more made a brilliant charge upon the enemy, driving all before him. Mademoiselle de Montpensier had in the mean while entered the Bastille, and with her own voice ordered the cannon of that fortress to fire upon the troops of the king. The Duke of Orleans, at the same time, unable to resist the entreaties of those around him, mounted his horse, armed the people, and rode out to

favour the retreat of Condé. Thus the insurgent army was enabled to enter the city without further loss, carrying off all its wounded, while the cavalry brought up the rear, and Condé, amongst the very last, passed the gates, when all were once more in safety.

The pity of the whole population of Paris was now excited warmly by all the sufferings of the prince and his companions, and never was greater kindness shown than towards the sick and hurt of all countries.

The wounded of the royal army were borne to St. Denis, where Anne of Austria had remained in prayer at the convent of the Carmelites. She was there soon after joined by her son and Mazarin, the latter of whom bore the loss of his nephew with calm resolution. While he had remained on the heights of Charonne, watching a battle in which he had expected to see the army of his enemy utterly annihilated, he had displayed the same equanimity; sending couriers from time to time to the queen, to tell her the events of the day, and the names of the killed on both parts, as far as they could be ascertained; and when the cannon of the Bastille began to fire, he had at first imagined—so sure was he of feelings in the Parisians—that it was upon the army of the Prince de Condé. When he found, however, that it was upon the royal troops, and that the order had been given by Mademoiselle de Montpensier, who sought so eagerly to wed the young king, he remarked coldly, but with a determination that never altered, "She has killed her husband."

Condé led his troops through the city to the open space on the banks of the rivulet of the Bièvre, and cantoned them there, upon the ground which was afterwards covered with the famous manufactory of the Gobelins. In bringing his forces into the city, there can be no doubt that he contemplated nothing more than putting them in safety; but the Parisians soon found, that in admitting them they had given themselves a master. It would certainly have been more generous of Condé to have shown his sense of obligation to the Parisians by rigidly respecting their privileges. Soured, however, by the reverses he had met with, more angry at having been excluded from the city before the battle than grateful for having been admitted within its walls after that battle was lost, he determined to have recourse to the measures which had been employed by De Retz and others so successfully, and to excite tumults for the purpose of turn-

ing them to his own advantage. He was not so skilful, however, as De Retz in accomplishing this purpose, being by no means qualified for the war of intrigue; and in the very first attempt of the kind which he made, the populace went infinitely further than he had intended, and a massacre of the most horrible kind was the result.

Many different accounts have been given of the famous attack of the Hôtel de Ville, but it seems to me almost certain that the statement given by De Retz is accurate He assures us that he received it from Condé himself; and, notwithstanding a great contrariety of statements upon other points, all people seem of opinion that the rumour of the time was correct, and that the tumult which ended in that massacre was excited by the agents of the prince, though it went far beyond what he desired or expected.

There were several persons in the city who were obnoxious to Condé, and whose influence in Paris rendered his own null. The chief of these, however, was De Retz; and it would seem that the prince formed a very feasible scheme for seizing upon that prelate in his own dwelling, for carrying him civilly in his carriage beyond the gates of the city, and there turning him out to join the court if he liked. Such an act would probably have done more harm to De Retz, as a demagogue, by the ridicule it would have thrown upon him, than even by excluding him from the city; but, unfortunately, Condé determined to perform it under cover of a popular commotion.

The day he fixed upon was the 4th of July, on which morning a general assembly was to be held at the Hôtel de Ville; and it appears that a number of the soldiery, disguised as citizens and workmen, were scattered amongst the populace, and excited them to tumult. It had been arranged, however, amongst them, that, as a sign by which to distinguish each other and their adherents, they should each carry a bunch of straw in some part of their dress; and from a very early hour in the morning various people were seen running about with large packets of straw, offering it to every one they met, without explanation. Many were wise enough to take it, but many refused. The sedition began soon after about the Place Dauphine, and the multitudes of people who were seen assembling, excited rumours and alarm amongst the higher classes; so that one of the nobles proceeding to the Luxembourg, under the impression that

the tumult was excited by De Retz, besought the Duke of Orleans to prevent Condé from going out amongst the mob.

The prince was at that very time at the Luxembourg, and about to set out upon his expedition against De Retz, with which, of course, he could not make the Duke of Orleans acquainted. The duke immediately sought him on the news he had received, and prevented him from setting out till he himself accompanied him to the assembly of the Hôtel de Ville. That assembly took place at about two o'clock, and the Maréchal de l'Hospital, governor of Paris, with a great number of the most respectable and influential persons in the city, assembled, notwithstanding the menacing aspect of the mob, which filled not only the Place de Grève, but all the adjacent streets.

Scarcely, however, had the assembly commenced, when a trumpeter arrived from the royal army, bearing an order to the governor and sheriffs to adjourn the meeting for eight days. The sight of this messenger excited the people to fury, and strong demonstrations of a disposition towards violence made themselves seen, but were checked for a time by the arrival of Condé and the Duke of Orleans, who, descending from their carriage, entered the town-house. The purpose of those princes, it would seem, was to demand the absolute union of the town and the parliament against the king and Mazarin, and they were not at all dissatisfied to behold such signs of tumult as might overawe the partisans of the court. On entering the great hall, they found that they were likely to meet with sharp opposition; and the Maréchal de l'Hospital, at once addressing them, informed them that the king's commands had been received to adjourn the meeting for eight days, "which of course," he added, "we are disposed to obey."

Mortified at this intelligence, Condé merely addressed the assembly, in order to thank the town for having suffered the entrance of his troops, and then turning on his heel, accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, left the citizens to deliberate upon the letter of the king. As the two princes descended the steps towards their carriage, the people remarked the gloom upon their countenances, and some one asking what was the matter, Condé had the imprudence, if not the cruelty, to reply, "The hall is full of Mazarins, who are seeking nothing but to retard matters."

The words spread through the mob, but the princes drove away. Loud cries were immediately heard that it was necessary to put an end to the Mazarins, and a number of persons made a rush towards the door of the Hôtel de Ville. The archers of the prévôt, however, contrived to shut the door, but the windows were instantly assailed with a shower of stones: the archers and the guards of the governor, in return, fired from the windows, and one or two people without were shot. The sight of blood only rendered the people more furious; fire-arms began to make themselves seen amongst them, and the fire from the Hôtel de Ville was returned from the Place de Grève. The soldiery, however, were in some degree secured by the walls of the building; but upon the neighbouring quay was an immense quantity of wood and fagots; and these were speedily brought to the spot, and piled up against the door of the Hôtel de Ville. A light was procured and applied to the mass, and in a moment the whole was in flames. The smoke and the fire finding its way into the hall, showed the assembly within the designs of the people, and terror and consternation spread amongst them. Some hid themselves in the most remote part of the building; but those who, from their known characters as leaders of the Fronde, thought they were secure of the affection of the people, rushed to the lower windows of the building, and sprang out. A terrible scene then ensued: one by one, as they came forth, without any regard to opinion, class, or condition, they were butchered by the people; and it is a singular thing, that this very confidence of the Frondeurs caused a much greater number of the bitter enemies of Mazarin to be sacrificed than those who were known to be his supporters. Miron, who had taken a prominent part in all the troubles of the Fronde, both as a member of the parliament and an officer of one of the quarters, Le Gras, Ferrand, and Lefévre, all notorious stirrers up of the people, were killed without mercy; and a great many more of both parties would have been put to death than were ultimately slain in the massacre, had it not been for a number of boatmen, who mingled with the mob, and saved several for the money which they had upon their persons and offered for their lives. The Prévôt des Marchands and his son were rescued in this manner; but the Maréchal de l'Hospital, who was found in the Hôtel de Ville when the doors were burst open and the mob entered, was saved, it would appear, by a servant of the name of Noblet, who on a

former occasion had delivered the Cardinal de Retz himself from imminent peril. Having recognised the governor of the city, he aided to disguise him, and with the assistance of one or two others, who were willing to diminish the bloodshed as much as possible, contrived to pass him through the mob unknown, to the house of a tradesman in the neighbourhood, where he remained concealed till night. In endeavouring, afterwards, to reach his own hotel, however, he was recognised by one of the mob, though it was dark, and was a second time saved by the presence of mind of those who accompanied him, who persuaded the man that he was mistaken, and stopped the shouts with which he was calling others to his assistance.

By some writers, the Duke of Beaufort and the Marquis de la Boullaye are said to have looked on from the windows of a house in the Place de Grève while this scene of anarchy and bloodshed was being enacted under their eyes, without making the slightest effort to put a stop to it. But Joly, who makes the statement, implies that they were there till ten o'clock at night;* in which respect he was certainly mistaken, as the duke at that hour was in the palace of the Luxembourg. The only person who made any strenuous effort to stop the carnage was the curate of the church of St. John's, who, thinking that the people would reverence the symbols of their religious faith, caused the Host to be carried out into the Place de Grève, and endeavoured to interpose between the mob and the Hôtel de Ville. The people, however, showed not the slightest degree of respect for the priest or the sacrament, but drove him out with threats and imprecations, telling him, if he valued his own life, to leave the crowd.

At the hotel of the Duke of Orleans the news of what had occurred was received very quietly. Condé refused to go forth to appease the tumult; but at the end of several hours it was proposed that the Duke of Beaufort and Mademoiselle de Montpensier should proceed to the Hôtel de Ville, in order to cause the tumult to cease. They accordingly set out together, foolishly disputing by the way as to which of them had most influence with the people; but, before this time, some of the citizens of Paris had roused themselves from the stupor into which the danger of the city had thrown them. Companies of the Burgher guard had got under arms, barricades had been raised to prevent the further progress of the

* The sentence in Joly is obscure.

rioters; and after having committed what violence it thought proper, and endeavoured to set fire to the Hôtel de Ville in several places, the mob had separated of itself. Thus, when the princess and the Duke of Beaufort arrived on the spot, they found nothing but darkness, silence, and the expiring fires, except where some of the citizens, having at length taken courage, were seeking for those in whom they were interested amongst the dead bodies in the Place de Grève.

On entering the Hôtel de Ville, all bore the same solitary and gloomy aspect; but after a little time, a number of persons, who had concealed themselves in the various recesses of that large building, came forth still trembling and horror-struck. To these the princess and the Duke of Beaufort gave an escort, and sent them home in security; and no further tumult disturbed the city for the time.* The symbol of the sedition, however, as is common in all bloody and terrible occurrences in Paris, became a fashion. At first, people ornamented themselves with bunches of straw as a sort of safeguard; and men, women, children, priests, and monks themselves, were for several days seen thus decorated. Sometimes it was borne in the hat, sometimes in the breast, and sometimes was displayed upon the horses' heads; but it soon became a mode, and very shortly everything, hats, caps, jewellery, all was *à la paille*.

At the same time, however, that the signal was adopted as a fashion, the sedition was regarded with horror. Inquiries began to be instituted with regard to its origin, and general suspicion fell upon the Prince de Condé. It was directed strongly against him by De Retz; and daily some new circumstance appeared to convince the people that he had excited the tumult, even if he had not directed it to its horrid

* Of course there were a thousand different accounts of this terrible event, each differing from the other in some of the minute particulars. The accounts which I have followed have been principally those of De Retz and Joly, as by far the most circumstantial, and probably, from the intimate acquaintance of the writers with all the persons concerned, the most accurate also. The general features of the matter are entirely the same in all accounts; but it would seem, that if the Prévôt des Marchands was saved by the boatmen, as Joly distinctly asserts he was, he must have returned to the Hôtel de Ville after the mob had dispersed, as he was certainly there at the same time with the princess, and presented himself before her quite tranquil and serene. The same difference is to be found in regard to the account of the escape of the Maréchal de l'Hospital; but I should in general be inclined to take the account of Joly in preference to that of Mademoiselle, who wrote at a later period, when many of the particulars might have escaped from her mind. The criticism of Voltaire upon her Memoirs is just also, when he says that she writes more as a woman occupied with herself than as a princess eye-witness of great events.

termination. His enemies did all that they possibly could to aggravate the share that he had had therein; while he and his partisans again endeavoured to throw the blame back upon Mazarin, but without effect.

It is by no means improbable that many of the more rash and violent partisans of the court might take advantage of the confusion and disturbance of the moment to make some attempts in favour of their own party, and against their enemies; and much stress has been laid upon the fact that a man armed with a naked poniard came to the door of Mademoiselle de Montpensier's carriage on the night of the massacre, and asked if the prince were within; but his object remained unknown, and his appearance proved nothing on either part.

The detestation of the people in general for the instigators of such an act was skilfully employed by the enemies of Condé; while the prince and his party imprudently endeavoured to use the terror which had been inspired to their own advantage, and thereby naturally confirmed the suspicions entertained against them. Private meetings, at which La Porte assisted, were held by the friends of the court in the Palais Royal, and a general league for the purpose of bringing back the royal family was drawn up and signed. From time to time between five and six hundred persons were thus collected, and the number daily increased. In order, too, to distinguish themselves from the faction of the *Paille*, as that was called which wore straw, the partisans of the court adopted the sign of a piece of paper in the hat; and wherever the two symbols met, a quarrel was almost sure to follow. At length the opposite party exerted itself more strongly; and the meetings at the Palais Royal were discontinued, while the parliament prohibited, under severe penalties, the display of either of the offensive symbols.*

All the respectable citizens now began to look anxiously for a cessation of the troubles which were daily assuming a more horrible and anarchical form; and the general feeling of

* Both De Retz and Joly make light of these meetings at the Palais Royal, and do not seem to have been well informed regarding them; but it is evident that, though very inefficient as a means of bringing back the king by force, they might have proved, and in fact did prove, important, as a demonstration of the change which had taken place in popular feeling. It gave encouragement, too, for all men well affected towards the government to show themselves openly; and there can be no doubt that from that time forward the same degree of shame and apprehension was not felt by any one on going over to the party of the court as had been entertained before.

the capital became opposed to Condé, and in favour of the court. It very often happens, however, that a leader rules most vigorously when he is hated the most, and that his power is exercised most extensively when it is nearest its termination. After the massacre of the Hôtel de Ville, the benches of the parliament were but thinly filled, the assemblies at the Town-house but poorly attended. Neither the governor nor the Prévôt des Marchands showed themselves any more.

The Duke of Orleans and Condé found none to thwart them; they declared the governor and the prévôt dismissed, and appointed Beaufort to fill the office of the one, old Broussel to take the post of the other. They caused themselves also to be named by the parliament lieutenant-general of the kingdom and generalissimo of the forces; and they published a declaration importing that the king was captive in the hands of Mazarin, and they only in arms to deliver him. They appointed, also, new sheriffs, and named a council for themselves; without meeting with any further opposition. But there was something alarming even in the facility with which everything was yielded to them: they felt that it was the submission of men to a power whose rapidly approaching termination alone rendered it endurable.

Great evils were in the mean time raging in the city; the reign of anarchy was complete,—daily bloodshed stained the streets, and amongst themselves the same spirit spread. Condé found that he who encourages licence must endure licence: his own officers and soldiers treated him with disrespect, and neglected their duty. The Dukes of Nemours and Beaufort terminated their long enmity by quarrelling as to their precedence in the newly created council; and Nemours insisted upon his brother-in-law bringing their dispute to the arbitrement of arms.

Beaufort, who loved his sister the Duchess of Nemours tenderly, resisted as long as his false ideas of honour would permit, but at length accepted the challenge; and it was determined that a combat of five against five should take place behind the Hôtel Vendôme. It accordingly did take place, when the Duke of Beaufort killed his brother-in-law by a pistol-ball, which entered his heart; and two other noblemen fell on one part or the other.

Nemours was greatly regretted; for, though violent and hasty, he had many of those qualities which attract the admiration of the superficial, and some of those which merited

the regard of the more deep-sighted. He had considerable military talents, and the courage of a lion; but yet he had been always the first to lead Condé towards peace, and had generously offered to sacrifice all his own claims upon the court if that great object could be gained.

Before we proceed further, we may as well notice the deaths of two other celebrated men, the Count de Chavigni, and the Duke of Bouillon, both of which took place within a few weeks of the decease of Nemours. Chavigni, in all his negotiations with the court, had treated, as we have seen, with a strong eye to his own purposes; and a coldness had grown up in consequence between him and Condé, which often produced sharp words on the part of the prince.

One of the evils which afflicted Paris about this time was a typhus fever, by which Condé himself was affected, though not dangerously: and Chavigni visited him during his illness, in order to explain some parts of his conduct. The prince, however, was well assured that he held secret negotiations with the court, and treated him harshly; violent words en sued, and the count quitted him dreadfully agitated. Cha vigni was immediately seized with the fever; and by the time Condé was able to go out, his former friend was in the agonies of death. Condé was in turn grieved, and went to see him, but found him dying; which so much affected him that the tears came into his eyes. As if ashamed, however, of having been betrayed into a weakness certainly not unamiable, Condé, on going out, affected to laugh at the scene of Chavigni's death, saying that he was "as ugly as the devil."

The death of the Duke of Bouillon, however, was of much greater importance; for his life, had it been prolonged, might have changed the destiny of France. After his union with the court, the finances had been entrusted to his care; and his great skill, his distinguished manners, his high reputation and vigorous mind, were all gaining greatly upon Anne of Austria. At the same time the important services of his brother Turenne gave peculiar claims to the family, to which a monarch in difficulties and dangers could not refuse to listen. Mazarin, too, was on the eve of quitting France, for his second and last period of exile; and, had Bouillon lived, it is by no means improbable that his banishment would have been permanent. The duke was seized with the fever, however, at the end of July, and died at Pontoise, on the 9th of

August, which death the Duchess of Nemours points out as a new instance of the extraordinary good fortune that followed the career of Mazarin.

The fever continued to rage severely in Paris, aggravated, probably, by the scarcity which was now felt terribly in the metropolis. The worst sort of bread was sold at eight sous per pound; and the people viewed with hatred the soldiery, who increased the famine by their presence, and, at the same time, supported the princes, to whose rebellion it was owing. To supply their own wants or pleasures, too, the soldiers were daily in the habit of exposing for sale articles which they had plundered from the country houses in the neighbourhood; and the inhabitants, who were hourly in want of the first necessaries of life,* found therein a dangerous example, the influence of which was not diminished by the parliament itself sanctioning the pillage of the palace of Mazarin.

Condé felt himself an object of hatred: and the sullen silent acquiescence of the city in all that he and the Duke of Orleans did, could not in the least degree induce him to believe that their authority was still respected. Such acquiescence was not obedience. That which they were forced to do, under the penalty of incurring imminent danger, the citizens did; but they did no more.

On the occasion of two men being hanged, who had taken part in the massacre of the Hôtel de Ville, the growing spirit of inert resistance demonstrated itself: the Burgher guard was ordered by the Duke of Orleans to attend the execution, but no Burgher guard appeared; and a thousand instances might be cited of similar indications, which gave the princes no slight uneasiness. Nor was the disposition of the rest of the kingdom less clearly manifested than that of Paris. The parliament, acting under the dictation of the princes, had, as we have shown, issued a declaration pronouncing the king captive in the hands of Mazarin, and calling upon all the other parliaments of the kingdom to put forth a similar manifesto. Not one, except that of Bordeaux, even took it into consideration.

The Duke of Orleans announced to all the governors of provinces that the parliament had conferred upon him the

* The price of every other article of consumption was as high, in proportion, as that of bread: and amongst the valuable collection of papers relative to the Fronde, in the British Museum, may be found a list, which, when compared with the ordinary prices of the day, shows the lamentable state of need to which the Parisians were reduced.

office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and required them to recognise him as such: only one took any notice of his letter. These were signs not to be mistaken; and De Retz increased and directed the popular odium against Condé, by the precautions which he adopted, under the belief that the tumults ending in the massacre of the Hôtel de Ville had been originally excited for his destruction. He once more fortified his house and the cathedral, laid in a provision of stores and ammunition, collected a band of several hundred gallant soldiers; and even concerted with the citizens in the neighbourhood plans for mutual defence and assistance, which spread doubts and apprehensions of Condé through a very influential part of the city.

In his conduct on the present occasion, however, De Retz committed a great error, which he frankly acknowledges himself. He had throughout opposed Condé without supporting Mazarin; but his conduct had of late appeared so doubtful, that the queen and the cardinal suspected him strongly of heading their absolute enemies. Had he at the present moment, instead of fortifying himself in his house, quitted a city of which he was no longer master, and a prince who no longer obeyed his dictation, and, retiring to his patrimonial estates, waited patiently the events which he saw must occur, the court would have been convinced that he had really taken no part against it in the late intrigues of the capital; the capital would have been convinced that he did not favour Mazarin; and he would have returned, upon the re-establishment of the royal authority, with the favour of the queen, and greater influence than ever with the people. The course he pursued lost him his influence with both.

In the mean time, however, parliamentary deputies had been sent to St. Denis, to declare to the king the readiness of the princes and the city to lay down their arms as soon as Mazarin should be expelled, and in fact to negotiate favourable terms of accommodation. Their efforts had proved worse than vain, as might have been expected; and shortly after, the court having removed to Pontoise, an order was sent into Paris on the 6th of August, commanding the parliament to proceed immediately to that town, and hold its sittings there.

The members well affected towards the court obeyed the injunction, and got out of the town in disguise. Having

reached Pontoise, they assembled under the chief president Molé, and began to act with all the forms and ceremonies of a regularly constituted parliament. The court then annulled at once all the acts of the parliament of Paris; cancelled and declared illegal everything that had been done in the assemblies at the Hôtel de Ville; made efforts to stop the payment of the rentes to the fundholders; and, in short, did all in its power to increase the pressure produced by the civil war. These efforts were not without effect; and that effect was increased by the necessity under which the princes lay of making continual demands upon the purses of the Parisians for the maintenance of their troops.

At length the prospect of a favourable change came to give spirits to Condé and his party. The Duke of Lorraine, after having fulfilled his promise to the letter and retired from France, fired two cannons on the other side of the frontier, and immediately turned upon his steps, and began his march back to Paris. At the same time, Fuensaldaña appeared with a strong army upon the French frontier, and everything threatened the court of France with the union of three formidable armies in the capital of the kingdom. As soon as one even of the two foreign corps had begun its march, it became obvious to all persons connected with the government that something must be done to counteract the great influence which the party of the princes would acquire from such powerful support; and no other means presented itself but the immediate removal of Mazarin.

The necessity of taking that course was obvious to the minister himself; and though it would appear that he had at first proposed to lead the court beyond the Loire, and defend the southern provinces of France as best he might, the arguments of Turenne soon convinced him that such a step was both disgraceful and impracticable. He determined, therefore, once more to retire; and, in order to give credit and authority to the little parliament of Pontoise, it was permitted humbly to solicit the king to remove the minister. Its petition was immediately granted, as had been previously arranged; and, in the middle of August, Mazarin quitted the court and retired to Sedan.

An amnesty was immediately published by the king, and verified by the parliament of Pontoise: but, nevertheless, the princes did not lay down their arms, as they had promised; and the parliament of Paris, while it sent a deputation to

thank the king for the exile of Mazarin, and to entreat him to come back to the city, added, that the princes would lay down their arms as soon as proper passports should be sent to enable all the foreign troops to quit France, and an amnesty of a more comprehensive nature be published by all the parliaments of the realm.

The great joy, however, which the retirement of Mazarin created amongst the Parisians, more from a hope that it would restore peace than from any remaining enmity towards his person, compelled Condé and the Duke of Orleans to affect similar satisfaction, and to recommence negotiations with the court. Condé was at this time ill of the fever which, as we have shown, carried of Chavigni; but he was, nevertheless, still disposed to hold out for better conditions than those that he was likely to gain, and for that purpose to unite his forces to those of the two foreign armies which were marching to his support.

Turenne, in the mean time, with his extraordinary military skill, began to manœuvre in face of the enemy. Leaving a small body of troops to protect the court at Pontoise, he advanced to Compiègne, to prevent, if possible, the further march of Fuensaldaña; but the subtle policy of Mazarin effected in this instance what, perhaps, all the military skill of Turenne might not have been able to accomplish. Very well knowing that Fuensaldaña and the archduke had only in view, by the support which they afforded to Condé, to exhaust France while Spain recovered her forces, and were not at all desirous either of rendering the prince master of the state, or of enabling him to conclude an advantageous treaty with the queen, he determined to play off such a *ruse* upon the Spanish general as should induce him to believe that the government was likely to throw itself into the arms of Condé. He caused, therefore, a letter to be written to the Duke of Lorraine, as if in reply to one of his, stating, that as France was menaced by foreign powers, the queen was determined to offer to him, the Duke of Lorraine, no more than she had stated; and that if he, the duke, did not accept her offer, she would immediately conclude a treaty with Condé, being determined rather to confide the royal authority to the generosity of a prince of the blood than to put the state at the mercy of foreigners. The courier who bore this letter was directed to pass as near as possible to the army of Fuensaldaña, and to suffer himself to be made prisoner. The scheme

took effect, and the letter fell into the hands of the Spanish commander, who immediately retired with the greater part of his army, only leaving a small force under Prince Ulric of Würtemberg to support the Prince de Condé.

In the mean time, the Duke of Lorraine advanced with an army of ten thousand men, and soon effected his junction with six thousand Spaniards under Prince Ulric. As he marched, he commenced, as usual, negotiations with the court of France, but still proceeded towards Paris, hoping to amuse the queen and her generals till he had effected his junction with Condé. Turenne, however, had immediately marched to meet him, and arrived at the small town of St. Germain-en-Brie; but there he was stopped by couriers from the court, who brought him orders not to press the Duke of Lorraine, who had persuaded the queen that he was now treating honestly. Turenne, however, was better acquainted with the character of the duke, and, after a short hesitation, determined upon his conduct. Declaring that he knew so well the designs of the enemy that he would rather disobey the orders he had received and risk his head, than obey and risk the salvation of the state, he decamped the morning after, and marched direct towards the enemy.

Finding, however, that the Duke of Lorraine had got possession of Brie Comte Robert, he turned upon his steps, and with all speed hastened towards Villeneuve St. Georges. The Duke of Lorraine, however, was still there before him, and a skirmish took place for the post; but Turenne, having the command of the heights, got possession of the bridge, and the Duke of Lorraine was obliged to retreat higher up the river. It was impossible for the royal army, however, to prevent the junction of Condé with the Duke of Lorraine, the prince having led his troops out of Paris, and by the accidental seizure of some large boats having obtained the means of transporting his forces across the river at a point where there was no bridge.

The army of the enemy was then very much superior to that of Turenne; and cooped up on the small point of land between the river Yerès and the Seine at Villeneuve, with only provisions for five days, and no means of procuring more, the situation of Turenne would have been perilous in the extreme, had not the queen's general taken the precaution, on the day of his arrival, to stop all the boats that came down the river. The position of the enemy rendered the bridge over the Yeres of

no use as a means of escape, and his only hope lay in throwing bridges over the Seine with the utmost rapidity. This was accomplished by means of the boats which he had stopped; the officers of the army paying the workmen with their own money.

The moment the bridges were constructed, abundance reigned in the camp of Turenne, and the position which he occupied was so strong that he determined to maintain it as long as possible, having now lost all fears of being famished in his camp. The head of the bridge was fortified, six redoubts which the Duke of Lorraine had thrown up on his former incursion were joined by lines, and Turenne and La Ferté there set the enemy at defiance. The former, hearing that negotiations were going on between the queen and the rebels, and that the ministers only feared that a defeat of the royal army might put them at the mercy of Condé, wrote to the queen to assure her that she might draw out the negotiations as far as she liked, for that, notwithstanding all the boasts of the adverse generals, they should never force him to a battle unless he liked it, nor take him by surprise, nor prevent him from retreating at the moment he thought fit.

In the mean while, Condé and the Duke of Lorraine persisted in the attempt to famish him, and for that purpose they decamped, leaving a garrison in the Castle of Ablon; the Duke of Lorraine crossing the Yeres, and entrenching himself between Brie Comte Robert and Turenne's camp, while Condé advanced to Limei, and began to throw a bridge across the Seine, in order to cut off the communication of the royalists with Corbeil. But Turenne, on his part, attacked and took the castle of Ablon, and thus insured his foragers an open way towards Corbeil. For five weeks, Turenne, with eight thousand men within his camp, and two thousand men at Corbeil, who had been brought thither from the siege of Montrond, which had lately surrendered, continued to maintain himself against the Duke of Lorraine and Condé with more than twenty thousand men.

During this time De Retz had remained in Paris, and he gradually became convinced that the people of the capital were not only desirous of the return of the king and willing to submit, but would very soon cast themselves at the king's feet, in spite of everything that could be done to restrain them; and he consequently determined to make a great effort to gain the reputation with both parties of bringing back

the king to Paris. For the purpose of doing this effectually, a number of projects presented themselves to his mind; but that which he adopted was, according to his own acknowledgment, suggested by Joly.

The picture given by him and by M. de Fontenay of the state of France, on which state his present plans and purposes were founded, is too striking to be passed over without notice. The archduke had taken Gravelines and Dunkirk; the English had captured almost the whole navy of France; Barcelona with nearly all Catalogna, and Casal, the key of Italy, were lost; Brissac, in a state of revolt, was likely to fall into the hands of Austria; the banners of Spain were floating upon the Pont Neuf, and the yellow scarfs of Lorraine were as common in the streets of Paris as the colours of Condé or Orleans; the party of the princes was without any other power than that of promoting faction; Bordeaux was divided into six or seven furious parties; the parliament of Paris was no more than a phantom; the Hôtel de Ville was a desert; the princes had no authority in the capital, except such as the more brutal part of the populace afforded them; and the Spaniards, the Germans, and the Lorrainese were spread through the suburbs of the city, pillaging even the gardens of the metropolis; the archbishop was obliged to maintain a regular garrison in his house, and daily acts of bloodshed were committed by a starving people. Whether Mazarin came back or not, the evils of the country and the capital could not be greater than they were; and De Retz, besides having such potent reasons to allege for seeking the king's return, foresaw that at any moment the cardinal might be recalled to the court, and that the then moment for himself would be lost.

With all this before his eyes, the coadjutor determined to put himself at the head of the clergy of the capital, and with that powerful body proceed to Compiègne, to which place the king had now removed. But it was necessary that he should carry with him something more substantial than the thanks and congratulations of the clergy on the dismissal of Mazarin. For this purpose he applied to the Duke of Orleans,—showed him that the faction to which he had attached himself was utterly lost, and preserved no more than the shadow of power; that as he had long desired to retire and live in peace at Blois, he could now accomplish that object in the most dignified and honourable manner, by making an effort, in the

first instance, to restore peace to the state; and that by casting off all high demands for himself, he might gain the greatest credit by striving alone for the interests of others. Gaston yielded to these representations; he was heartily sick of warfare, tired of the factions which had surrounded him from the cradle, and he easily reconciled his conscience to not struggling very vehemently even for the interests of Condé. He put himself then entirely into the hands of De Retz; and that prelate immediately applied to the Princess Palatine, to ascertain if he could venture safely to Compiègne.

The queen was of course delighted with the proposal, and even Mazarin gave his hearty consent, though some of his creatures strongly opposed Anne of Austria's design of receiving De Retz favourably. He set out, however, accompanied by deputies from all the ecclesiastical bodies of Paris, and followed by a large troop of his own retainers, and a company of the guard of the Duke of Orleans. It would seem that, up to the moment of his arrival, disputes were busily going on at court as to what treatment he should receive; and that it was proposed, notwithstanding the assurances of safety which he had obtained, that he should be either arrested or put to death.

Prince Thomas of Savoy, however, who had remained at court, filling the apparent office of prime minister after Mazarin's departure, opposed all breach of faith, and the coadjutor was received with distinction by the queen and the young king. The latter bestowed upon him the cardinal's hat with his own hand; and the queen held a long conference with him, eager to terminate all the difficulties which yet lay in the way of peace. After dinner De Retz harangued the young king, preserving with great skill every appearance of respect and devotion for the royal authority, but avoiding carefully the least hint of the possibility of Mazarin's return to the capital.

The king made a gracious reply, and the more substantial negotiations, which were the real object of the coadjutor's coming, then commenced with Anne of Austria. The end at which he aimed was to make such an arrangement as would give to himself and the Duke of Orleans all the honour of the king's return. He produced at once to the queen the full powers with which the duke had furnished him; and, in the course of the negotiations, he informed her that Gaston was willing to abandon Condé, to strive vigorously and sincerely for peace, never to meddle with faction again, and even to

retire to Blois, provided the king would grant a full and entire amnesty, and promised to leave the Prince de Condé in unmolested possession of all his governments.

Anne of Austria caught eagerly at such proposals, and doubtless, had she been permitted, would have accepted them at once; but though they were far more reasonable than anything which had yet been demanded by the insurgents, the ministers of the queen, or rather of the cardinal, Servien and Le Tellier, with his two spies, Ondedei and the Abbé Fouquet, were well informed of what was passing in Paris, and even from the very humility of the offers now made saw the rapid decline of faction in the capital. They perceived, as the ultimate result of all this, that a general disunion of parties would take place, that every one would seek to make peace for himself, and that the royal authority would be re-established without any concession whatever. They therefore interposed delays and evasions; De Retz returned to Paris without any decided answer; the weakness of the Duke of Orleans took fright at this uncertainty; every one began to negotiate for himself; Condé, Orleans, the Duke of Lorraine, the parliament, the Hôtel de Ville,—by all and each a separate intrigue was carried on with the court, and each lost ground with the people and with his confederates every day.

At length, towards the close of September, having left all parties to weaken themselves as far as possible, and gladly seeing that their public and private intrigues brought Condé and the Duke of Lorraine to Paris continually, so as to leave their military operations imperfect and weak, the court began to act with vigour, and to assume a higher tone.

The parliament had proposed to send a deputation for the purpose of expressing its duty towards its young monarch; but, on the 30th of September, the advocate-general announced that the king, having transferred the parliament to Pontoise, and interdicted all deliberations in Paris, could not recognise any of the acts of those members of the parliament who had not obeyed his majesty's injunction. The terror and consternation which this notification spread throughout the parliament was very great, and had they been harshly pressed at that moment, dangerous effects might have resulted even from their fears; but the ministers whom Mazarin had left to rule for him during his absence managed most skilfully the difficult task they had to perform. Rendered wise by experience, whenever they menaced one part of their oppo-

nents, they took means to soften and to gain another, so as to keep up the divisions which had already spread amongst the insurgents. Thus, while Anne of Austria threatened the parliament, she caressed the Duke of Orleans, and professed towards him the highest regard; and while the assemblies of the Hôtel de Ville, and all that took place therein, were denounced by the court as illegal, a grand deputation from the Burgher guard of Paris, consisting of all the colonels and captains of the quarters, was received by the king at St. Germain, and entertained with the utmost distinction. Negotiations were still kept up with De Retz, which he himself does not acknowledge, but which are clearly proved to have taken place by Joly; so that every act of severity against any one of the many bodies which had combined to maintain the rebellion, produced no evil effect to the court, from its politic moderation towards the others.

Finding her power increasing every day, and that all the parties in the capital were daily decreasing in their demands, Anne of Austria, at the same time that she made the famous notification of the 30th of September, saw that the tone of authority she was now assuming would gain greater weight from the presence of the royal army with the court, and she consequently sent to desire Turenne to join her if it were possible.

The undertaking, indeed, was a dangerous and a difficult one—to retreat before a very superior force from a circumscribed position, with a river on either side; but Turenne instantly proceeded to put the commands of the queen in execution, and chose the night of the 4th of October for privately evacuating his camp. He had previously sent orders to the commander at Corbeil, directing him to throw up some redoubts before that city for the reception and protection of the royal army when it should arrive; and shortly after dark he began his march, following the bank of the Seine to the bridges, and then passing over in the most profound silence. The Prince de Condé was then ill in Paris; and, by some accounts, the Duke of Lorraine was there also. Certain it is, however, that in neither camp was the march of Turenne known; till he had advanced as far as Corbeil; which spot he had reached after a long night march, between the Seine and the forest of Senard, before daylight on the morning after his departure.

Although he only proposed to give his troops one night's

rest, Turenne fortified his position before Corbeil with entrenchments and palisades. He was not attacked, however; and the next morning he recommenced his march, proceeding with the greatest caution in two columns, and advancing gradually towards the court. He was suffered, however, to pass unmolested, though in several points there can be no doubt that the insurgent armies might have forced him to a battle. Having thus accomplished one of the most skilful retreats in the records of warfare, he took up a position in the neighbourhood of Senlis, where he possessed a full communication with the court.

To have suffered their enemy thus to escape them, did not of course enhance the reputation or authority of the princes with the population of Paris. Daily murmurs were heard respecting the proximity of the troops, the scarcity which they occasioned, and the ravages which they committed; constant rains were now falling, forage was not to be procured, the country round was exhausted of provisions, the most solemn promises had been made over and over to the people that the soldiery should speedily be withdrawn; and at length—after having tried in vain to effect some separate arrangement with the court, after having seen old Broussel resign the office of *prévôt*, which had been conferred upon him, and the Duke of Beaufort give up the government of Paris,—Condé himself quitted the French capital for the last time that he was to leave it, till he returned humbled and instructed, many years afterwards. This took place on the 13th of October; and having received assurances that the King of Spain was ready to place his whole forces in the North under his command, Condé retreated towards Laon, where Fuensaldaña waited to receive the illustrious rebel with open arms.

No sooner had the troops of the princes made their retreat, than consternation and anxiety spread through Paris. The people of the capital had wished and desired their absence, it is true; but, once left unsupported, the spirits of all parties in Paris fell. The parliament eagerly demanded an amnesty; but the court, perceiving the success of the policy which it had pursued, continued the same course of conduct, now menacing, now soothing—till at length vague proposals of returning at once to Paris began to make themselves heard at Mantes and St. Germain, to which places the royal family had removed.

These proposals assumed a more tangible form, and re-

ceived strength and consistency, after the arrival of Turenne, who, having seen the army of the princes pass almost within cannon-shot of his own troops on the 14th of October, hastened to the court, and represented to the queen and her ministers that it was absolutely necessary that the king should take advantage of the moment, and resume the full exercise of the royal authority. He showed them that, in the exhausted state of the finances, the army itself could not be maintained, unless the king, in possession of the capital, found means of obtaining supplies: he showed them that the populace of Paris, disheartened and disgusted with all that had passed, were ready to receive the king with open arms; but that any further delay would give time for the leaders of the Fronde to resume their power, and for the Parisians both to recover from the state of misery to which the presence of the troops had reduced them, and to forget the evils to which rebellion had given rise. He made himself responsible for the safety of the royal family, and the determination was taken of entering Paris on the 21st of October.

The approach of the court was notified to the Duke of Orleans, and he was commanded to come out to meet the king. The weak and timid prince, however, hesitated to do so. In vain his friends represented to him that it was necessary to choose some decided part; and when his strong-minded wife pointed out that he must either oppose the entrance of the king, or go out to meet him, he treated the suggestion as mere madness. "Then get you gone, sir, out of Paris immediately," she replied, well knowing the danger which he ran. "Where the devil shall I go?" demanded he, in return; and there the consultation ended.

On the morning of the 21st, however, the king began his advance towards the capital, and, as soon as it was known at the palace of the Luxembourg that he was really approaching, rapid councils were held to determine what ought to be done. Some strenuously urged the duke still to go out and meet his nephew on the road; others, on the contrary, advised him strongly to raise the people, seize upon the young monarch as he entered the city, separate him from his mother, and, conveying him to the Hôtel de Ville, take means to secure the persons of the queen and her principal ministers.

De Retz represents the people to have been in such a state of uncertainty, that a word would have led them to anything;

and he seems to have believed that the Duke of Orleans could have directed it to what point he pleased, but that at the same time it was ready to have followed any other impulse given to it, blindly and inconsiderately. The Duke of Orleans, as usual, would decide upon nothing: a courier was sent to him as the court advanced, with a renewed order to come out and meet the king; but he remained consulting, and, in the mean while, some degree of doubt and hesitation affected the royal party itself.

In the midst of the Bois de Boulogne it was met by some persons from the city, who came out to warn the king and queen that they were running to destruction: they gave notice, also, of the consultations that were taking place at the Luxembourg, and insinuated that many of the people were not so well disposed as had been believed. The procession stopped, and a brief consultation was held between the queen, her ministers, and Turenne; and, in deference to the opinion of that great general, Anne of Austria, who was naturally fearless herself, determined to proceed, although the greater part of her counsellors advised her to retread her steps towards St. Germain.

Multitudes of people were already upon the road to witness the entrance of the royal party, and much doubt and apprehension was entertained, till the king, putting himself at the head of his guards, and accompanied by Prince Thomas of Savoy, approached the crowd that had gathered round the Porte St. Honoré. As he came up, and the people recognised him, all doubt of their disposition was removed by the thundering acclamations with which he was received, and which accompanied him all the way to the Louvre.

The Cardinal De Retz, with an immense body of the magistracy, the nobles, and the clergy, waited on the steps of the Louvre to receive the royal family: and every one seems to agree, that never was adulation and hypocrisy carried to a greater height than it was on the reception of the king by the very men who, the day before, had advised the Duke of Orleans to commit the grossest act of treason which the civil war had yet produced. De Retz himself was not, it would seem, without apprehensions for his own fate, although the queen loaded him with civilities, and told the young king to regard him as the person who, more than any other, had contributed to bring him back to the capital. He remained at the Louvre, however, for some hours, till the

king and queen retired to hold a council; and he then proceeded to visit the Duke of Orleans, who had just received an order from the indignant monarch to quit Paris on the following morning.

The duke was in a state of the most tremendous agitation and apprehension, imagining that the commands he had received were given but to amuse him, when the real intention of the court was to arrest him. Some violent counsels were then held, which terminated, ultimately, in the obedience of the duke, who quitted the capital the next day, and retired, after a time, to insignificance, at Blois. The Duke of Beaufort followed him; and on the 22nd, the day after the king's return, the parliament was ordered to assemble at the Louvre, and the king held a bed of justice, in which he resumed the whole of the royal authority, with all those appearances of power and vigour which showed the turbulent population of the capital that the court felt secure of its triumph.

Four declarations, or, as they may be called, edicts, were published by the young king. By the first, a general amnesty was declared; by the second, the seat of the parliament was re-established in Paris; and by the third, a number of exceptions were made to the amnesty, and sentence of banishment pronounced against the principal disturbers of the public peace. De Retz, however, was not of this number; and it would seem that the court sincerely wished to attach him to the sovereign. By the same act, the parliament was distinctly interdicted from meddling in future with any affairs of state:* and thus, in fact, ended the wars of the Fronde.

Some of the remote provinces were still agitated; but the royal authority was now re-established on a foundation which was never shaken during the whole life of Louis XIV. Every one who had raised himself up in opposition to it—with the exception of De Retz, who, by persisting in faction, called upon his own head, soon after, the fate of the rest—had either been obliged to submit and serve the government with fidelity, or had been crushed, defeated, and banished, losing all influence and authority in the country whatsoever.

It may be curious and not uninstructive to inquire more

* The fourth declaration I have not noticed particularly, as it merely referred to the establishment of what is called a chamber of vacations, which in no degree affects the course of history.

particularly, what were the causes which produced this result; especially when, on the one hand, we see that on the part of the insurgents there was very often good ground of complaint as a foundation for their resistance; when we find that on their side was employed a very great proportion of the first political and military talent of the age; when they were throughout supported by the whole power of Spain; and when, at one time or another, almost every very influential and wealthy family was engaged in the rebellion: while, on the other side, a multitude of faults were committed, great weakness was very frequently shown, money and resources were constantly wanting, and all the operations were directed by a man lamentably ignorant of the laws, customs, and manners of the people that he ruled.

All the political and military events which have been related aided undoubtedly in producing the general result; but I am firmly convinced that at the same time there was one prime and original principle of weakness on the part of the insurgents, and of strength on the part of the court, which on the one side neutralised all advantages, and on the other supplied all defects, and which will ever be found to act in the same manner and produce the same effects in despite of all collateral circumstances. I have alluded to this view before, but still I must dwell upon it here. The insurgents during the wars of the Fronde never possessed any great, sincere, paramount, ultimate object. Many of the people were inspired by the real desire of serving their country, promoting that civil liberty which is desirable to every one, and wresting from weak hands a part of the inordinate power which had been accumulated by strong ones; but not one of the leaders was actuated by any such motives, or strove for any such results. Each had for his view, and for his purposes, his own selfish interests. Neither De Retz, nor Condé, nor Turenne, nor Bouillon, while attached to the Fronde, nor La Rochefoucault, nor Beaufort, nor the Duke of Orleans, had any other object but self,—had any other design but to serve their vanity, their interests, their pride, or their resentment. They wanted a great common object, and consequently a bond of union. Temporary interests might cement the party for the time; but that tie was dissolved whenever the weakness or the strength of the adverse party made it yield to the claims of some, or resist the whole with vigour; and at the same time the selfishness and faith-

lessness of all deprived the whole body of popular respect, how much soever individuals might command the popular affection.

On the other hand, there did exist with the court party a great and paramount object, to which the selfishness of all persons connected with it bent, and with which the interests of each individual were more or less combined. That was the maintenance of the royal authority. For this, the queen and all her partisans struggled throughout the whole. Without securing it, Mazarin could not rule with any effect; and though his weaknesses hazarded it, yet still his great object was to preserve it, and his very selfishness taught him to strive for its maintenance. All who attached themselves to that party became, from the moment that they were so, devoted to the great general purpose, and struggled for it while they struggled for their own interests. This unanimity of object seems to me to have given ultimate predominance to the royal party; and the want of it, to have been the defect which constantly overthrew all those who opposed the government.

CHAPTER XIII.

Situation of the Queen—Condé declared guilty of High Treason—Turenne forces Condé to evacuate France—Military Successes of Turenne—Mazarin joins the army—Severe but glorious Winter Campaign—Conduct of De Retz—He is arrested—Fouquet appointed Superintendent—Mazarin returns to Paris—His reception—State of affairs in Guienne—D'Estrades sent thither—Successful Military Movements against Bordeaux—Negotiations of Gourville—Treaty with the Rebels—Bordeaux submits—Execution of Dureteste—The Spaniards driven from the Gironde.

ONCE more in possession of the capital, Anne of Austria applied herself to free the march of government from the enemies which opposed it in arms, and from the more subtle opponents who might still labour to diminish her power by secret intrigue. Her position now was very different from that which it had been after the siege of Paris. She had then brought her adversaries to tranquillity, either by actual bribes or splendid promises; though she had appeared to triumph, she had been, in fact, conquered, and had been equally afraid of those who had opposed, and those who had supported her.

Such was not now the case. She had now made no concessions, she had now bound herself by no engagements; she had foiled her enemies in arms, she had wearied them out in

negotiations, she had made them feel the evils of rebellion; and the only thing that she had yielded of any kind was the mere nominal removal of a minister, which had taken place not only without any engagement not to recal him, but with a very general understanding that he was to be recalled. Before she thought fit to do so, however, it seemed necessary to her either to reduce Condé to submission, or to drive him beyond the frontiers of France, and force him openly and actually into the hands of the Spaniards.

The prince, on his part, refused to take advantage of the amnesty granted by the king, upon the condition of consenting to the return of Mazarin; and, having joined the Count of Fuensaldaña, he carried on, in cempany with the Spaniards, a war not only against his king, but openly, and apparently against his country. There could be no longer any doubt that Condé was a rebel: and a declaration was sent down to the parliament, in the name of the king, once more pronouncing him guilty of high treason.

The parliament, now profoundly submissive to the will of Anne of Austria, registered the edict at once, and Condé justified it by attacking and taking with the utmost rapidity the towns of Château Porcien, Rhetel, Mouzon, and Sainte Ménéhould. Whilst attacking the citadel of the latter place, an application was made to him to suffer the troops which had been raised by the Duke of Orleans to return to Paris, to which he immediately consented, but upon condition that they should not serve against him till the end of the campaign. During the time that he was thus going on from success to success, and not only acting as an officer of the King of Spain, but accepting the commission of generalissimo of that monarch's troops in the Low Countries, Turenne had marched from Paris with all the troops he could collect, and was preparing to oppose him. Before he was in any state to act directly against Condé, however, that prince, with Fuensaldaña, had captured the important town of Bar-le-Duc. The Spanish general then left him with a corps sufficiently numerous to maintain, as they both thought, the tract of country which they had acquired, and to take up his winter-quarters within the territories of France. But neither Condé nor Fuensaldaña was aware that the army of Turenne had been greatly swelled by reinforcements drafted from the garrisons of Artois and Picardy, and by a large body of horse which had joined the royalist general on his march.

Proceeding boldly on the plan which had been laid down, Condé, in consequence of this want of intelligence, had exposed his army greatly even in the attack of Bar-le-Duc; but that town having been captured with great rapidity while Turenne was marching to its relief, no disaster ensued, and the prince, after his separation from Fuensaldaña, advanced and made himself master of Ligny, Void, and Commerci. The means of obtaining intelligence in that part of the country seems to have been very scanty, for it was some days before Turenne acquired information of the departure of Fuensaldaña, and, not daring to risk any hazardous manœuvres in the face of such a general as Condé, he halted for some days at St. Dizier and Stainville. At the latter town, however, he was joined by a reinforcement of between two and three thousand men, and nearly at the same time received information that Condé and the Duke of Lorraine were left to keep the field alone. He immediately determined to advance and offer the enemy battle before they could fortify themselves in winter-quarters; and, on the 26th of November, he marched with all speed to attack Condé, who was by no means prepared to resist the large force now brought against him.

The prince, accordingly, instantly crossed the Meuse, and retreated towards Luxembourg, followed so closely by the royal army, that Turenne often entered the place which he had quitted only a few hours after him. At length, however, he reached the frontier, and having crossed it, became an exile from his native country. Contented with what he had done, Turenne pursued him no further, but applied himself to refresh his wearied troops, who had now been marching for several days with the utmost rapidity, and suffering a constant scarcity of provisions. He was now, however, in a district belonging to the territory of Nancy, whereof his fellow-general La Ferté was governor; and the very first efforts made by Turenne to obtain provisions brought on a quarrel between him and La Ferté, which proved extremely disadvantageous to the royal service. From Nancy, at which place he then was, La Ferté hastened with a small force to send Turenne out of St. Mihel, where he had taken up his quarters; and, not contented with immediate compliance, he fell upon the rear of the royal army, charging the stragglers as if they had been enemies.

Turenne's patience and moderation, nevertheless, restored a degree of calmness to La Ferté, and, undertaking together

the siege of Ligny, they speedily obtained possession of the town. The citadel, however, still held out; and, leaving his companion to carry on the siege, Turenne separated from him and attacked Bar-le-Duc. The lower town was quickly taken; but while the siege of the upper town and citadel was going on, Mazarin arrived in the camp, bringing with him a considerable reinforcement, which he had drawn from the garrisons in the neighbourhood of Sedan.

The general operations of the armies were now entirely directed by him; though he did not interfere with the military arrangements of the generals. His very presence, however, was the occasion of difficulties from time to time, and on one occasion lost to Turenne an opportunity which he could never regain. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, Condé advanced in order, if possible, to relieve Bar-le-Duc; and Turenne, immediately calling La Ferté to his aid, marched to meet the enemy.

As they marched on, Turenne heard that Condé had just arrived in the little town of Vaubecourt, which was not above three miles from the spot where they then were; and knowing that the place was filled with wine, which the enemy's forces would not fail to pillage and drink, he proposed to attack them directly, while they were in the first confusion of taking up such good and abundant quarters.

La Ferté, however, would not consent without the approbation of Mazarin, who was following some leagues behind; and messengers were sent to demand his opinion. He instantly bade the generals make the attack by all means; but the delay had already proved fatal to the designs of Turenne. Condé had learned his approach, had ascertained his force, and, finding himself unable to contend with him, had commenced his retreat. It was with difficulty, indeed, that he could induce his soldiers to quit such comfortable quarters as they had there met with; and when Turenne arrived in sight of Vaubecourt, he found it in flames, Condé having been obliged to set fire to the four corners of the town to drive his soldiers out of it.

Bar-le-Duc was soon after taken; and, advancing through the open plains of that country, in the midst of so severe a winter that a number of the men were frozen to death on the march, Mazarin led the army towards St. Ménéhould. The siege of that place, however, being judged by Turenne too difficult to be undertaken at that season, the cardinal

turned towards Rhetel, and, in the end, laid siege to Château Porcien.

Condé again made an effort to draw Turenne from before the place, but in vain; and though he nearly risked a battle with very inferior numbers to succour Château Porcien, it was at length forced to surrender in the beginning of 1653. The soldiers now expected rest, and eagerly demanded to be led to winter-quarters; but Mazarin's object was, by means of his efforts for the recovery of the places which France had lost during the civil war, to obliterate the last traces of enmity towards him from the minds of the Parisians; and he determined upon taking Vervins before he closed the campaign.

It was now beginning to thaw; the country was hilly and rugged, the roads scarcely passable, and the provisions short: but notwithstanding all difficulties, and the general murmurs of the army, the cardinal persisted, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Vervins on the 25th of January. The siege, however, lasted only three days; and the troops gained the advantage of obtaining much warmer and more abundant quarters than they could have found had they remained on the other side of the Aisne. The honour of the campaign, of course, rested with Turenne; but a part of the glory fell upon Mazarin, who had certainly exerted himself energetically both to increase Turenne's forces and to encourage them to great efforts. That general, too, was very well disposed to suffer the cardinal to appropriate a far greater share of the honour than belonged to him, being almost as desirous as Mazarin himself to see peace and stability restored to France, by the return of a man whom two civil wars had not been able to eject from power. Thus, through the French capital, daily reports were circulated of the successes of the cardinal; and the capture of the various towns which had been taken during the winter was magnified into general battles fought and won, while all the credit was given to Mazarin. Various other events also had taken place in Paris, tending to facilitate the return of the cardinal, and to ensure durability to the reacquired power of the queen; and to these we must now turn.

The first efforts of Anne of Austria went to conciliate all parties, and—having now shown her strength so far as to render any fresh revolt nearly hopeless—to gain over to her interests as many of the leading members of the parliament

as might render her secure against a renewal of the financial opposition of that body. Almost all who could be considered purely as demagogues had been driven into exile, and the only person who remained in Paris of whom Anne of Austria had any cause to entertain apprehensions was the Cardinal De Retz. Even her apprehensions in regard to him were not necessarily very serious; for it is evident, by every known fact, as well as by the account of Joly, that his influence with the people was nearly at an end. What the queen, then, had to fear from him was rather constant irritation than any absolute injury; and it is clear that she had resolved to try by all means to gain him heartily to her interests before she proceeded against him as an enemy.

The conduct of De Retz after the king's return is almost inexplicable. The only light thrown upon his motives is perhaps that afforded by the Memoirs of Artagnan, which declare that it was absolutely necessary for him to force something from the court by faction in order to pay his debts, which amounted at that time to three millions of livres. However that may be, there can be no doubt that immediately after receiving the king at the Louvre, and after having been treated by the queen with all manner of kindness, he proceeded to the Luxembourg, and in the council which was there held by the Duke of Orleans, offered to use his greatest exertions to rouse the people, if the duke determined upon resisting the king's decree of exile, and upon attempting to gain possession of the young monarch's person. Joly declares, indeed, that he suggested this act of treasonable violence to the duke; and De Retz acknowledges that, though he did not suggest it, he did not oppose it when it was made, but offered to concur therein with all his power.

From these facts one would be led to imagine that De Retz looked upon the expressions of the queen's gratitude as hypocritical, and suspected that she was even then meditating vengeance for his former offences. His conduct immediately after, however, is totally opposed to such a supposition; for his demands upon the court were as high as if he had believed himself the greatest benefactor of the young king. He might indeed imagine that the queen was still terrified at his power and influence with the people, and was inclined to purchase his support at any price; yet he must not only have known that his authority was greatly diminished, but must also have been aware that the queen was not at all disposed to yield

anything to apprehension, especially since she had learned by such severe experience how much more was to be gained by resistance than by concession.

Anne of Austria, however, laboured eagerly, as we have said, in fact to buy the coadjutor to the cause of Mazarin; and when she found that it could not be done, she proposed to remove from her minister's path the obnoxious prelate as gently and kindly as possible. She offered to appoint him ambassador to Rome, with a positive engagement not to leave him in that sort of honourable exile more than three years. She offered to grant him a pension of fifty thousand crowns per annum, to give him fifty thousand crowns in hand for his first expenses, and to furnish him with one hundred thousand crowns* more towards the payment of his debts.

The cardinal, however, was not wise enough to accept these offers, and demanded infinitely more both for himself and his friends; affecting at the same time to conceive himself in hourly danger, keeping his house still fortified and filled with soldiery, and having the towers of Notre Dame still loaded with ammunition. Both De Retz and Joly declared that it was the Princess Palatine who inspired the fears which caused these preparations. There can be no doubt that, though she refused to receive the cardinal at her house, to confer upon his situation and lay out the negotiation she was to carry on for him with the court, she met him frequently by night at the house of Joly, and informed him that the queen was determined to deliver herself from him by some means.

Believing that the difficulties which arose in his negotiations with the court originated principally with the mediators, the Abbé Fouquet and Servien, he proceeded to open a direct communication with Mazarin. Every probability of success attended this proceeding: the minister, most anxious to return, and not thinking himself in safety so long as he was opposed by the coadjutor, was willing to sacrifice much to obtain his concurrence; and De Retz, fancying himself now to be in the right way, relaxed many of his precautions. At the same time, Madame de Lesdiguières, deceived by an apparent softening of the queen's manner when De Retz was spoken of, believed that his reconciliation with the court was certain, and she persuaded the coadjutor that he would meet with no evil if he visited the Louvre. He had abstained

* Anquetil says that the sum offered was one hundred thousand francs; but as he cites De Retz, and De Retz himself distinctly states one hundred thousand crowns, I have adopted the larger sum.

from doing so ever since All Saints' Day; but at length he yielded to the representations that were made to him; and imagining that his negotiations were going on favourably with Mazarin, he proceeded to pay his respects to the royal family on the 19th of December, 1652.

There can be no doubt that an order for his arrest had been given long before; and De Retz himself declares that it had been given in such terms to Pradelle, the officer entrusted with the execution of it, as to imply that he was to be put to death in case of resistance. Madame de Motteville, however, declares that Pradelle having represented to the queen that bloodshed was very likely to ensue in the attempt to arrest a man who took such precautions, and having demanded an order under the king's own hand for his justification, it was absolutely refused to him, and the execution of her design was postponed till some favourable opportunity should enable the arrest to take place without resistance. That opportunity was now afforded. De Retz came with but few attendants, and having paused at the apartments of the Maréchal de Villeroi, the news of his arrival soon spread through the palace. The Abbé Fouquet communicated it immediately to the young king, who, knowing the importance of the occasion, proceeded at once to seek his mother. On the stairs, however, he was met by De Retz himself; and, already prepared to make use of the princely virtue of hypocrisy,* he received him with a smiling countenance, and asked him if he had seen the queen. De Retz replied that he had not: and the king desired him in a gracious tone to follow him, but at the same time gave a private order to Villequier, captain of his guards, to arrest the coadjutor whenever he came out of the queen's apartments.

In the court De Retz had been met by one of his friends, who had accompanied him to the door of the Maréchal de Villeroi's apartments, and who, after having left him there, accidentally heard the rumour, which immediately spread through the palace, of the intended arrest of the archbishop. He accordingly hastened to the apartments of the Maréchal, in order to warn the cardinal; but De Retz was already gone to seek the queen, and the young king's order† was strictly

* Madame de Motteville calls it judicious moderation, and declares that she had the whole particulars which we are now giving from the king and queen themselves.

† I have marked these facts particularly, as I believe that the command for De Retz's arrest is the first known act of royal authority performed by Louis XIV.; and considering his age, just fifteen, we cannot deny that his coolness, as well as his dissimulation, gave a very fair specimen of his after life.

obeyed. As soon as ever the factious prelate appeared in the queen's ante-chamber, after his conference with Anne of Austria, he was arrested by Villequier, who, much to his annoyance, caused his person to be searched. They then brought him his dinner; and De Retz ate heartily, apparently in no degree concerned, while the preparations were made for carrying him to prison. At three o'clock he was led to a carriage which was filled with soldiers, and then, under a large escort, was conducted to Vincennes. Great apprehensions were still entertained lest the people should rise to rescue him; but not the slightest movement was made by any one; and De Retz, arriving at night at the place of his imprisonment, was confined in the same tower in which Beaufort, Condé, Longueville, and Chavigni had been confined before him; and going to bed, slept soundly, with the same sort of apathy towards his own fate with which the Parisians seemed to regard that of their favourite leader.

Anne of Austria had now performed an act which showed her and her council, more than any other, how completely the royal authority was restored. She had before arrested great generals, princes of the blood, and even popular leaders; but she had now arrested an archbishop, a cardinal, and a demagogue in one person; and had done so not only without the slightest opposition, but without even a murmur from any body of men, except from the clergy. The ecclesiastics of Paris and the papal nuncio both made some exertions for the liberation of De Retz; but the queen skilfully gave them to understand that nothing but the most perfect tranquillity and the quiet return of Mazarin would open the gates of Vincennes to the prisoner. All was immediately submission; and the Parisians, in the enjoyment of peace, totally forgot him who had seduced them so often into a state of war.

Shortly after this great agitator had disappeared from the political stage, never more to be seen thereon, another person came forth in a prominent character, destined to play a gorgeous part, and meet eventually a tragic fate. In conducting those negotiations between the queen and the coadjutor, which obtained his temporary support for the government in opposition to the Prince de Condé, the Princess Palatine, moved we are told by love, had demanded, as a boon to herself, that the Marquis de Vieuville should be appointed to a high station in the government. On the first opportunity he was named superintendent of finance. After

having accompanied the court through all its marches, Vieuville had returned with it to Paris, and died between four and five on the morning of the 1st of January, 1653, so much to the regret of his Swiss porter, who was afraid of losing thereby the New Year's gifts, then given at every large house, that he went to seek a rope to hang himself. It was difficult to prevent a Swiss, who recognises no other god but money, from executing his design, say the Memoirs of Artagnan; but some of his friends, more clever than the rest, promised to procure him the same place with the next superintendent of finance, and thus consoled him for the death of his master. That next superintendent was the celebrated Nicholas Fouquet, procureur-général in the parliament of Paris. He had already displayed considerable talents, as well as much boldness and decision of conduct, in supporting the court against the rebels of the capital; but it was the more secret and more important services of his brother, the Abbé Fouquet, we are told, which obtained for him this appointment. The honours and advantages of the post, indeed, were for the time divided with Servien; but the name remained with Fouquet, and gradually the whole authority of that important office fell into his hands.

It was not long after the death of Vieuville and the appointment of Fouquet, that Mazarin determined upon returning to the court. The people of Paris, in general, were well disposed to receive him; they were still full of the delights of peace, they were far from willing to disturb their enjoyment by making the slightest opposition to the cardinal's return; and they were very glad that Mazarin, by his great successes on the frontier, had given them a favourable pretext for regarding him in a different light from that in which they had hitherto seen him. Universal good fortune has always something impressive for the minds of the multitude: the fortune of Mazarin had been tried severely, and there can be no doubt that, as Bussy says, when speaking of the cardinal's return, "the courtiers and the people felt a respect for a destiny which had surmounted so many obstacles; and his favour—as a torrent which, after having been kept back, breaks its dikes—overflowed with greater violence than if it had always pursued its course."

In returning, he took his way by Laon, Soissons, and Nanteuil, and arrived in Paris on the 2nd of February. The king went forth several miles to meet him; the royal guard

was for the first time mounted at the gate by which he was to enter the city; a suite of apartments was appointed for him at the Louvre; all the court accompanied the king to do him honour; and on meeting him at a distance of two leagues from the gates, Louis embraced him tenderly, and making him enter his own carriage, conducted him back to that city from which he had been driven with hatred and execration, amidst the most enthusiastic shouts and acclamations of the people.

Whatever he had expected, nothing could exceed the gratulations which awaited his arrival. No sooner had he entered the palace than he was surrounded by the court; and the principal eye-witnesses have declared, that the greatest personages of the realm smothered each other to cast themselves at his feet. One ecclesiastic, whose name is not given, prostrated himself before him with such humility, that those who beheld it feared he would never rise again; and amongst those who were the most eager to offer their congratulations and protest their attachment, were many, we are told, who had laboured with the utmost virulence for his destruction.

Mazarin well knew that such was the case; but he took his fortune at the flood, and, to his honour be it spoken, employed no means whatsoever to avenge himself on those who had most hated, insulted, or injured him. Even in the case of Croissy Fouquet, who placed himself entirely in his power by returning to Paris and carrying on his intrigues in favour of the Prince de Condé in open day, Mazarin avoided all the harsher measures which might have been adopted, and though eagerly pressed to proceed against him to extremity by those who wished to pay their court and prove their devotion, he suffered him to escape, upon the condition of his quitting the country and retiring to Italy.

The only place in which the flame of faction still raged in France was now in Guienne. The rebels had there possession of several important towns; and Bourg, Libourne, and Bordeaux continued to resist the arms of the king. Even there, however, the same evils which had dissolved the faction of the princes in Paris were working more furiously to ruin it entirely.

At one time there were eight or nine parties in Bordeaux alone, each furious against the other: Conti, Marsin, Madame de Longueville, and Lenet were all, at different times, at daggers-drawn with the rest, and, from day to day, each

threatened or attempted to negotiate with the court, and to gain the honour and advantage of pacifying the province. The course of policy which Mazarin pursued under these circumstances was the same as that on which he had acted so successfully with regard to Paris: he heard all, he gave hopes to all, and left the selfish and interested men who led the factions of Guienne to destroy each other.

To increase the confusion that reigned in Bordeaux, sprang up a fierce and virulent party, principally composed of the dregs of the people, and headed by an artisan of the name of Duretestc.* This faction obtained the name of the Ormée, from the place in which it was first accustomed to assemble; and, although it owed its origin to the tumults stirred up among the lower classes by the partisans of Condé, for the purpose of driving the parliament of Bordeaux to whatsoever they thought fit to demand, it at length threw off all control, and committed every sort of brutal and sanguinary act. For the purpose of repressing these outrages, there rose up a faction consisting of the better classes, which, from the great street wherein the principal citizens lived, obtained the name of the Chapeau Rouge.

Between these parties the most violent collisions would frequently take place; and the more numerous party of the Ormée hesitated at no crime to avenge itself upon its adversaries when it got them into its power. In the midst of this state of confusion, Mazarin sent secret agents into the town, and at the same time caused the royal army to advance against it, under the command of the Duke of Vendôme, giving him, however, for lieutenant-general, the famous Count d'Estrades, in whose ability there can be no doubt he placed much greater confidence than in that of the duke.

Had the friends and dependents of Condé in Guienne possessed any degree of union, energy, or real zeal in his cause, an opportunity had been afforded them, just before the appointment of Vendôme and D'Estrades, of promoting his interests in the most essential manner, and even of counterba-

* So written by Mazarin himself, in his letters to the Count d'Estrades. It is more than probable, however, that this name of Duretecte, or Hard-head, was merely a nickname given to this leader by his adherents. It is a very common custom in that part of the country, not only to give such nicknames, but to use them so long and so constantly, that the real name even of the family is entirely lost. Thus, I have known a person of the name of Taillanier, who took the name of Leger; and he and all his family signed the latter name, though it was originally given to him by his schoolfellows.

lancing in some degree the misfortunes and disappointments which had attended him in the north.

It may be remembered, that when the court and army under Turenne retrod its steps along the Loire, and in the end turned upon Paris, the famous Count de Harcourt had been left to complete the subjection of the insurgents in Guienne, at the head of a strong and successful army. Upon some sudden disgust, however, into the causes and motives of which it is not necessary to inquire, he threw up the command of the army, left it in a state of complete disorganisation, and traversing France, advanced to the banks of the Rhine. At that moment, any very active general, with the forces which Condé had left for the defence of Guienne, might have absolutely annihilated the royal army, and confirmed the revolt of the province in such a manner as to have rendered the reduction thereof a work of time and difficulty, and to have afforded a most important diversion in favour of Condé's efforts in the north. The opportunity had passed away, however; and, though the Duke of Candale, who commanded the forces formerly under the Duke of Epernon, and the Duke of Vendôme, who put himself at the head of the second royal army, but had in fact the supreme command, were both very inefficient officers, yet the district possessed by the insurgents was daily narrowed, and the power of the friends of Condé diminished every hour.

It is one of the most curious and perhaps interesting facts displayed by the study of history, that through all the great acts and amidst all the mighty events which change the fate of nations and affect the destinies of a world, there are still threads of private intrigue and petty interests running on with, complicating and distorting, the more important matters with which they are combined. It is difficult to say whether the world is most ruled, and its fate most strongly directed, by insignificant interests or by great ones; but in the present instance we shall certainly find that the movements of armies, and the great political negotiations which appeared upon the surface of the transactions in Guienne, were in truth entirely subservient to a private object on the part of Mazarin. That object was, to marry one of his nieces to the Prince de Conti. For this he laboured, intrigued, and negotiated in a manner which has in it something both burlesque and romantic. We shall, however, here attempt to follow both currents of great and petty events down to the spot at which they unite.

In the early part of the year 1658, affairs stood thus in Guienne:—the Prince de Conti nominally commanded in Bordeaux, in behalf of his brother the Prince de Condé, and was governed partly by his mistress, a lady of the city, of very libertine character, and partly by the famous Abbé Sarasin, better known as a wit than as a politician. The Count de Marsin possessed in reality the great bulk of political and military power in the city; the gates of Bordeaux were in the hands of the faction of the Ormée; the army of the Duke of Candale lay in the neighbourhood, but was not sufficiently strong to invest the capital of Guienne; the army of the Duke of Vendôme was advancing towards the scene of action, and the Count d'Estrades was marching in order to join the duke in the neighbourhood of Bourg, with a small reinforcement which he brought from the Brouage. Candale was brave but dissolute, and wanted experience altogether; Vendôme, with the nominal command both of the army, and of the fleet which had been collected to oppose the Spaniards, was vacillating and feeble; and D'Estrades, though merely lieutenant-general, possessed, deservedly, the whole confidence of the court.

Such was the aspect of public affairs at the time: the more private negotiations were commencing under the auspices of Perefixe de Beaumont, Bishop of Rhodes, preceptor of the king, and afterwards Archbishop of Paris, who had been sent into Poitou to be nearer the scene of action. He had already opened a communication with Sarasin, in order to induce the Prince of Conti to return to his allegiance, and to marry the niece of Mazarin; and he was now about to despatch the well-known Artagnan into Bordeaux, to carry on there the intrigues which were necessary to effect that purpose.*

Some months before, Artagnan, we are told, had been ordered, without any apparent reason, to suffer his beard to grow, which was not at all customary with an officer of the king's musketeers; but on proceeding from Paris to confer with Perefixe in Poitou, he discovered the reason, being directed to assume the character of a hermit, and enter the capital of Guienne in that disguise. The cloth to make his hermit's gown was presented to him by Perefixe himself; and

* The particular events in which Artagnan is mentioned in this transaction are narrated in his Memoirs. The authenticity of all the fundamental part of those memoirs is not to be doubted, although they unfortunately passed through the hands of Sandras de Courtilz, who sewed together in one work all the scattered accounts which Artagnan left of his own adventures.

in this garb he introduced himself into the city, gained the confidence of the party of the Ormée, and made acquaintance with the mistress of the Prince de Conti; which acquaintance he cultivated with the licentious excess of the times, till his private intrigues marred the course of the political ones in which he was engaged.

The military movements of Vendôme, under the direction of D'Estrades, soon gave that promise of success which was afterwards verified. The town of Bourg was defended by 3000 Spaniards; but, from its importance to the after movements of the army, D'Estrades determined to attack it, and, on some opposition being made by Vendôme, he proposed that a part of the troops of the Duc de Candale should be called to their assistance. The Duc de Candale on the first intimation came himself, at the head of four regiments; and Bourg being immediately invested, and attacked vigorously, surrendered by capitulation. The troops then again separated; the Duc de Candale marching to attack Bergerac, and the other generals assailing Libourne, which, though garrisoned by two thousand men, only held out two days. The important post of Lermont was then carried, the army under Vendôme and D'Estrades marching all night in order to arrive there before a reinforcement which had been sent from Bordeaux could take possession of the castle.

From Lermont, D'Estrades despatched letters to Paris, giving Mazarin notice, not only of the progress they had made, but of the strong disposition shown by the people of Bordeaux to return to obedience. The bearer of these letters was the famous Gourville, who had been sent to D'Estrades and Candale by Mazarin, and who was now charged to communicate to the prime minister the difficulties under which D'Estrades laboured from the irresolution and constant vacillation of the Duke of Vendôme. Gourville performed his journey with all speed,* and returned to D'Estrades bearing not only letters, but also a secret commission for D'Estrades, which put the whole of the royal forces entirely at his disposal, and enabled him, in case of necessity, to supersede Vendôme himself.

* It is an extraordinary fact, that Gourville, in his "Memoirs," makes no mention whatsoever of his journey, though a fact of such very great importance. I should have felt inclined to have omitted it on that account, were the fact not proved beyond all possibility of dispute by the authentic letters of D'Estrades to Mazarin, and Mazarin to D'Estrades, which show, that on the 24th of June Gourville set out for Paris, while Bordeaux was still completely in a state of

In the mean time, Artagnan had been carrying on his intrigues in the city, and by the false counsels which he gave to the party of the Ormée, led them into many unfortunate steps, which tended greatly to discredit them with the people. He carried on, at the same time, his intrigues with the mistress of Conti and with Sarasin, and various means were employed to render that prince desirous of marrying Mademoiselle de Martinozzi, the niece of Mazarin. A portrait of her had been painted and sent to Sarasin, which had already attracted the attention of the weak prince. Her beauty, which was considerable, had received some additions in the picture, but not sufficient to inflame the heart of Conti with any very extraordinary passion; and Artagnan determined to go further, and having the portrait copied by a skilful artist, to add the utmost beauty which the genius of the painter could produce. The picture, thus improved, was given to Madame de Choupes, and by her hung up in a conspicuous situation, in order that Conti might see it.

The prince naturally questioned her upon the subject; and she replied by an eulogium on the niece of Mazarin, commending her virtues, her talents, and her beauty in the very highest terms. As far as her good qualities went, this commendation was known to be justified; for even Artagnan admits that Mademoiselle de Martinozzi concentrated in her own person all the virtues which her relation wanted. Conti became attracted by the description, and still more by the picture; and the only thing that prevented him from immediately concluding a treaty with the court, was the extraordinary awe he entertained of his brother the Prince de Condé. The negotiations of Artagnan, however, were brought to a speedy and unpleasant conclusion; he having been found by Conti with his mistress in very equivocal circumstances. He was immediately sent out of the town, and passed through the camp of the Duc de Candale, who covered him with ridicule.

Gourville, in the mean time, had returned to the camp, and was sent into Bordeaux by D'Estrades and the Duc de Can-

siege, and returned on the 6th of July. D'Estrades particularly distinguishes this journey from that which was made after the peace was signed, by stating that Bordeaux was just invested on all sides; and Mazarin does the same, by saying, in his reply, "I trust that you will not be long before you reduce Bordeaux to obedience:" and yet Gourville makes no mention whatsoever of the journey. After this, what is history? what can history be, except a concatenation of specious errors regarding the past?

dale, in order to treat with Marsin and Lenet. The pretext which he used for demanding entrance into the town was, that the Duc de Rochefoucault, who had always been a favourite with the Bordelois, had left behind him in the city a great deal of furniture, which he wished to remove, and had sent him (Gourville) to bring it away. Permission was immediately granted, and he found Lenet and Marsin extremely well disposed to enter into immediate treaty with the court.

The greatest obstacle met with, related to the troops of the Prince de Condé; the generals whom he had left behind demanding absolutely that they should be suffered to join the prince at Stenay, and that they should be furnished with provisions on the road. Some difficulty also, indeed, existed in regard to bringing the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville into the treaty; the number of petty divisions and impertinent quarrels which raged amongst all the parties preventing anything like concord even on so important an occasion. This, however, was skilfully managed by Gourville; and, in regard to the passage of the troops, the negotiator firmly resisted the demand that the whole of the forces should be permitted to join the prince.

On this point there was much contestation; but at length terms were drawn up to the following effect:—That the king would grant a general amnesty to all persons who had followed the Prince of Condé in Guienne; that the regiments of the prince and of the Duc d'Enghien should be allowed to join Condé at Stenay, with a proviso, however, that their numbers should not amount to more than two thousand five hundred; that the wife and son of Condé, with Marsin, Lenet, and all their domestics and principal officers, should be allowed to join the prince in Flanders by sea; that the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville should be allowed to retire; the one to Pezenas, and the other to Montreuil Bellay.

Upon these conditions, the party of the prince was to quit Bordeaux, with all his troops, if the people of the town themselves did not make their peace with the king within a month. This being made known to the city, the people began immediately to treat with the generals of the king's army, and very little besides an amnesty was demanded. The amnesty promised, however, was to be full and complete, and without any exception; and Gourville immediately set off to carry

news of the treaty of peace having been signed by the generals, the citizens, and the Prince de Conti, to Mazarin in Paris.

The intelligence gave the greatest joy at the court; but still Mazarin was not disposed to grant the amnesty without exceptions. The conduct of Dureteste and his party had been so ferocious, that he could not be brought to ratify the treaty without excepting from its provisions the leader of the Ormée, and four of his principal accomplices. Under these circumstances Gourville proposed to him to have the full treaty drawn up, with the ratification, excluding from the amnesty five persons named. At the same time, another treaty, without the exclusions, was to be given to him; and he was to return to Bordeaux for the purpose of endeavouring to get the first received by the people, of which he had no doubt. Nor indeed was there any occasion for doubt. When once a popular body begins to negotiate under the pressure of fear, and has encouraged itself in hopes of immunity through that negotiation, there can be no doubt that it will sacrifice its leaders, its supporters, and its friends, whether they be virtuous or vicious, noble or base, under the apprehension of losing the immunity which it has been promised.

Gourville immediately returned to Bordeaux with the two amnesties; and, as he had expected, found the people not in the slightest degree disposed to defend the man who had been so long their idol. The Prince de Conti and others followed the course that had been pointed out to them, the troops marched for Stenay, the city was given up to the king's forces, and the only further military movements which took place were on the part of the Count d'Estrades, who, going on board the royal fleet with the Duke of Vendôme, embarked therein a considerable part of the land forces, and set sail to attack the Spaniards, who with a fleet and army still held the mouth of the Gironde. On his approach, however, the enemy embarked their troops, which had been landed on the Isle of Casaux, and set sail with all speed. They were, notwithstanding, overtaken by D'Estrades off Royan; and though he could not bring them to a general action, he attacked their rear-guard, captured two of their larger vessels and one smaller one, sunk some others, and took one thousand eight hundred prisoners.

Dureteste had in the mean time made his escape from

Bordeaux, and for a time evaded pursuit; but Mazarin anxiously commanded him to be pursued, displaying in this case a severe and determined spirit, which he seldom evinced towards his enemies. The leader of the Ormée had lost no time in hastening towards Spain, and had arrived at Carcassonne in safety. He lay there concealed for some days, waiting for an opportunity of passing the frontier; but news of his retreat reached the ears of D'Estrades, and soldiers were instantly despatched to arrest him. He was found in bed, and taken without resistance; but the people of Bordeaux murmured, and showed some signs of a disposition to break out into fresh tumults.

D'Estrades seized the occasion to bring his troops into the city; and by the orders of Mazarin, Dureteste was tried by the same parliament which had sanctioned many of his acts, and was sentenced to the horrid death of the wheel. He was executed accordingly, and his head fixed upon a post in the midst of the camp. No further opposition was made by the people; but D'Estrades did not fail to keep his troops in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux. All the officers who had been appointed by the partisans of Condé were dismissed, and their places supplied by others: D'Estrades was honoured and rewarded; and the insurrection of Guienne terminated, like that of Paris, by the re-establishment of the royal authority without any compromise.

CHAPTER XIV.

Affairs of Naples—Spanish Government of that Kingdom—The Viceroy Los Arcos—Tax on Fruit—Revolt of Naples—Masaniello—His Rise, Reign, and Death—Duke of Guise in Rome—Puts himself forward in the Affairs of Naples—Conduct of Mazarin—The Prince of Massa heads the Insurgents—Don Juan of Austria arrives—Negotiations—Attacks the Town by Sea and Land—Repulsed—The Prince of Massa murdered—The Duke of Guise throws himself into Naples—Terrible state of that City—The Duke endeavours to gain the Nobles—French Fleet arrives—Disappointment of Guise—Aversa taken—Dissensions amongst the Nobles—Treasons of Annese—Astrological Predictions—Guise attacks Nisita—During his Absence the Enemy are admitted into the City—He is taken Prisoner—His Fate.

I HAVE pursued the course of the wars of the Fronde without interruption, in order to give as clear and distinct a view as possible of that extraordinary epoch in French history. It is now, however, necessary to turn to other events, which are too strongly connected with the policy of France under Mazarin to be omitted here. The chief of the transactions which we shall now notice is the famous revolt of the peopel

of Naples against the government of Spain; a revolt which, though not excited by inducements held out by France, was supported by hopes, and by some small assistance from that country, and was headed for some time by a French nobleman.

The annals of the world afford few examples of remote dependencies upon great empires being well or judiciously governed. The line of communication between the two is so long, that the impulse given at one extreme, however strong, is but feebly felt at the other; and it seems to have been a general mistake of all nations to look upon their distant colonies, not as homogeneous parts of one great empire, but as storehouses from which wealth and resources may justly be drawn at any time till the whole is exhausted. Such was especially the view which Spain took of her colonies; and Naples had for ages been looked upon so much as a fund from which the ruling country could draw both riches and men without remorse or consideration, that the principal qualities which seemed to have been required in a Spanish viceroy were, rapacity, cruelty, and injustice. Even the nature of men appeared to be changed by the possession of that miserable delegated power; the mild, the amiable, and the just became alike tyrannical: and it was naturally so; for the exactions of the government were so great, that the exactions of the viceroy were necessarily cruel, in order to satisfy the court; and at length, when the Duke of Medina de las Torres retired from the government of Naples, he declared, perhaps with sorrow, that he left it in such a state as to be able scarcely to support four respectable families.

He was succeeded in the government by the Admiral of Castile, who, being not only left to the resources of the impoverished kingdom which he governed for the means of defending the country against foreign enemies, but called upon to transmit support to Spain itself, was driven to inflict a capitation tax upon the people, which he was soon obliged to withdraw, in consequence of indications of insurrection which could not well be mistaken. He was one of the mildest of the Spanish viceroys which Naples had yet seen, and consequently was sincerely beloved by the people. It is probable that neither his popularity, nor his gentleness, gave much pleasure to the court of Madrid, and after a very short period of government he was recalled.

He was succeeded in 1646, by the Duke of Arcos, a personage of small talents but much subtlety, rapacious, weak;

tyrannical, with the courage to be cruel, but without the firmness, the daring, or the genius required for successful tyranny. It would seem, by almost all accounts, that besides the natural impulses which his very situation produced, and which prompted every viceroy to oppress the Neapolitan people, he was instigated by a weak but haughty contempt for the people that he governed. It is probable that this was joined with a disposition naturally cruel, which led him to find a pleasure in the miseries of a nation that he scorned. Perhaps a part of his tyranny might proceed from the cruelty of fear; and the symptoms of insurrection which had acted as a warning to the Admiral of Castile might instigate him to endeavour to overawe the Neapolitans by the terrors of a rigorous and unsparing hand.

At that very time, however, the Neapolitans had before their eyes more than one instance of successful revolt against the very country which now oppressed them. Portugal had thrown off the yoke of Spain, and was now, to all intents and purposes, an independent state. Catalonia, though a much older portion of the Spanish monarchy, had risen against exactions much more tolerable, and had maintained itself in revolt. Both Portugal and Catalonia, it is true, were indebted consideraby to the aid of France; and the latter province, especially, stood alone by the support of the neighbouring country. The Neapolitans, however, might have flattered themselves with various advantages, both over Portugal and Catalonia. The greater distance which existed between Naples and Spain, the much stronger grounds for insurrection, the claims of many princes to the throne of Naples, and the universal detestation of the whole people for the Spanish tyranny, rendered revolt more hopeful than in either of the two other cases; while the probability of obtaining aid from France was equal, if not superior. All these advantageous circumstances were, of course, impressed upon the minds of the Neapolitans; while the disadvantageous points in their situation were as certainly forgotten, or not estimated justly. Their own general demoralisation, the want of any grand and fine principle to act as a bond between all classes, the enfeebled state consequent upon long servitude; all these things were not thought of,—for men listen little to any warning regarding obstacles in the way of their passions; and every popular insurrection is, at one period or another of its course, a matter of passion alone.

Such might be the hopes and expectations which animated

the people of Naples, when the exactions of the Duke of Arcos commenced, and his government began under a general evil impression. His first acts served to confirm that impression. Arbitrary and tyrannical measures were employed against many respectable citizens, on the pretence of punishing the burning of a Spanish ship of war in the Bay of Naples; which ship, there can now be little doubt, was accidentally, and not intentionally, destroyed. The appearance of the French fleets in the Mediterranean, the success of several of their expeditions against several maritime places on the coast of Italy and Elba, and their predatory cruises along the coasts of Naples and Sicily, rendered it absolutely necessary to take measures for defending the Italian possessions of Spain, which were now daily threatened with invasion.

The necessities of Spain during her contest with France had drained Naples of almost all the Spanish forces, which had once been employed in overawing the people, and which might now have been used to repel the foreign enemy. The viceroy, therefore, was compelled to seek other means of putting the country in a state of preparation, and he accordingly called upon the states of Naples to furnish supplies for the purpose of raising troops and defending the kingdom. It was in vain that the people remonstrated: it was in vain that they pointed out the state of abject misery and destitution to which they were reduced: it was in vain that they assured him, with vows and tears, that they had no possible means of paying the sums he demanded. He himself treated their representations with cold and sullen haughtiness, and some of his inferior tyrants replied with contumely and insult, telling those who represented themselves as stripped of everything by the exactions of the government, that if they could not pay what was required, they must sell the honour of their wives and daughters to raise the requisite sum. This brutal speech, which was, as Brusoni declares it to be, "the most shameful that ever proceeded from a politician, not to call him a Christian," did more than all that had gone before, cruelty, tyranny, oppression, to exasperate the people of Naples and drive them into insurrection.

It was at length determined, however, it is said by the consent of the municipal authorities of Naples themselves, to place a tax upon fruit, the principal sustenance of the people, in order to furnish an extraordinary donation, which the viceroy demanded of the city to the amount of a million of ducats. The minor points of this transaction do not seem to

have been clearly ascertained; for though the kind of tax might very possibly be suggested by the viceroy himself, or some of the Spaniards who accompanied him, there can be no doubt that it must have been authorised by the city, as it would appear to have been imposed in order to repay those who advanced the donation which the city had already voted.

Furious outcries, as might well be expected, followed the creation of such an impost, gradually becoming more and more violent as the fruit season of 1647 began to advance; and the viceroy could scarcely quit his palace without being surrounded by multitudes demanding with tears and supplications the remission of the obnoxious duty. He is said to have escaped from their importunities either by holding out to them equivocating hopes, or by promises which he did not intend to perform, and disappointment of course increased the exasperation of the people. Various warnings, both in private and in public, were addressed to him, for the purpose of showing him the danger of his conduct; and threats were at length addressed to him by the people when he appeared, instead of entreaties. Irresolute and timid, as well as cruel and rapacious, he took no strong measures to repress the tumults which occurred, and contented himself by shutting out from his eyes and ears the miseries, the agitation, and the remonstrances of those he oppressed. More than once, indeed, he distinctly promised the revocation of the impost on fruit, and, it would appear, fixed a period for its repeal; but the period was suspended from day to day, and, in the mean while, events occurred in the neighbouring island of Sicily which gave the people a distinct hope of freeing themselves, and pointed out the way.

The same exactions under the tyrannical Marquis de los Veles, Viceroy of Sicily, had produced an open insurrection amongst the Sicilians of Palermo, which had forced him to remit several of the obnoxious taxes; and the islanders took care that their fellow-sufferers, the Neapolitans, should be informed of their efforts and success. Everything, then, was rapidly prepared for the event which ensued; and there can be no doubt that the necessity of an insurrection and the means of giving it success were long privately discussed amongst the populace of Naples before the rebellion absolutely broke out. For some time previous Los Arcos had confined himself almost entirely to his palace, or to its immediate neighbourhood; but even there the voice of the people's in-

dignation reached him so strongly, that, notwithstanding his own rapacious disposition, and the advice given him by the municipal authorities* of Naples, he issued an order for the repeal of the tax in twenty days, hoping thereby to allay the excitement which his tyranny had produced.

But by this time, it is clear, the design of an insurrection had been so fully formed, and communicated to so many, that nothing but vigorous measures of repression could have prevented or delayed it. The discontent of the people had been fomented in a very great degree, their operations directed, and their hopes of relief through their own efforts, excited by a class of men who in all Roman Catholic countries possess an extraordinary degree of power with the inferior orders. This was the class of low priests; and amongst that class we find that two of the lowest and basest members distinguished themselves conspicuously in promoting the revolt of the people. The one was a priest called Giulio Genuino; the other, a Carmelite friar of the name of Savino. The former, whether justly or unjustly does not appear, had been punished by the Spanish government for imputed crimes, and had acquired an intense hatred towards the ruling nation, as well as the reputation of a sufferer in the cause of the people. The other, Savino, was possessed of some influence with a higher order of citizens than the mere rabble; and, if without money himself, according to the strict letter of his vow, he was, at all events, not without the means of procuring it from others, which he did not fail to do, for the purpose of promoting insurrection and arming the insurgents.

Neither Genuino nor Savino was in a situation which could admit of their leading the mob, though they both excited it to revolt; and, as a leader was wanting of a peculiar character, they fixed upon a young man of Amalfi, named Tomaso Aniello, abbreviated at the time into Mas Aniello, and since corrupted into the word Masaniello.

To head, to excite, and to encourage the people, to move their passions, to direct their actions, and to command them easily in moments of danger and difficulty, no one could have

* Some of the Spanish accounts lay the whole blame upon the Neapolitan magistracy itself, declaring that Los Arcos always opposed this fruit tax, and constantly wished to repeal it. The Spaniards, however, took a prejudiced view of the case; their accounts being furnished by the adherents of and dependents upon Los Arcos himself, while the Neapolitan authorities, though of course prejudiced in a degree, are more to be relied upon, not having been dependent upon the chiefs of the rebels.

been chosen better than Masaniello; for he possessed daring courage, rapidity of combination, a frank and open bearing, and a ready, profuse, and popular eloquence. But to lead them to great results, to direct them to worthy objects, to govern them for their own good, and to rule himself while he did so, Masaniello was quite incompetent.

His occupation, at the time of which we speak, has not been very clearly ascertained; but, from comparing the different accounts of him, it would seem that he had been a fisherman at Amalfi, and had been in the habit of bringing his fish himself for sale into Naples. He had been severely treated by the Spanish government, and had been reduced, by fines and confiscations, to a state of great poverty; and thus, it is probable, he was brought to that point of indigence at which Giannone describes him, when he states that he was in fact a fishmonger's boy, supplying the purchasers of fish with bags to carry away what they had bought. Certain it is that he was perfectly illiterate, though he possessed a good deal of the natural wit which characterises, more or less, the Neapolitan peasantry. His hatred to the Spaniards was perfectly unconcealed: he had more than once ventured to insult the viceroy himself; and Savino and Genuino, as well as a number of others, some of whose names are recorded, while some have been kept secret, or forgotten, in laying out the plan of the insurrection fixed upon Masaniello as its leader.

He had always distinguished himself in those Neapolitan sports where mock fights were carried on and wooden castles attacked and defended; and the day of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, which happens on the 16th of July, and on which occasion some of the most remarkable of these games usually took place, was appointed for a general rising of the lower orders. As usual, Masaniello collected together his band of young men to train them for the peaceable pastime which was permitted by the government; but upon the present occasion he took the opportunity of disciplining them to other purposes, and taught them as a rallying cry the words —"Long live the king, but death to the bad government!"

Things were in this train, when, on the 7th of July, some days before the appointed festival, a violent dispute occurred in the market-place, concerning the payment of the duty on a basket of figs, brought in for sale by the brother-in-law of Masaniello. Giving way to the natural vehemence of the

Neapolitan character, the peasant at length threw down the fruit, and trampled it under foot. Masaniello with his trained band came up to his assistance. The municipal officers were maltreated; the other agents of the police that showed themselves were driven out of the market-place; arms of various kinds, which had been provided, it is said, by Savino, appeared amongst the populace; and Masaniello, bursting forth with a strain of high and indignant oratory, carried all hearts along with him, and determined the people to immediate resistance.

Rumours of the tumult in the market-place spread instantly to all the other parts of the city, and the labouring classes, driven to desperation by the taxes, which starved the poor, while they left the higher orders comparatively free, poured forth from all the crowded and populous quarters of the town, to swell the mob which Masaniello was now leading towards the palace of the viceroy. These, it would seem, were by no means the mere lazzaroni, as the Spanish authorities have asserted, but working men, who, though gaining their bread with difficulty, were totally distinct from that immense class of vagabonds with which the city of the Syren has been for ages infested. Most of those who joined Masaniello were armed in some manner, and many of them carried on their pikes loaves of bread, to indicate that the excessive price to which that article of first necessity had been brought was the cause of the revolt into which they had plunged.

The numbers that accompanied Masaniello are very differently stated, at from fifteen to fifty thousand men; and at the head of the crowd he advanced, with his trained band carrying black flags, towards the palace of the viceroy, breaking open one of the prisons, and setting the malefactors at liberty as he went. Los Arcos at length became terrified at a tumult that he had at first affectedly despised; and when the people appeared under the walls of his palace, demanding a total repeal of all the taxes on corn, wine, and fruit, he presented himself at one of the windows, and endeavoured to temporise, by promising them to abolish the fruit tax and mitigate the others. This, however, was not sufficient to content the people, and encouraged by his timidity, rather than softened by his concessions, they broke into the palace, overpowered the guard, and dragged the trembling viceroy from a closet in which he had concealed himself.

A body of his devoted attendants, however, rescued him

for the time, and enabled him to escape to the Castel Nuovo; but after a few minutes of repose had renewed his courage, he ventured once more amongst the people, with the hope of pacifying them. In this, however, he was by no means successful, and with difficulty escaped from their hands, taking refuge in the neighbouring convent of St. Louis. His hopes of obtaining a sanctuary there, however, were speedily disappointed. While the palace was stripped, and all its rich furniture burnt by one part of the mob, another part was led by Masaniello himself to the attack of the convent, and the viceroy was only saved from destruction by the appearance of the Archbishop of Naples, Cardinal Filomarino, who deserved and possessed the affections and confidence of the people. While he pacified the multitude for the moment, he exhorted the viceroy to satisfy their demands, and induced him to sign a paper purporting to be the formal remission of the taxes against which the populace clamoured.

In this it would appear that the archbishop was deceived as well as the people; for when, after having led them away from the convent, he read the paper which the viceroy had signed, it was found to imply only a partial remission of the taxes, instead of their abolition. This but exasperated the people the more, and after short consultations the mob returned to attack the convent of St. Louis, where Los Arcos still remained. He was once more saved, however, and made his escape, it is supposed, by the connivance of some of the popular leaders, first into a neighbouring college of Jesuits, and thence to the strong fortress of St. Elmo, where he doubted not to be able to set the utmost efforts of the populace at defiance.

Nothing now existed throughout the city but tumult and consternation. All the prisons were broken open, the courts of justice even were attacked, the public records destroyed, and the Spanish and German guards at their several posts throughout the city attacked and disarmed. A number of houses were burnt, a still greater number were pulled down, and the mob increased every moment in strength and ferocity. It is very difficult to ascertain what was the real amount of the force thus collected. Siri evidently underrates it; and others, who swell it to upwards of a hundred thousand, probably exaggerate, on the other side. Perhaps the real numbers were between forty and fifty thousand; but there was every likelihood of the multitude being increased on the fol-

lowing day, not only by malcontents from the town itself, but by the discontented of all the neighbouring districts.

The Prince of Bisignano, a popular nobleman, was forced by the people to go at their head during the latter part of this eventful day, but could do nothing to moderate their fury, and only in the end persuaded them to separate as night approached. They, however, took measures for meeting again the next day, and formally appointed Masaniello their captain. Parties, nevertheless, continued to patrol the town all night; many houses were broken into and searched for arms, and the shops of the armourers were universally plundered.

Thus, on the following day, the mob reappeared not only augmented, but rendered ten times more formidable by the weapons they had obtained. Masaniello, too, had now gained time to think upon the part he had to play, and the character he had to sustain; and, with a thorough knowledge of the character of his countrymen, he showed himself capable of taking advantage of all their faults, as well as of all their good qualities, to effect his own purposes. The sudden successes that he had obtained, and the strangeness of the liberty which the people had acquired, taught him to pretend to supernatural support, and he persuaded a multitude of the populace that he was expressly delegated by Heaven to deliver them. Thus superstition swelled his ranks, and inspired the hearts of his followers; but he employed at the same time other means equally efficacious to bring forth the reluctant. The first of these was fear.

Almost all the nobility of the city had by this time fled, taking their wealth and their families with them; but a number of the respectable tradesmen and artificers remained, sharing in a considerable degree the feelings of the lower orders, but apprehensive of the result, and paralysed by surprise and consternation. A mandatory, however, was issued early in the morning by Masaniello, requiring every citizen to take arms and join the people, on pain of having his house pillaged and destroyed. This command spread rapidly through the city, and brought forth immense multitudes from their dwellings, while the country people flocked in; and the revolt, which up to that moment might probably have been suppressed by vigour and determination, assumed an aspect far too formidable to be overawed by any force the viceroy could bring against it.

Los Arcos, however, was not at all disposed to employ any violent measures, or use even any vigorous exertion. His policy throughout was that of a weak and tyrannical man. He exacted till he drove the people to resistance; and when the period of resistance came, attempted to conciliate, though there was no possibility of temporising.

Not satisfied with the refuge of St. Elmo, he had again sought shelter in the Castel Nuovo, and there had taken some precautions to ensure his own safety and that of the city; but had made no other attempts to put down the sedition than by offering a bribe to Masaniello, which was indignantly rejected, and by causing the weight of the loaf of bread to be considerably increased. He had strengthened the garrison and defences of the Castel Nuovo, had collected the Spanish forces in various strong points, had caused the gunpowder in the magazines liable to attack to be damped, and had planted cannon in several commanding spots. Orders also were despatched to a German regiment, at some distance from the city, to march up to the aid of the viceroy with all speed; but no efforts had been made during the night to stop the seditious bands which patrolled the streets, nor any measures taken to prevent the reassembling of the people on the following morning.

It would be impossible here to follow minutely all the transactions that ensued during the brief reign of Masaniello, or to discuss the truth or falsehood of all the various and conflicting accounts of his actions and his fate which were current at the time, and have since multiplied beyond example. We shall give, therefore, a brief summary of the acts of the rebel, as leading to the consequences more immediately connected with this work.

The first vague demand of the people that all taxes should be abolished was now brought into a form more consonant to the feudal notions then existing; and, doubtless at the suggestion of Genuino, the governor was required to restore to the people all the privileges granted by the charter of Charles V., and to place in their hands that important document.

It has never been clearly ascertained whether the charter was really ever found; but it is certain that in the first instance a forgery was attempted to be passed upon the people, who discovered the cheat, and were but the more exasperated.

The Duke of Matalone,* who had himself been an object of Spanish persecution, and who was liberated from prison by Los Arcos, in order to mediate between him and the people, at length procured what he assured them was either the genuine charter, or a true copy thereof; but the time for satisfying them by such means was passed. Masaniello was now entirely in the hands of more evil spirits than himself, and any talents he possessed served but to give them power. The persons by whom he was totally ruled at this moment were the priest Genuino, who, there is every reason to believe, was as corrupt as he was factious, and a celebrated bandit of the name of Dominico Perronne, a person equally bloodthirsty and unprincipled; and these two urged the leader of the revolt fiercely forward in the course which he was willing enough to pursue.

The Duke of Matalone and his brother Joseph Caraffa were insulted and ill-treated by the mob, and, with the rest of the nobility, were estranged for ever from the cause of the people. Between sixty and seventy houses and palaces were burned on the 8th of July, the day after the insurrection broke out; and in the course of that or the following day, four thousand muskets and sixteen cannon were obtained by the populace, besides an immense quantity of various kinds of arms. The precaution of the viceroy, however, in causing the principal magazines of gunpowder to be damped, now had its effect, to the mortification of the people, who, in consequence, were prevented from obtaining much ammunition. But during those two days the regiment of German soldiers which the viceroy had called to his aid, and various smaller detachments of Spanish troops which were marching in from the surrounding country, were, by the wise foresight of Masaniello, intercepted by the way, disarmed, and in general brought in as prisoners.

The conflagration of various buildings continued on the 9th; and certain houses and palaces were regularly appointed to be destroyed on the following day, amongst which was that of the Duke of Matalone, who was now, as may well be sup-

* I have been not a little surprised to find, in a book of such authority as the 'Biographie Universelle," that this nobleman is confounded with the Prince of Monteleone, of a family totally distinct, and who bore quite a different share in the transactions of the time. See the article *Masaniello.* I do not know whether this be the same Duke of Matalone or not whose crimes are detailed by some of the journalists of that day

posed, not a little incensed against the conduct of the revolutionary leaders. A guard of eight thousand men was formed to attend upon Masaniello himself; a hundred and fourteen thousand men-in-arms followed his dictation. His slightest word, look, or gesture was obeyed without hesitation or reply; and while he, still in his fisherman's garb, ruled the people with a rod of iron, Genuino and Perronne were always at his side prompting him to deeds of violence.

In the mean while, the viceroy took various steps, not to oppose the people, but to mitigate their wrath. The priest Genuino, there can be no doubt, received willingly the bribes that Masaniello rejected with indignation. Perronne, too, was gained over, it would seem, by Matalone; and this being done, after various fruitless endeavours to mollify the people by minor concessions, Los Arcos sent to them, by the hands of the archbishop, papers which he declared to be the original charters granted by Ferdinand and Charles, together with a full ratification of them under his own hand.

Some doubts still existed in regard to the genuineness of these documents; but Genuino having declared that they were authentic, the people were so far satisfied. They insisted, however, on a more ample ratification by Los Arcos, on a number of separate stipulations, which were to be drawn up by Genuino, and upon the confirmation of the whole by the King of Spain.

The viceroy promised everything, and, probably as much from having gained Perronne and Genuino as from having satisfied the people, he saw the tumults decrease, the conflagrations cease in a very great degree, and everything tend towards the restoration of tranquillity.

A grand procession to the church of the Carmine was ordered by Los Arcos, in order solemnly to read his assent to the stipulations made by the people. All the nobility were to be present on the occasion; a grand *Te Deum* was to be sung; and it was expected with confidence that, though the people were to remain in arms till the King of Spain had confirmed the privileges which had been exacted from the unwilling hands of the viceroy, the general peace of the city would be restored. The populace filled the church and the square, probably fatigued with faction and tumult, and desirous of repose; but the misconduct, as it would appear, of Matalone and Caraffa interrupted the prosperous course of

events, and plunged the people still more deeply into outrage and bloodshed.

At the very moment when the ceremony was taking place, a large troop of armed banditti entered the market-place, near the church, and a scene took place which is so variously reported that it is scarcely possible to arrive at the exact facts with any accuracy. It would seem, however, that the people were alarmed at their appearance; and that Masaniello, being informed of their arrival, and that they had been sent for by his companion and counsellor Perronne, ordered them to dismount and to separate, assigning them quarters in different parts of the city. They hesitated to obey, having, as it would appear, but little either of respect or friendship for the fisherman-captain of the people. A dispute immediately ensued. One or more of the banditti fired upon Masaniello, who escaped unhurt by a miracle. The people instantly rushed to defend their leader; the banditti were attacked, thirty were killed upon the spot, and the rest, driven into the church of the Carmine, were pursued by the armed populace, and either massacred at the very altar, or reserved only for public execution.

Perronne himself was killed in the church, and probably escaped a worse death; for the confessions of the banditti went to implicate him more deeply than any one in the base plot of which their entrance into the city was but a part. Before death, many of the plunderers who had thus attacked Masaniello acknowledged that their first object was to put the popular leader to death, and that they had been sent for by Perronne, at the instigation of the Duke of Matalone and his brother Joseph Caraffa, for that express purpose. It would seem that the plot of the Caraffas stopped there; but, we are told that, grafted thereupon, by Perronne and the other leaders of the banditti, was a scheme for plundering and destroying Naples itself while the people were thrown into confusion and dismay by the death of Masaniello and by the explosion of mines of gunpowder prepared for that object.

The fury of Masaniello and his followers was now raised to a higher pitch than ever. The Duke of Matalone was eagerly sought, but contrived to effect his escape to Benevento in the dress of a friar. His brother,* however, who

* The accounts regarding this nobleman are most contradictory. Some historians represent him as being in Naples during the whole period between the

had previously, it would seem, made his escape to Rome, was persuaded by the Duke of Guise to return to Naples, and was instantly massacred by the people.

But the raging indignation of the populace stopped not at the sacrifice of those of whose connivance at the plot of the banditti they had any just cause to be suspicious. Every obnoxious noble was dragged forth from his dwelling if he still remained in the city; and the heads of a multitude of the tyrannical lords who had so long exercised in impunity every species of rapacity and cruelty were now, with no small propriety, ranged upon pikes round the throne of Masaniello in the market-place, in fellowship with the banditti whom they so much resembled. The conflagrations again commenced also; and that day which was to have seen the solemn pacification of the city, ended with the streets flaming with burning palaces and flowing with gore.

It was with great difficulty that the viceroy induced the people to believe that he had taken no share in the plot of Matalone, and abhorred the crime which had been attempted: and historians have been found even more sceptical upon the subject than the populace. He did, however, succeed at length; and on the following day, the 11th of July, through the instrumentality of Genuino, who was now undoubtedly his hired instrument, he once more obtained some degree of order, and signed with his council the terms drawn up by the people. One of the stipulations was, that the conditions granted by the viceroy were to be engraved on two marble columns raised for that purpose in the market-place; which stipulation proved of much importance at an after period.

The articles of the convention, as we may call it, were read by the archbishop in the church of the Carmine; and after that ceremony Masaniello proceeded, as had been previously arranged, to visit the viceroy at the Castel Nuovo. He was mounted on a superb horse: his fisherman's garments were for the first time thrown aside; he was clothed in cloth of silver, and adorned with plumes. The archbishop followed in his carriage, an immense number of insurrectionary leaders came after, and the streets were lined by the citizens in arms.

outbreaking of the revolt and his own death; but the Duke of Guise positively asserts that he saw and conferred with him in Rome, and that by the persuasions then used he was induced to return to Naples. The length of time employed by him in going and returning, and conferring with the Duke of Guise would seem to imply that he had scarcely been a day in Naples during the whole reign of Masaniello, which only continued eight days.

Every sign of rejoicing and of triumph was displayed on the way: tapestries, and silks, and rich stuffs, were hung from the windows; garlands were showered from above on the deliverer of the people, and branches of olives strewed the ground before his horse's feet.

The shooting star had now reached the zenith, and all the rest was descent. Masaniello was received by the viceroy not only graciously, but with fulsome flattery and adulation. Impotent to resist his will—seeing, perhaps, that power had in some degree affected his brain,—Los Arcos applied himself diligently to promote the intoxicating effect of sudden elevation. He declared that everything in the city of Naples should be ruled by the will of Masaniello; he told him that he trusted entirely to him the peace, the police, and the preservation of the city. Their conference was so long that the multitudes who remained without began to be apprehensive for the fate of their leader; but no sooner were their clamours heard than the viceroy and the fisherman appeared at one of the windows, with the proud Los Arcos leaning with one hand upon Masaniello's shoulder, and with the other wiping away the sweat which heat and exertion had brought upon the insurgent's brow. This sight calmed the minds of the people, and shortly after their leader rejoined them, and returned home in the carriage of the archbishop, it having been arranged that the viceroy and all the great officers of state should in two days' time solemnly swear to observe the conditions of the treaty in the church of the Carmine.

In the mean while, Masaniello assumed the full exercise of that power which the words of the viceroy, as well as the will of the people, had conferred upon him. He publicly announced to the citizens that he had been confirmed in the post of captain-general by the representative of the king; and he proceeded to rule the city as such; issuing, in the first instance, several wise and wholesome regulations, and punishing with iron severity the continuance of those depredations and outrages which, in order to obtain the objects of the people, he had formerly encouraged and promoted.

He had by this time, however, begun to feel his corporeal powers failing under the great exertions he had made. His body, we are informed, had become emaciated by excessive fatigue, and in order to recruit his exhausted strength, he had recourse to the juice of the grape, but too plentiful and

too enticing in the country which was the scene of his exploits.

If, as is generally supposed, the mind of Masaniello had partially sunk both under great exertion and astounding success, the means which he thus took to keep up his physical powers of course had tended to aggravate the malady of the brain. It has been alleged, that, while at the Castel Nuovo, he received some deleterious drink from the hands of the viceroy; but it would appear that this was a popular rumour, destitute of foundation; and certain it is, that up to the 13th of July, on which day the articles of the treaty were sworn to, he did not display any very striking marks of insanity. About that period, however, his rule, always rigorous and strict, became not only cruel and bloodthirsty, but wild and fantastic. The harangue which he addressed to the people on the ratification of the treaty was incoherent and silly, as well as the gestures with which he accompanied it. He issued sumptuary decrees regulating the dresses of the people, and assigning to the women a garb not very consistent with decency. A number of executions accompanied these acts, characterised by ferocity rather than by justice: as an instance, we may mention that a baker, for some trifling offence, was condemned by the demagogue to be baked to death in his own oven.

The language he now assumed was wild and haughty: he galloped about the streets of the city on horseback, striking and trampling upon the people in his way, and even cutting at them with a drawn sword; and he made two expeditions, in the boats of the viceroy, to Pausilippo, for the purpose of carousing there on choice fruits and dainties, in the course of one of which banquets he increased his insanity, we are told, by drinking twelve flasks of a strong wine. He was now never seen in the streets but in a state of madness, either from disease or drunkenness. The people themselves, who lately adored him, and followed his steps with shouts and gratulations, now fled from his presence as from a demon, and longed for any means of deliverance from a tyranny as severe as that of their former masters, but which added the ridiculous to the horrible.

Genuino, and several other popular leaders, there can be no doubt, represented to the viceroy that, in taking the life of Masaniello, he would be perfectly justified in the eyes of the people by the conduct which the demagogue was himself pur-

suing; but Los Arcos hesitated, and proceeded with cautious prudence. He, in the first place, voluntarily issued a new confirmation of the treaty, and would not consent to any attempt upon the life of Masaniello till he was assured, by a meeting of the popular leaders, who deputed fifty of their body to confer with him, that they sanctioned the death of their former captain.

Several assassins were then engaged to perform the deed proposed; but, before it was accomplished, the outrageous conduct of Masaniello himself drove the very crowd that still followed him, to seize upon him, and put him under restraint in his own house. This took place on the 15th; but, on the 16th, the day of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and that very day which had been first fixed upon for raising the standard of revolt, Masaniello made his escape, and presented himself in the church of the Carmine to the multitude of people who were assembled there to celebrate the festival. It is probable that during the period of his confinement to his own house he had been kept without any of those intoxicating drinks which had aided to ruin his intellect, and he now addressed the people from the pulpit in a strain of that eloquence which had formerly led them with certainty and ease. Before he concluded, however, his brain again wandered, and, after some wild and vehement rhapsodies, feeling in a degree his own condition, he was easily persuaded by the archbishop to retire for the time and calm himself by sleep.

He had slept, and, it would appear, was again awake and looking out of one of the windows of the convent, when he was sought by the assassins who had been hired to destroy him. They were heard shouting his name loudly through different parts of the building; and Masaniello, who in all probability did not at all suspect their motive, advanced to meet them, and was almost immediately shot by several balls.

The only words he spoke were "Ungrateful traitors!" ere he fell dead at the feet of the assassins. The people heard of his death with the utmost tranquillity, and even satisfaction. His head was struck off before their eyes, and carried on a pike to the viceroy; his body was dragged through the streets by the heels and cast into a ditch where the corpses of several of his own victims had previously been thrown.

The very next day, however, popular gratitude,—that most unserviceable of things, which, like the receding tide, leaves our boat dry upon the shore when most we need it, and only

returns when too late for use, to cast up the fragments of the wreck,—flowed back again in favour of Masaniello. His services were remembered, his outrages forgotten; superstition came in aid of enthusiasm; the body which had been treated with such indignity was sought for as that of a saint, and Masaniello was revered in death by the very people who had procured or countenanced his murder.

We are now arrived at that point at which the history of the revolt of Naples becomes more immediately connected with the affairs of France. The Duke of Guise, after having played a conspicuous part in the first dissensions of the regency, after having killed Coligni, married the Countess de Bossu, and expended her fortune, proceeded to Rome for the purpose of annulling, by the papal sanction, his union with that unfortunate lady. The pope, however, did not yield to his suit with the facility which he probably expected, and he was detained at Rome for some time, pursuing his intrigues and cabals for the object he had in view. He was still in that city when the revolt of Naples broke out, and, knowing the anxiety of Mazarin to occupy the whole forces and power of the Spanish government in internal conflicts with its subjects and dependencies, and at the same time feeling in himself that restless spirit of adventure which had gained for him in France the title of the Hero of Romance, he eagerly put himself forward to meddle with the insurrection. In the first place, he despatched a Captain Perronne, who was then in Rome, and was the brother of the famous bandit, to communicate with the counsellor of Masaniello, and endeavour to induce the Neapolitans to call in the aid of France. Dominico Perronne, however, was dead before his brother arrived at Naples, and the envoy of the Duke of Guise was immediately arrested and thrown into prison; but the duke having by this time heard of the arrival of Pepe or Giuseppe Caraffa, with many other noblemen who had fled from Naples, induced the former, as we have before seen, to return to that city, in order, if possible, to stimulate the nobility,—whom he knew to be almost as inimical to the Spaniards as the lower order of people,—to cast off the yoke of Spain for ever, and ask the assistance or submit to the domination of France. Caraffa fell into the hands of the enraged people, and his head was severed from his body by a butcher's knife.

All the efforts of the duke had thus proved ineffectual, when the death of Masaniello, and the lassitude of tumult

and anarchy which the people of Naples now experienced, afforded every prospect of the restoration of order, and the re-establishment of the Spanish power upon reasonable terms. The avarice of the bakers and the treachery of the viceroy again led the people into revolt; for, the very day after the death of Masaniello, the loaf of bread, which was sold at a fixed price, was very greatly diminished in size. This caused a new tumult, which could not be entirely appeased by restoration of the loaf to its former weight; and the appointment of Genuino to a high office under the government excited the suspicions of the people towards himself, but did not satisfy them with regard to their rulers. Ere long, the marble column, bearing the articles of the treaty which had been agreed upon, was set up in the market-place, according to promise; when, to the astonishment of the people, it was found that they had been deceived by the viceroy and Genuino, and that a clause had been inserted which rendered absolutely null and void the ineffectual revocation of the taxes by the government.

The fourteenth item of the treaty did indeed declare, that all the taxes whatsoever should be taken off, or remain on the footing on which they were placed in the time of the Emperor Charles V.: but then followed a saving clause, by which all those that had been mortgaged or assigned to individuals were excepted. Now, the very tax on fruit itself was in this predicament, as well as every other impost. As soon as this was generally known, the people again took arms, attacked the viceroy in the Castel Nuovo, and forced the Prince of Massa to place himself at their head and conduct the proceedings against the fortress.

That prince, it would appear, only accepted the command by the connivance of the viceroy, and he showed the highest skill and ability in temporising with the people, deluding them by false movements and ineffectual measures; not losing their confidence by opposing their blind passions, but yet frustrating the evil effects likely to ensue from placing the whole city and government at their disposal. His motive seemed to have been really patriotic, and his conduct after the arrival of Don Juan would lead us to believe that he sought to gain for the Neapolitan people a relief from all unreasonable burdens, and security against a renewal of the same tyranny under which they had already suffered, without doing anything to prolong that state of anarchy and confu-

sion which is an evil inseparable from insurrection, however amply justified revolt may be by circumstances.

For many weeks he continued to hold the Castel Nuovo in a state of partial blockade, hoping, in all probability, that the passions of the people would gradually become more calm, and that their expectations and demands would reduce themselves to reasonable limits. In this hope, however, he was disappointed, as every man must be who calculates upon the moderation of uneducated men; for, of all the virtues which are dependent upon a high state of moral cultivation, moderation is the foremost, and the most immediately connected with that cause. A thousand other qualities, even a vice itself, such as apathy, may supply its place; but moderation, as a calm result of the human reason, is one of the greatest objects and crowning results of civilisation. To expect such a virtue from the Neapolitan people at that time was perfectly vain; and to expect apathy to supply its place was equally so, when there did not exist in the government even that inert power of resistance which might act as any check upon the popular progress, and when the passions and cupidity of the people were daily excited by promises of aid and assistance from France, and by exhortations to throw off the Spanish yoke altogether, and to erect the state of Naples into a republic.

These hopes and these exhortations proceeded from two distinct sources, though the Neapolitans at the time blindly confounded them, and looked upon them but as one. The early efforts of the Duke of Guise to create an interest for himself amongst the insurgent population of Naples we have already noticed; but his endeavours did not cease with the life of Masaniello, nor was he deterred by the constant arrest of his envoys and the frustration of some of his best-laid schemes.

Handsome, daring, eloquent, and endowed with talents more showy than serviceable, he was well calculated to attract the attention and excite the expectations of a moveable and superficial people. All the exiles from Naples were sought, courted, flattered, and deluded by the French prince; and there can be no doubt that manifold false or over-coloured representations of his power, his wealth, and his genius, reached Naples early in the insurrection, and prepared the way for his intrigues. Subsequent to the death of Masaniello, Guise applied himself to open a communication with

Arpaja, the *Eletto del Popolo*, and after various fruitless attempts—the greater part of which were frustrated in consequence of being discovered and revealed to the Spanish government of Naples, by Oñate, the Castilian envoy at the papal court—the Duke of Guise contrived to effect his purpose. He now found that a number of influential people in the Neapolitan capital were eagerly desirous of embracing any means which would both free them from the tyranny of the Spaniards, and yet deliver them from the anarchy of popular insurrection.

The mind of the Duke of Guise himself was filled with grand, indistinct, and cloudlike images of great things to be accomplished by small means; and while there can be no doubt that personal ambition, and a desire of raising himself to the throne of Naples, was the motive and object of all his endeavours, he sketched out for the people of that kingdom a vague, specious, but inapplicable plan for raising the subject kingdom of Naples into a republic, in the mode of that of Holland, claiming only for himself the office of chief magistrate, as enjoyed in the North by the princes of the house of Orange. In support of these captivating dreams he did not fail to make large promises, even while he was totally destitute of all means of performing them, and dependent wholly upon Mazarin and the court of France for everything necessary to effect his purpose. He thus, though willing undoubtedly to peril his own life and fortunes upon the enterprise, deceived the Neapolitans to a certain degree in regard to his resources; and, at the same time, in the endeavour to wring from Mazarin the very means which he had professed to possess himself, he attempted to deceive that acute minister, by representing to him that the people of Naples had applied to him without his making any application to the people of Naples. He does not, in fact, in his own memoirs, deny that such was his conduct; but Mazarin, though undoubtedly willing to encourage the revolt of any of the dependencies of Spain, had neither at that moment the means, nor, in all probability, the inclination to aid the Duke of Guise in the manner which the latter desired. Various minor expeditions to the coast of Italy had already served to exhaust the resources of France in distant and unprofitable enterprises. The seeds of revolt were already germinating in Paris; and while the emptiness of the treasury was severely felt in every department of the state, the resistance of the people inti-

mated to the minister that difficulties were likely to increase rather than to diminish.

I look upon it as a fiction, which may, perhaps, have passed current with Prince Thomas of Savoy himself, but which never had any real worth, that Mazarin intended to establish that prince upon the throne of Naples; but the French minister was certainly still less likely to expend the energies of the country, which were promised sufficient employment at home, and the revenues of the country, which did not supply enough for the maintenance of the royal dignity, in establishing the Duke of Guise—who had already taken part with the enemies of the court—on the throne of a kingdom to which he had a hereditary claim. The duke, therefore, received nothing but vague and niggardly promises, and but lukewarm thanks for the part he had already played; but at the same time the cardinal instructed the Marquis de Fontenay Mareuil, the French ambassador at Rome, to do all that he possibly could to encourage the populace of Naples in their resistance to the Spanish government, and to hold out to them, without the bond of positive engagement, delusive expectations of great and important succour from the court of France.

Thus, between the wild and exaggerated schemes and promises of the Duke of Guise, and the more cautious but better authorised hopes held out by the French ambassador, the people of Naples received fully sufficient encouragement to prevent them from falling into apathy or yielding to apprehension. Their demands assumed a new character; the populace no longer clamoured for a redress of grievances only; every body of men claimed some peculiar immunity or privilege; and the viceroy, on his part, promised everything with a facility which should have taught them to suspect the sincerity of his purposes.

The Prince of Massa, in the mean time, pursued with a slow and faltering course his operations against the Castel Nuovo, interrupting them whenever any of the thousand negotiations which took place gave him a fair pretext, and taking care that the arms of the people, even when actively exerted, should make no great progress.

Negotiations and suspensions of arms continually took place; and during these, either the multitude were weak enough or the Prince of Massa was deceitful enough to suffer the posts still held by the viceroy and the Spanish troops to be supplied with powder and other ammunition.

This was all that the viceroy required for knowing that succour was by this time on its way to relieve him from the dangerous situation in which he was placed: nothing was wanting but time and the means of maintaining resistance till that succour arrived.

The Duke of Guise, in the mean time, carried on his negotiations both with the government of France and with the Neapolitans; and the French ambassador, on his part, strove to gain every information that he could respecting the true state of Naples, to transmit to his court for the purpose of enabling Mazarin to determine upon the conduct which it might be expedient to pursue. We will not enter into the particulars of the negotiation, which only tend to prove, in the first place, that both the Duke of Guise and the ambassador Fontenay were deceived in regard to the condition and means of defence of the people of Naples. In the next place, it is evident that while the Neapolitans were labouring to deceive them in this respect, the Duke of Guise was endeavouring to deceive Mazarin, and Mazarin to deceive the Duke of Guise, and both of them in turn to deceive the people of Naples.

The object of the Duke of Guise in his dealings with the cardinal was evidently to make him believe that the Neapolitans had sought him, not he the Neapolitans; that much glory and some profit might be derived from succouring the people of Naples; and that by furnishing him with troops and money to aid in establishing their independence of the crown of Spain, was the quickest and the only way by which France could make herself mistress of that rich and important country. Such was the tendency of all his representations to Mazarin; while there can be scarcely a doubt that his real object was, through the assistance of France, to make himself king of Naples.

Mazarin, on the other hand, was not at all unwilling to take advantage of the connexion which the Duke of Guise had established between himself and the Neapolitans, for the purpose of protracting the struggle which was going on in that quarter between Spain and her colonies, and, if occasion served, of obtaining a rich tract of country for France, which had long been coveted by her and often sought. He had not the slightest intention, however, of granting the Duke of Guise such efficient aid as would enable him to make himself really master of Naples, or even to expel the Spaniards from

the city. He promised him, however, such aid abundantly, while he guarded scrupulously against committing himself to support any particular form of government in Naples, or even to countenance the scheme of a republic, with the Duke of Guise at its head, which had been drawn out and sent to him by that prince. His reply to the applications of the Duke of Guise, therefore, was, "that seeing so much danger in the enterprise which he proposed, he dared not advise him to undertake it; but that if he chose to hazard it, the king gave him permission; and that he should be assisted with everything that might be necessary to him."

Vast promises of support were at the same time held out by the French minister to the Neapolitans, in order to encourage them in their rebellion, with little or no reference in those promises to the Duke of Guise; while the Duke of Guise, on the other hand, laboured incessantly to make the Neapolitan people believe not only that he was fully authorised by his own court, but that through him only was to be obtained the hearty assistance of France.

In the mean time, however, a fleet and army was busily preparing in Spain, for the purpose of conveying Don Juan of Austria, a natural son of the Spanish monarch, to the revolted kingdom of Naples; but it was industriously circulated by the adherents of Spain, for the purpose both of lulling the insurgents and retarding the preparations of France, that Don Juan was furnished by the King of Spain with a full confirmation of all the treaties entered into by the viceroy Los Arcos.

During the whole of the month of September negotiations had been going on, the demands of the Neapolitan people increasing instead of diminishing, the Duke of Guise negotiating both with his own court and with Naples, and the French ambassador at Rome holding out to the Neapolitans the prospect of much greater aid from France than ever was intended to be given. At length, on the 1st of October, the Spanish fleet, consisting of forty ships of war, and having on board five thousand veteran troops, appeared in the Bay of Naples, and anchored as near as possible to the Castel Nuovo. The people, not doubting that Don Juan brought the long-expected ratification of the treaties with their viceroy, saw the arrival of the fleet with joy rather than apprehension; but they were soon undeceived, in regard to the views of the Spanish government. The Prince of Massa,

with a number of the leading insurgents, went on board the admiral's vessel, to compliment Don Juan on his arrival; and negotiations were entered into for the purpose of bringing back tranquillity, and restoring by gentle means the Spanish domination in Naples.

It was soon perceived that Don Juan was not disposed to accede to all the excessive demands which the populace had lately made, but that, at the same time, he was inclined to grant them relief from many grievances and an amnesty for past offences. The people, fatigued of anarchy, were also willing to yield something rather than encounter the force now ready to act against them: so that it would seem that terms might speedily have been arranged, had not, as usual, persons who had their own interest solely at heart contrived to sow evil impressions on both sides. Don Juan would not be satisfied unless the people gave up their arms, and some slight tumults, said (perhaps falsely) to have been excited by emissaries of Los Arcos, confirmed him in this view. The people would not consider themselves in safety when disarmed, and the menacing attitude of the Spanish troops and fleet only rendered them the more resolute in retaining their weapons.

The exact particulars of the act which next followed will probably never be clearly known; for the Italian accounts on the one side, and the Spanish accounts on the other, vary so greatly, that, in the absence of any impartial account, it is impossible to arrive at the real facts of the case. The Italians declare that the Spanish troops were disembarked, and that, without any provocation whatsoever on the part of the people, a general attack was made upon the city by sea and land; the ships and the castles keeping up a continual fire, and the soldiery entering Naples with torches in their hands—not figuratively, but really—for the purpose of setting fire to the town. The Spaniards, on the other hand, imply that the attack was brought on by the people endeavouring to force the posts occupied by the royal troops. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the insurgents defended themselves gallantly; and, after various slaughterous conflicts and the destruction of a number of public buildings, the Spanish troops were obliged to withdraw, and were re-embarked on board the fleet.

The rage and indignation of the Neapolitan people was now excited to the highest pitch. A manifesto was published

by them, setting forth their grievances, and calling on all other nations and monarchs to give them assistance and support against the tyranny of Spain. What the Duke of Guise calls a ban was formally published also, forbidding all men to recognise the authority of the Spanish monarch, or to treat for peace with that crown; and, at the same time, the people looked anxiously to France for aid, and exerted themselves vigorously to expel the troops of the viceroy from the posts which they held in the city.

The Prince of Massa still remained at the head of the insurgents; but it would appear that he was inclined to temporise, in order to suffer the people to recover from their indignation, with a hope that when they had done so, negotiations for peace might be renewed. Certain it is, that he did not push his advances against the Spaniards with all the vigour that he might have done, and that the people became suspicious of his motives.

The Duke of Guise asserts that the weak tenderness of his wife, whose fear for his personal safety made her take every means to keep him from the actual scene of contention, was the real cause of that tardy and inactive conduct which brought about his destruction. His attempts upon St. Elmo had been signally unsuccessful, and he now again failed in an attack upon the convent of St. Claire, which was occupied by the Spanish troops, and which greatly impeded the progress of the insurgents. A mine which had been dug under the convent by his direction, and on which the hopes of the people were chiefly placed for the capture of that post, failed almost entirely, it would seem, for want of powder; and this failure was immediately attributed to a treasonable understanding between him and the enemy. Though not absolutely arrested, he was now kept in a state little better than that of imprisonment; and, apprehensive for his life, he contrived to effect his escape from the hands of those who watched him. He then lay concealed for a short time, intending in all probability to fly from Naples on the very first opportunity; but before he could execute that purpose, he was discovered and dragged forth by the people. He addressed them, however, in an eloquent speech, and was rapidly regaining his ascendancy, when a fierce armourer of the name of Gennaro Annese, who had distinguished himself as a leader of the people from the beginning of the insurrection, and who had obtained the command of the tower of the Carmine, opposite to which he

had long laboured in his trade, came up, and in a violent manner exhorted the people to strike off the prince's head as that of a traitor to the country. His sanguinary suggestion was immediately followed; the unfortunate prince was murdered without further form of trial, and his heart being torn out of his body, was sent by the brutal populace to the wife for whom it had beat but too tenderly. Annese was immediately elected generalissimo of the people, but soon found the burden too much for his slender capacity. Ferocious and yet cowardly, cunning but not prudent, he could neither pursue the military operations against the enemy with success, nor rule the people who had placed him in a station for which he was incompetent.

Violent measures, always the resources of weak minds, were resorted to by Annese to dazzle the Neapolitans; the country was declared to be a republic, the arms of the King of Spain were thrown down and destroyed, and Annese, finding himself in a situation both dangerous and difficult, joined eagerly with the rest in calling the Duke of Guise to the highest office in the state, as doge or duke of the new republic.

The temporising policy of Mazarin had by this time become suspected by the Neapolitan people, and, impatient for some active assistance, and for some skilful and steady guidance, they pressed the Duke of Guise, who they fancied could afford them both at once, to enter upon the high post they offered him without any delay.

The duke received their deputies, but only in the presence of the French ambassador; and he took every step that he possibly could to commit the French government, by means of its diplomatic agents, to support vigorously the cause in which he embarked. He complains very much in his memoirs, that the representatives of his own court gave him but inefficient aid in some instances, and did all that they could to thwart him in others.

A fleet had been promised distinctly by Mazarin to convey the duke to Naples, and to second his efforts in that country; but so long was that fleet in appearing, and so impatient was the duke himself to set out upon the bold and hazardous enterprise on which he had determined, that in the beginning of November he resolved to wait no longer, but to embark, with his suite, on board any chance vessels he could find, and endeavour to make his way into Naples, notwithstanding the

presence of the Spanish armament. Contrary winds, however, prevented his embarking for several days, and it was not till the 13th of November that he was able to quit Rome. On the following day he put to sea with three brigantines and eight feluccas, with a small store of powder, which was very much wanted in Naples, and four thousand pistoles, the whole resources which he had to carry on the war against a powerful nation. After various adventures, which do not require to be recapitulated here, he arrived in the Bay of Naples, passed the Spanish fleet, and, under a furious cannonade both from the ships and the fortresses, he landed in the suburb of Loretto, on the 15th of November.

The joy of the people of Naples was as exuberant as if the duke had brought them real succour, and, with all that extravagance of expression which forms a point in their national character, but is in no degree a proof of depth of feeling or tenacity of affection, they went so far as even to offer incense before his horse. He was almost immediately led to the tower of the Carmine, from which Annese did not choose to venture forth; and there the real situation of Naples, in all its lamentable particulars, first broke upon the mind of the Duke of Guise.

He found Annese, the leader of the people, a small, mean coward, of the lowest capacity, and most brutal manners. The person who had taken upon himself the title of ambassador from France, and who had been recognised as such by the French legation at Rome, presented himself to the duke, both in manners and appearance, more like a madman just escaped from a lunatic asylum, than the representative of a great people. The city contained provisions for not more than a fortnight's consumption; all the funds, which had been raised from different sources, had been diverted to private purposes; instead of one hundred and sixty thousand men in arms, four thousand five hundred were all the effective soldiers that could be mustered; no ammunition remained but that which the Duke of Guise himself had brought; and disunion reigned amongst the leaders of the insurrection, while on the part of many treacherous communication with the Spaniards was reasonably suspected.

At the same time, the Duke of Guise found that the state of the country was still more unfavourable to his views than the state of the city. Before he quitted Rome, the pope had advised him, with wise foresight, to endeavour to gain the

nobility of Naples, who were at heart as much discontented with the Spanish government as the people were: he had pointed out that they had separated from the popular party solely from its extravagant proceedings and demands; and he had shown the Duke of Guise that his only hope of any very pre-eminent success was by making himself, as it were, the bond of union between the populace and the nobility. All the plans, however, founded upon such a view of the case had been rendered hopeless before this time by the prudent measures of Don Juan of Austria. He had at once appealed to the nobility of the kingdom of Naples, as adherents of the Spanish crown and opponents of the insurrection: he had called upon them to collect all their forces at Aversa, and had appointed a distinguished leader of the name of Tuttavilla as his lieutenant-general to command the troops thus assembled.

From the nobility so dealt with he met obedience almost universal. A fine body of men were collected, consisting principally of cavalry: almost all the towns which had followed the example of Naples in revolt were speedily reduced to obedience; the bands of insurgent peasantry were suppressed wherever they appeared, and the communications of the capital with the districts whence it usually derived its supply of provisions were easily cut off.

Such was the hopeless state of Naples at the time of the arrival of the Duke of Guise; and although the people hailed him as their deliverer, at once invested him with the supreme authority, and took an oath to him as duke or doge, nothing was to be seen around him but difficulty, danger, treason, enemies, and want. Under these circumstances, the duke certainly displayed very considerable abilities; and it is by no means impossible, that had Mazarin been both able and willing to assist him with a force at all commensurate to the undertaking, the kingdom of Naples might have been separated from the crown of Spain for ever.

Within the walls of Naples itself he had two enemies to fear of very different characters, but both most dangerous to his hopes. The first of these was Annese, who was relieved, indeed, by the arrival of the Duke of Guise, from the apprehensions he had entertained that the people would deliver him to the Spaniards; but who, the moment after he was so relieved, felt with envy and hatred that the greater part of his power had fallen at once into the hands of the French

prince. Though not daring *openly* to oppose the duke, to thwart his measures, or to treat with the Spaniards, there can be no doubt that from the very first he did all these in private: although at the moment when Guise arrived, the demagogue's apprehension of the very people he ruled was so great, that he insisted upon the French prince, much to his disgust, sleeping in the same bed with himself, while his wife lay on a mattress before the fire.

The other enemy was of a more dignified character. This was the Cardinal Filoramini, Archbishop of Naples, who, though wishing well to the Neapolitan people, and desirous of obtaining for them a reasonable degree of liberty, was by no means disposed to see them throw off entirely the rule of Spain, nor to prolong, for one moment after it could be avoided, the degraded state of anarchy into which they had fallen. He suffered them to make use of him, to a certain degree, in sanctioning by his presence and authority many of their proceedings, and he even invested the Duke of Guise with a consecrated sword, as generalissimo of the people of Naples; but it was evident that he thus acted unwillingly, and through the whole transactions which followed he waited anxiously in expectation of the moment when the power of Spain might be restored on reasonable terms.

Notwithstanding the unpleasant circumstances in which he was placed, the Duke of Guise proceeded energetically in the attempt to ameliorate the state of the city. He began by raising troops and causing them to be disciplined, and displayed considerable military skill in his operations against the Spanish posts within the city itself. The most important effort, however, on his part, was his endeavour to gain over the great body of the nobility, and induce them to make common cause with the people. For that purpose, he marched towards Aversa, accompanied by a body of three thousand five hundred infantry and six hundred horse, after having taken great precautions to insure the safety of Naples during his absence. In so doing he had two objects: the ostensible one was that of forcing the post of Aversa, and thus opening a road for conveyance of supplies to Naples; the more substantial one being that which we have already explained, of negotiating with the nobility in Aversa.

He began his march on the 14th of December, and before he reached Aversa, was led into a skirmish with the enemy, in which he had well-nigh suffered a severe defeat. Having

retrieved the day with much courage and skill, he entered into his negotiation with the nobles, which proved, however, unsuccessful. The Duke of Andria, who met him on the subject, treating his expectations of maintaining Naples against the Spaniards with civil contempt, reminded him of how unstable a foundation to build on was the favour of an ignorant and volatile mob, pointed to the instances of the Prince of Massa and Masaniello as warnings against such confidence, and offered, as the only concession which the nobles could make, to insure him a safe retreat to his own country, if he immediately abandoned the rash enterprise in which he was engaged.

The forces of the nobility had been reduced by various circumstances, and those which remained at Aversa were very inferior in number to those of the Duke of Guise. Finding himself frustrated in the one object, he determined to make a vigorous effort for the other, and, if possible, drive the adversary from Aversa. In the midst of his proceedings against that place, however, he received intelligence of the arrival of a French fleet in the Bay of Naples; and on the following morning, the Abbé Basqui reached his head-quarters, bringing him despatches from France. His expectations had been raised very high by the news of his countrymen's arrival; but his interview with the Abbé Basqui brought him nothing but disappointment.

The aid sent to him was in every respect disproportioned to the enterprise: the money was in bills upon Genoa, and amounted only to five hundred thousand francs; no corn was sent to feed the hunger of the inhabitants; two companies of horse were all the cavalry; eighteen hundred infantry only could be spared from the ships; and neither arms nor equipments for the regiments he had raised accompanied the fleet: the only really serviceable supply which the Abbé Basqui could promise consisted of forty thousand pounds of powder, with balls in proportion, and ten pieces of cannon. But the most mortifying part of the whole business was, that the French envoy and commanders were directed to address themselves to Annese, as chief of the Neapolitan republic, instead of to the Duke of Guise. There can be little doubt that to act thus formed a part of Mazarin's policy, as it entered into none of his views to recognise officially the Duke of Guise as leader of the Neapolitan people.

Immediately on receiving this intelligence, the duke seems

to have determined on removing every pretext for treating with Annese, by depriving the cowardly and avaricious traitor of all authority in the town. For that purpose, he left the Baron de Modena in command of the army before Aversa, and returned immediately to Naples. Annese, however, finding himself supported by the court of France, resisted the degradation which Guise intended to inflict upon him, created a tumult in the city, and was at length brought with difficulty to sign a resignation of his authority into the hands of the Duke of Guise, upon the condition, it would seem, of being still permitted to exercise it as that prince's lieutenant.

If, however, the promises of the Abbé Basqui so far fell short of the duke's expectations as greatly to disappoint him, the execution was so inferior to the promises, that he must very soon have despaired of any active assistance. Scarcely any one of the hopes held out were realised. The French envoys offered to disembark the troops which they had promised, but they would give him no money to pay them; and because he refused to receive them without any means of supporting them, except by the plunder of the inhabitants of Naples, it was afterwards pretended by Mazarin that he had shown himself unwilling to be assisted by France.

Doubtless the duke was ambitious; but, at the same time, the reasons which he assigns for dealing with the French envoys as he did, are quite sufficient to justify him; while the utter inactivity of the French fleet from the first, the pitiful amount of aid offered, and the difference between what was promised and performed, convict Mazarin himself of insincerity and bad faith. There can be no doubt that the force of the French fleet was sufficient to have engaged, if not to have destroyed, the Spanish armament; and yet all its efforts were restricted to the capture of a few merchantmen. Neither can there be any doubt that the dealings of the Abbé Basqui with Annese were calculated to overthrow the authority of the Duke of Guise, and, instead of consolidating the power of the republic, to raise up new factions and promote the very views of Spain.

The impression which rests upon my mind is, that Basqui was instructed by Mazarin to do all that he could, without promoting the views of the Duke of Guise, to secure the predominance of French influence; but that, by pursuing a too subtle policy, the agent frustrated the views both of his employer and of him to whom he was sent with a pretence of

assistance. At length, on the pretext of want of water, the French fleet weighed anchor and sailed away, leaving the condition of the Duke of Guise rather deteriorated than improved by the stay it had made in the Bay of Naples.

In the mean time, the siege of Aversa had continued; and the nobles, not being able to make head at that point against the forces of the insurgents, evacuated the city, which was immediately occupied by the Baron of Modena and his troops. Modena, however, was by no means a rigorous commander; a great many excesses were committed by his soldiery; the stores which had been expected from Aversa and the neighbouring magazines were either really much less than had been supposed, or were partly dissipated by the captors; and both the people of Naples and the Duke of Guise were much disappointed by the result of their victory. Guise, whose great object was, by the suppression of all licence and irregularity on the part both of the insurgents and the soldiery, to conciliate all classes and strengthen his government, was deeply mortified by the excesses committed at Aversa; and the disputes which ensued between him and his inferior officer tended to create new divisions in the distracted state over which he attempted to reign. Proceeding at once to Aversa, he exercised somewhat severely his power over the soldiery, and a distaste towards his person was thereby engendered amongst men but too little accustomed to discipline or subordination.

In the mean time, however, the exertions of the Duke of Guise in Naples itself had been in a great degree crowned with success. He put a stop to the system of pillage which Annese had encouraged; he restored the feeling of individual security in the city; he re-established courts of justice; he punished with the greatest severity any infraction of the law; he repressed the mutinous disposition of the soldiery; and he exerted himself with vigour and success to open the communication of Naples with the neighbouring country, and restore abundance to the city. In this latter endeavour he succeeded so far, that every sort of supply was rendered abundant except that of grain. But it must be remembered, that quarrels and disunion amongst the nobility, which had begun before the fall of Aversa, and had greatly contributed to that event, promoted immensely the objects of the Duke of Guise.

With the conduct of Tuttavilla the nobles were extremely dissatisfied, and the disputes which ensued between him and

the Count of Conversano proceeded to such a pitch as to paralyse the whole efforts of their forces. In all the skirmishes of the capital, too, the Duke of Guise gained considerable advantages; and he had contrived to win or to bribe all the principal leaders of banditti throughout the country, so as to have an immense number of small corps moving in different directions through the provinces, and suppressing the bands of the nobles wherever they appeared.

He was not less successful in frustrating the efforts of the enemy against his life and person in Naples. The Duke of Tursi, an officer high in the service of Spain, opened a negotiation with one of the officers of the people for the purpose, as the Duke of Guise asserts, of taking his life and obtaining possession of the city. The officer, however, and those who were engaged with him, communicated the whole of the facts to the Duke of Guise, and such measures were taken, that Tursi himself, with his grandson, and several other persons of distinction, were arrested and brought prisoners into the presence of the French prince. He treated his prisoners with much generous kindness, but, refusing all ransom, detained them, doubtless with the view of using them as hostages in case of necessity.

All these advantages gained by the Duke of Guise showed to Don Juan of Austria and his Spanish council that some great change of measures must be adopted; and, as the complaints of the people had been principally levelled at Los Arcos, it was at length determined that the viceroy should resign his authority into the hands of Don Juan, who should exercise the vice-regal power in his place till further orders could be received from the court of Spain. The viceroy consented unwillingly, and immediately after departed for Sardinia.

Don Juan assumed the reins of government; and while he sent back the fleet to Spain, to show his determination of not quitting Naples till he had restored it to tranquillity, he published a proclamation, in which he cast all the blame of past events upon the late viceroy, and held out every sort of gracious promise to the Neapolitans if they returned to obedience.

It is probable that this manifesto would have had little or no effect, had the people of Naples been united in themselves, or generally well-affected to the Duke of Guise; but such was by no means the case. His severity had made him many

enemies; the restraint which he imposed upon the tumultuous and the rapacious had added to the number: Annese, with Antonia Mazella, *Eletto del Popolo*, headed one party in the city against him; the Baron of Modena and a faction in the army were ready also to rise up against his authority; and a very great number of persons, both in the city and through the country in general, were anxious to return to the Spanish domination.

From time to time during these events, as Don Juan of Austria and his counsellors found many of the Spanish efforts unsuccesful, they attempted to enter into negotiations with the Duke of Guise himself, and to bribe him, by offers of the most tempting kind addressed both to his ambition and to his avarice, to abandon the cause of the Neapolitans. He resisted, however, firmly; and in the end determined, as he found that the people began to murmur on account of the Spaniards being left in possession of so many important points in the city itself, to make a general attack upon all their chief posts. For that purpose, he collected all the forces he could possibly muster, and brought into the city various troops of the banditti which had been lately acting under his orders. Amongst these, one band consisted of nearly three thousand men, armed in the most splendid manner, and clothed with black leathern jerkins, with velvet sleeves, breeches of scarlet and gold, silk stockings, and caps of cloth of gold or silver. Their belts were of velvet and ribbons: their black hair and whiskers were nicely curled; and in short, a better dressed, more worthless, or more cowardly troop, was never collected. The result of their efforts might have been anticipated. Nothing would induce them to put themselves in the position of danger; and, while the armed inhabitants of the city and the regular forces of the Duke made gallant but unsuccessful efforts to dislodge the Spanish forces, the banditti proceeded to plunder the houses and palaces; in reward for which, Guise afterwards caused their leader, called Paul of Naples, to be put to the question,* and then executed on his own confession of various crimes.

The attack upon the Spanish posts failed in every point; and this want of success encouraged Annese and the enemies of the Duke of Guise to undertake bolder measures against

* It has been generally said that he was put to the rack, and confessed there his crimes. Guise, however had the cruelty to put him to the question ordinary and extraordinary, after he had fully confessed all his crimes.

him. He, on his part, met them with the same arms; and there seems to be no doubt, that during the rest of his reign in Naples, he and Annese strove which should first poison or assassinate the other.

In the mean while, the Spanish govenment had signified its disapprobation of the removal of Los Arcos, and the assumption of his authority by Don Juan. The former viceroy however, was not restored; but the Count of Oñate was sent to replace him, and showed himself one of the most cautious and skilful politicians, but one of the most remorseless and sanguinary rulers, that had ever issued from the Spanish court. Don Juan still retained considerable authority, with the title of plenipotentiary, and the hopes of the party of the Duke of Guise were raised by the expectation of disunion between two men so differently constituted in all respects as the new viceroy and the Spanish prince. No such result ensued, however: Don Juan indeed, differed with the new viceroy in regard to some of their proceedings; but reason and argument were the only means which either employed to overcome the opposition of the other, and they worked together with equal skill, courage, and perseverance for the recovery of Naples.

Oñate brought with him aid of which Don Juan stood extremely in need—that of money; and the support of strong military reinforcements from Spain was soon added. Nothing could be more fortunate for the Spanish cause than the timely arrival of such a man, and of such additional means for the recovery of Naples: for although the Duke of Guise had been repulsed with loss in the great effort he had made in February, and had shown much inactivity in his military proceedings afterwards; though he was straitened in Naples for supplies of corn, and tormented by treacherous factions and tumultuous resistances of his authority; yet the effects of the reforms he had produced were beginning to be appreciated by the better class of citizens, and a complete revolution in his favour was working itself amongst the nobles.

Don Juan and Oñate felt all this; and their intrigues, edged with gold, were carried on more sharply than ever with Annese and other traitors within the town. The archbishop, too, gave them his calmer and more dignified assistance; and Guise daily discovered some new negotiation with the Spaniards, some new plot against his authority.

The greater part of the Duke's time was consumed in quelling discontent and putting down anarchy; but at length

he determined once more to resume active hostilities, and the 4th of April was named for an attack upon the island of Nisita. On this occasion took place one of the many curious instances of astrological predictions exactly verified at an after period.

On the morning of the 2nd of April, while the duke was still in bed, he was visited by Cocurullo, a famous astrologer, who had all along opposed the Spanish domination, but who now came to demand passports, in order to quit Naples, foreseeing, he said, that Fortune, though she smiled apparently, was about to quit the party he had espoused. The astrologer further informed Guise that he was menaced by the stars with imprisonment, though not with death; and in answer to the duke's doubts, expressed himself so convinced of the truth of his prediction, as to be willing to stake any sum on its fulfilment within eight days. The French prince, however, began his march at the appointed time, and gained some immediate advantages, which induced him to delay his return to Naples, though he received ample intimation from his partisans in the city that his ruin was likely to be the result.

The Spanish negotiations with Annese and other insurgents were now brought rapidly to the point; and a part of the wall of the city, near the Alba gate, having been weakened by the Spaniards beforehand, was thrown down on the night of the 5th of April, leaving a sufficient space for the passage of three thousand infantry and a small body of horse. Taken by surprise, the soldiers of the Duke of Guise made but little resistance at the entrenchments which he had constructed; and though a few scattered bodies of his partisans encountered here and there the Spanish forces, and shed their blood in support of the side they had espoused, it is evident that the whole people, either indifferent, terrified, or gained, offered no opposition which could delay the Spaniards for a moment. Before morning they were in possession of the whole city; and the Neapolitans, with the fickleness of folly or the hypocrisy of cowardice, rushed forth to welcome the Spaniards, and hailed them as deliverers.

The palace of the Duke of Guise, opposite the church of the Carbonnari, was attacked and plundered; but Oñate even in that moment of excitement and confusion retained all his foresight sufficiently to seize the private papers of the duke, and thus became aware of who had been the real enemies of

Spain, and of the share which each man in the realm had taken in the insurrection.

The Duke of Guise received the news of these events as he was waiting to see the garrison of Nisita march out; and instantly set off for Naples in the vain hope that his affairs were not so irretrievably lost as had been represented. He was soon too sadly convinced, however, that he had nothing further to seek but his personal safety. He tells us, indeed, that he entertained some hopes of gathering together his adherents, and carrying on the war in the Abruzzi; but he took his way, in the first place, towards Capua, which was also in the direct road to Rome.

At a short distance from the former place he was recognised and pursued by the troops of Luigi Poderico, one of his own companies of horse, which had been already gained by the enemy, keeping him in sight till a sufficient force of cavalry came up. As soon as the troops of the Spanish party appeared, however, the pursuit became more active, and, after a gallant resistance and prolonged efforts to escape, Guise was forced to surrender on the offer of quarter. He was immediately conducted to Capua, and at first was treated with respect and courtesy; but no sooner did the news of his capture reach the ears of Oñate, than he proposed at once to put him to death. In this bloody purpose he was opposed by Don Juan; but the efforts of that illustrious prince in his favour did not procure him a continuance of good treatment; and, after having been detained in a strict state of confinement at Gaeta, without comforts of any kind, and often without absolute necessaries, he was removed to Segovia, where he continued a prisoner for several years.

The proposal, indeed, to put him to death was renewed when he reached the Spanish shore; and a plausible excuse existed in the fact of his having waged war upon Spain, at the head of insurgent subjects, without any commission from another sovereign prince. The intercession of other potentates, however, and the mildness which characterised all the Spanish councils under Don Louis de Haro, not only saved his life, but softened his imprisonment.

In the mean time, Oñate trampled out the last sparks of resistance in the Neapolitan kingdom; found means to bring the avenging sword to the necks of Annese and all the other popular leaders, whether they had simply rebelled, or added after-treachery against their country to their first insurrec-

tion against their king; and in the end he drowned out the flame of liberty in the blood of eighteen thousand Neapolitans.

Another fleet bearing Prince Thomas of Savoy, was indeed sent out by Mazarin, for the purpose of reviving the French influence in Naples; but its efforts were as ineffectual and nearly as feeble as those of the fleet that preceded it, and the French minister was soon obliged to abandon all plans against Naples by the course of those domestic calamities which we have lately detailed.

CHAPTER XV.

State of Condé—Siege laid to Rhetel—Condé and the Archduke enter Picardy—Obliged to quit it—Conduct of the French and Spanish Governments—Arrest of the Duke of Lorraine—Harcourt reduced to Obedience—Stenay attacked—Surrenders—Siege of Arras—A whole Regiment destroyed by an explosion—Forcing the Lines of Arras—Further Successes of Turenne—Change in the Affairs of Condé—The Archduke and Fuensaldana recalled—Valenciennes besieged—French Lines before Valenciennes forced by Condé—Fine Retreat of Turenne—Further Successes of Turenne—Treaty with Cromwell.

A SINGULAR feature in the treaty for the surrender of Bordeaux was the tacit recognition, or rather admission, of strange and anomalous rights on the part of Condé, at the very time that the parliament of Paris were pronouncing against him a decree of high treason. That crime, the laws regarding which, in almost every country, and in almost every time, have been both absurd and iniquitous, of course extended itself from the leader to the soldiers; and, though, for the purpose of obtaining possession of a town, a fortress, or a district, kings and generals may have consented to spare the lives of rebels when they have fallen into their hands, I believe the fact of two thousand five hundred men, in arms, in the cause of a rebel, having been suffered not only to escape, but to traverse the whole realm of the very sovereign against whom they were fighting, and having been furnished with quarters and provisions, at the expense of that sovereign, while on their march to continue their rebellion in conjunction with the foreign enemies of the country, is without a parallel in history.

Their aid, however, was absolutely necessary to the support and even safety of Condé, who, on throwing himself into the arms of the Spaniards, had undoubtedly expected to find much greater confidence and support than he really met with. A letter from him to Don Louis de Haro is extant, dated from

his camp at St. Gevin, on Christmas-day, 1652. In this letter he complains bitterly that Spain had not fulfilled the promises which had been made to him. At that time, he states that the whole of the army of Flanders had been withdrawn from his command, as well as one half of the troops of Lorraine. He beseeches the Spanish minister to give strict orders that the promises which had been made to him should be fulfilled, that the whole forces in Flanders should be ordered to join him, if the whole army of the king marched to attack him, and that a party should be detached to support him if only a part of the royal forces opposed him; and he moreover beseeches him to cause the sums already due by treaty to be paid.

Don Louis de Haro, however, had no means of satisfying these demands: the troops, indeed, he could command to support Condé, but the money was not to be found in the coffers of Spain. Various signs too of failing fortune followed the hero of Rocroi: many of his friends fell off and quitted him, the chief of whom was La Rochefoucault, who, just at the time that D'Estrades began his movements in Guienne, sent messengers to Condé, for the purpose of disentangling himself from his connexion with that prince; and, having done so, immediately negotiated his own reconciliation with the French court. Gourville also left him, as we have seen, to follow fairer fortunes; and Condé bitterly felt the ultimate effects of the selfish and grasping conduct which he had displayed in his dealings with the government. As a great and extraordinary general, however, he continued still to mantain his reputation in the eyes of Europe, and vast efforts were at length made by the Spaniards to furnish him with the means of displaying his military talents to advantage.

The campaign of 1653 was opened first by the French. Condé had left in the town of Rhetel, which he had taken in the preceding campaign, the Marquis de Persan, who had so gallantly defended Montrond. The number of troops, indeed which Condé could spare even as a garrison for that important place was by no means sufficient to put it in security, though it was of the utmost importance to his cause to keep unbroken the strong line of fortified places which he possessed upon the frontiers of Champagne. Mouzon, Stenay, and Rhetel afforded an entrance into France from the north, whenever Spain could afford a sufficient number of men to strike a vigorous stroke with the prospect of success; but the loss of Rhetel would throw Condé back upon the

Meuse, and reduce him to a feeble hold upon the extreme frontier of France.

Turenne, to whom the army of the king was again confided, saw all the importance of Rhetel to the enemy, and, consequently, to himself; and though he could not bring his forces into the field till the beginning of June, he marched at once for Rhetel, while Condé, sick in body and ill at ease in mind, proceeded to Brussels, for the purpose of stirring up the Spanish government to energy and activity.

The archduke, however, displayed all the slowness of his national character, and somewhat of the petty ceremonial pride which marked the house of Austria. He demanded precedence of Condé in point of rank, and seemed inclined to spend that time in empty discussions of etiquette, which was so necessary for the preservation of the most important places in the hands of Spain. Rhetel was thus taken before anything could be done to prevent it, but the loss of that strong town seemed to rouse the Spaniards from their lethargy. The united armies of Condé and the archduke were immediately put in motion, and advanced with great rapidity upon Picardy, which had been left nearly undefended.

Turenne immediately began his march to oppose them, though at the moment he could only bring a force of twelve thousand men to act against a corps of twenty-seven thousand. Hastening towards the Oise, the French marshal was met at Ribemont by Mazarin himself, accompanied by the young king, and a council was immediately held for the purpose of determining what was necessary to be done. Contrary to the opinion of the majority of those present, Turenne obtained permission from the king to follow with his inferior force the powerful army of Condé, engaging to take up such positions as to ensure that he should not be forced to a battle, and yet keeping so near the enemy as to prevent them either from separating their troops, attempting any considerable siege, or penetrating far into France. This wise and prudent resolution having been adopted, he proceeded at once to execute it, with the same judgment with which it had been conceived.

It is not my purpose to enter into the minute details of campaigns; and it is only necessary to say, that after having marched and counter-marched through the greater part of Picardy for several weeks without being able to effect anything worthy of their forces or their name, followed through-

out all their movements by the watchful Turenne, and disappointed in every attempt by his presence, Condé and the archduke were obliged to quit Picardy and turn their arms in another direction.

While these military proceedings were going on, Mazarin did not fail to do all in his power to enfeeble the efforts of Condé, by tempting him with continual overtures of peace and reconciliation. Condé, however, was by this time acquainted with the artifices of Mazarin, and on being offered by the cardinal a number of advantages, together with the independent sovereignty of three or four small towns and districts, the prince replied, that he could content himself with being a prince of the blood royal of France, without seeking to be an independent sovereign; and that, moreover, the execution of Mazarin's promises depending entirely upon his convenience, he thought it best not to trust to them.

Finding his efforts upon Picardy vain, Condé, with his own troops, a body of Spaniards, and the army of the Duke of Lorraine, proceeded to the frontiers of Champagne, and attacked Rocroi. In order either to divert him from the siege, or to gain a compensation for the loss of the place, Turenne marched to the attack of Mouzon, which he took, while Condé captured Rocroi. The army of the king, however, had by this time been increased in numbers by the arrival of reinforcements from Guienne; and the siege of St. Ménéhould, which had been abandoned in the former campaign, was now determined upon by the minister.

It was not considered necessary, however, that Turenne should be there in person, and the siege was confided to two younger officers, whose disputes soon induced Mazarin to send Du Plessis Praslin, to take the command, while the court of France advanced to Chalons-sur-Marne. St. Ménéhould capitulated after a longer resistance than had been expected; and thus the honour of the campaign decidedly remained with France, which had taken three important places, while only one had fallen into the hands of Spain.

All these places had been forced to surrender with very great rapidity; and the Duke of York, then serving under Turenne, attributes such speedy success to the active energy of that great commander. The Spanish generals, he says, were in the habit of trusting to the reports of an inferior officer, and giving their orders without having visited the trenches themselves. Not so Turenne, who would see all

with his own eyes. He first reconnoitred the place in person; he marked out the spot for opening the trenches, and was present when it was done; he directed the course in which they were to be pushed, and he went to visit the works regularly in the morning and the evening: in the evening, to determine what was to be done during the night; in the morning, to see if his commands had been obeyed. He was always accompanied by the principal officer in command in the trenches; and during the night he invariably visited them once more himself, remaining a longer or a shorter time as his presence was required. Such conduct on the part of the commander-in-chief of course excited the activity and zeal of the inferior officers and soldiers; and by such examples were the armies of Louis XIV. formed and trained during the long and bloody contests which ushered in his reign.

The campaign of 1653 ended by the taking of St. Ménéhould; and Turenne placed his troops in winter-quarters, while Condé proceeded to Brussels in order to settle upon a surer basis his relations with the Spanish government. The troops of the Duke of Lorraine encamped in the neighbourhood of the Belgian capital; and some transactions took place, difficult to be clearly disentangled from errors and misstatements, but which considerably affected the course of the war.

An agreement was entered into between Condé and the Spanish government, the principal point in which was an engagement on the part of Spain to cede to Condé all towns taken by him within the frontier of France. It would appear that this stipulation either offended the pride or awakened the cupidity of the Duke of Lorraine, who made it the subject of remonstrance and threats. His conduct had, on various occasions, given bitter offence to Condé, and the Spaniards had long learned to consider him as a false and treacherous ally, whose pretended services were rendered null by the peculiar course of interested policy which he pursued.

We must remember that the whole dominions which this prince now possessed consisted in his army, the services of which he sold to whatsoever power chose to purchase it. With the court of France, even while serving Spain, he kept up constant negotiations; and in the field, it had been found that he took every opportunity to spare his own troops, and to expose those of his allies to the brunt of all severe service.

He was, in short, notoriously faithless and interested; and the Spanish government determined upon an act which, however expedient as a point of temporary policy, was not justifiable in the strict code of morality.

It was determined then—beyond a doubt with the consent and approbation of Condé—to arrest the Duke of Lorraine in Brussels, and to put at the head of his troops his brother Francis. This purpose was effected without much difficulty. He was arrested in the palace of the archduke, and sent off on the following morning to the citadel of Antwerp, but he contrived, we are told, to despatch a note, concealed in a loaf of bread, to the officer whom he had left in command of his troops. The commands which he thus conveyed were somewhat sanguinary, as might be expected from his situation, and were to the following effect: "Quit the Spaniards with all speed: kill all, burn all, and remember Charles of Lorraine!"

Some slight movement took place amongst the Lorrainese troops in consequence of the arrest of their duke; but the Count of Fuensaldaña proceeded at once to their camp, and both by distributing a considerable sum of money amongst them, and by informing them that he had sent for their Duke Francis to put himself at their head, easily quieted them. No further tumult took place, and Francis of Lorraine, who was not upon good terms with his brother, hastened to seize the offer that was made him, and take the command of the Lorrainese forces.

The campaign of 1654 began late on both parts, if we except from the general course of hostilities the proceedings of Maréchal de la Ferté, who had marched early to the banks of the Rhine, to restrain the efforts of the Count de Harcourt. That officer, as we have mentioned, had quitted the army of Guienne, and was now in open rebellion. He had made himself master of several strong towns, and was in a condition to effect an important diversion in favour of Condé; so that it was absolutely necessary to suppress his insurrection before any great effort could take place on the side of Flanders. La Ferté, however, soon captured Beffort and Tannes; Phillipsburg had already been regained, and the siege of Brissac had commenced; when favourable terms induced the Count of Harcourt once more to return to his duty, and the army of La Ferté was left at liberty to act in other quarters.

Immediately after the coronation of the young king, which took place upon the 7th of June, Mazarin and Turenne deter-

mined to attack the town of Stenay, which had been so long held by Condé, and which now formed his only remaining point of strength on the frontiers of France. Bellegarde, in Burgundy, had been forced to surrender in the preceding year, after having been defended in the most gallant manner by the famous Boutteville, afterwards Marshal Duke of Luxembourg; and that great officer had then hastened to join Condé, by whom he was received with open arms. Stenay, therefore, was the only place which remained to be taken; and Fabert, with a considerable force, was directed to commence the blockade of that city in the month of May.

It would appear that at first the intention of the court was to employ Turenne and the whole forces of the crown in the siege; but the movement of the Spanish armies towards Arras prevented that purpose from being executed, and a great body of the troops, intended originally to attack Stenay, remained at a distance, under Turenne, Hocquincourt, and La Ferté. Orders were then given to Fabert to besiege the place, and the command-in-chief was assigned to him.

The town, which was strongly fortified and furnished with a citadel, contained a garrison of nearly one thousand five hundred men; those in the city being commanded by a German of the name of Colbrand, and those in the citadel by the Count de Chamilli, an officer attached to Condé. Against such a place, with such a garrison, Fabert, in the first instance, could only lead somewhat less than two thousand men; but Louis XIV. had determined himself to be present at the siege, and he hastened thither shortly after it had commenced, bringing with him a very large reinforcement. He arrived at Sedan on the 26th of June; but still the troops that could be detached from the other army for the attack of Stenay, we are assured, did not amount to five thousand men.

The trenches were opened between the 3rd and 4th of July, and two attacks were made against the citadel, with lines of communication between them. This was the first time that such a method had been practised; and though it has been frequently asserted that parallels, and what were called cavaliers of the trenches, were first employed at the siege of Maestricht, by Vauban, in 1673; it would seem, by all accounts, that such was not the case, and that perfectly distinct parallels were traced by Fabert on this very occasion. Vauban, it is true, served under him; but at that time Vauban was an inferior officer of only one-and-twenty years of age.

The appearance of the young monarch at the siege of a town belonging absolutely to his revolted cousin, of course gave the greatest encouragement to the small army that was brought against it; but, while the operations before Stenay were going on with vigour and success, the news arrived that Condé, with the Archduke Leopold, and an army of thirty-two thousand Spaniards, had advanced against Arras, and were rapidly commencing their proceedings for the purpose of formally investing that town.

Undoubtedly Condé imagined that his attack upon a city of such great importance as Arras, would immediately cause the siege of Stenay to be raised; and Mazarin, as soon as he heard of the movements of the Spanish army, despatched an officer to Turenne, offering to quit the siege of Stenay, and reunite the whole forces of the crown under that great general, for the purpose of delivering Arras. Turenne replied briefly, that provided Hocquincourt and La Ferté would act cordially with him, the troops under his command, to the number of fourteen thousand, would be sufficient to raise the siege of Arras.

The attack of Stenay then continued; and, while Mazarin followed closely the person of the young king, Le Tellier was sent to Peronne to keep up the communication between the generals of the two armies. From Sedan Louis XIV. proceeded immediately to the camp of Fabert, and, in inspecting the operations of the army, displayed great courage and coolness, going over the works, and questioning the officer in command in regard to everything that he saw. He took a pleasure also in giving some orders himself from time to time: and it would appear that it was by his command that an attempt was made to effect a lodgment on the counterscarp of one of the bastions, which was executed, but the lodgment was obliged to be abandoned on the following day, from the tremendous fire kept up by the citadel.

Having seen the attempt made, Louis immediately yielded to the reasons of Fabert, and agreed that the siege should proceed by a slower but less sanguinary process. The sap was then had recourse to, and a number of operations of great interest took place under the immediate eyes of the king. In the space of two days, one of the bastions was mined three times without success; but, on the fourth attempt, a breach was effected, which was soon enlarged by the batteries, and, on the 6th of August, the garrison demanded to capitulate.

Fabert immediately applied for orders to the king, who was in the camp; but the monarch left it to the general who had so well conducted the siege, and the honours of war were granted to the garrison. It was also permitted to join Condé, while the Count de Chamilli and his son received a free pardon upon condition of taking the oath of allegiance to their king. The court then moved to Peronne; while the army under the Count de Grandprè, marched to join Turenne, who had by this time received several other reinforcements.

The siege of Arras, had in the meantime, been carried on with vigour on the part of Condé; but with anything but vigour on the part of the Spaniards. It is said, even, that Condé proposed to the Spanish generals to attack the armies of Turenne and La Ferté, as soon as he heard they were marching towards him; but that he could not prevail upon his colleagues to do so, notwithstanding the great superiority of their forces.

The first operations of Turenne tended only to straiten the enemies in their camp, and by cutting off all supplies of provisions, to force them to raise the siege of famine. In the course of his operations for that purpose a number of adventures and encounters occurred, of which, however, we shall take notice but of two; the first of which only requires to be mentioned, as, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary accidents on record. One night, when Turenne and the Duke of York had gone forth to visit the outlying posts of the army, they saw at a distance a sudden and extraordinary light, which they found, from the report of the sentinels on the hill, proceeded from a spot in the neighbourhood of Lens. When the matter was inquired into on the following day, it was found that a whole regiment of the enemy's cavalry, each of the soldiers carrying a sack of powder behind him, together with eighty horses loaded with hand-grenades, had been blown up together; and for several days a dismal spectacle was presented by the unfortunate wretches who had suffered being brought into the camp by the peasantry, when any signs of life remained. It was afterwards found that the accident had occurred by a quarrel between one of the soldiers and the commanding officer, who, turning round, had discovered that the man, who was drunk, had a lighted pipe of tobacco in his mouth. Perceiving the danger of the whole regiment, the officer rode up to him, and took the pipe from him gently, throwing it down

upon the ground; but the next moment, giving way to his indignation, he struck the man several blows with the flat of his sword. The drunken man, forgetting all respect, drew a pistol from his saddle-bow; and, levelling it at the officer, who instantly threw himself off his horse, he fired. Either the wadding or the flash caught the powder behind him, and in a moment it blew up. The soldiers, it appears, were all close to each other; the fire communicated from one to another along the line, and the whole regiment, together with the horses carrying the grenades, and the peasantry who drove them, were destroyed, with the exception of the officer, who had thrown himself from his horse in the first place, and a very few of the troopers, who recovered from the tremendous wounds they received.

The second incident worthy of notice in the course of the siege was the enterprise of Boutteville, who, notwithstanding all the efforts of Turenne and Hocquincourt, contrived to bring up large supplies to the camp of Condé.

The royal army having been reinforced and rendered very nearly equal in number to that of the enemy, Turenne determined to attack the Spaniards in their lines. Almost all his officers were opposed to their commander: they represented to him the great additional strength the Spanish army derived from its entrenchments, the courage and the skill of the general opposed to him, and the tremendous results to France, and especially to Mazarin, if he should be defeated in such an attempt. Turenne, however, held his determination firmly; though, in his reply to their objections, he acknowledged that he should never dream of making the attack upon the side where Condé commanded. He gave a ridiculous picture, too, of the apathy of the Spaniards; saying, that having had the misfortune of serving with them, he knew exactly what would be their conduct, and predicting that, in the reconnoissance in force which he was about to make of their lines, in the first place Don Fernando Solis, whose quarters he intended to reconnoitre principally, would not dare to undertake anything against him till he had sent to inform the Count of Fuensaldaña of the enemy's near approach: that the count would then either send or go to the archduke, and that the archduke would thereupon call Condé, from the other side of the town, to come and hold a council of war; before the conclusion of which, the whole affair would be over, and the French army safe within its own camp.

The reconnoissance was made, and everything took place precisely as Turenne had predicted; but still his own officers hung back, and he could not persuade them of the feasibility of an attack upon the enemy's lines. Hocquincourt proposed only to make a false attack; and La Ferté endeavoured, by the most unjustifiable means, not only to intimidate Turenne, but to spread apprehensions regarding the result amongst the soldiery.

Turenne, however, was warned by the governor of Arras that he could hold out but a few days longer, and, in spite of all opposition, he prepared to execute his purpose on the eve of St. Louis's day. The principal attack was to be directed against the quarters of Don Fernando Solis; but three false attacks were also ordered to be made, to distract the attention of the enemy. The hour appointed was a few minutes before daybreak, and having joined his own division to that of La Ferté, whom he most doubted, he passed the scarp, and marched towards the point where he was to meet the Maréchal Hocquincourt. Having arrived, however, at that spot, he found Hocquincourt himself, with his staff, but not his division, which had been delayed by some accident on the road. Hocquincourt besought him to wait; but Turenne would not risk so hazardous a step, and marched on.

The night was fine, the moon had just gone down, and the enemy had not the slightest idea of the march of the French army. Turenne, therefore, advanced at once towards the Spanish lines, and came within half-cannon shot before any sign revealed his approach to the enemy. At that moment, however, the matches of the infantry (for it was customary at that time to use matchlocks) were lighted, and, being blown up brightly by the cold wind, created a sort of illumination all along the line.

The enemy immediately fired three cannon-shots, and lighted billets throughout their entrenchments; while the French infantry hurried on to attack the lines, supported by the cavalry. But the apprehensions which La Ferté had spread amongst them did not fail to produce their effect: the soldiers could scarcely be brought to follow their officers, and had anything like preparation or presence of mind been displayed by the Spaniards, the attempt of Turenne would certainly have failed. The cavalry had been drawn up behind, to support the infantry; and a large body under the Duke of York drew the fire of the enemy upon themselves, by sound-

ing their trumpets and cymbals in order to encourage the foot by the prospect of immediate aid.

The division of La Ferté, however, was repulsed at all points, and took refuge behind the cavalry; but one or two regiments of the division of Turenne having forced their way into the lines, and having, by means of fascines and other implements which had been brought with them, constructed a road for the cavalry, the Duke of York, at the head of several squadrons, made his way through the entrenchments quite to the lines of contravallation, on the other side. All seems, even by the duke's own account, to have been confusion and insubordination. Several strong bodies of Spanish cavalry remained drawn up in front of the French without attempting to make any movement to check their progress; and the Italian and Lorrainese forces, which were those against whom the real attack was directed, were thrown into complete disorder. But a great part of the French army also was in confusion; and many of the regiments entirely dispersed for the purpose of pillaging. The division of La Ferté, however, had by this time been in some degree rallied by its commander; and it now entered by the apertures through which the forces of Turenne had passed, while Turenne himself, almost abandoned by his own troops, was gathering together what men he could upon an eminence, for the purpose of obtaining command of the field, and restoring a degree of order to the attack.

Such was the state of affairs at daybreak, when Condé, by no means deceived by the false assault made upon his quarters, hastened to the field, where the real attack was going on, and seeing, with the glance of military genius for which he was so famous, that the lines on the side of Don Ferdinand de Solis were absolutely forced, and his troops in a state that nothing could remedy, he paused at the tent of the archduke, and bade him prepare for retreat, while he hastened to attack in turn the assailants, in order to give time for the Spanish army to evacuate the lines without danger.

Putting himself at the head of a considerable corps of cavalry which he had gathered together, he cut to pieces, as he advanced, several bodies of the French who were busily pillaging the tents of the Duke of Lorraine; and then, seeing that La Ferté was descending in great disorder from a high ground which might have given him great advantages, he charged him at once at the head of his cavalry, routing him completely

He next detached several bodies of cavalry on either side in order to sweep the lines of the French infantry; which was performed with such extraordinary success, that had Condé been supported by a general of even ordinary activity, or opposed by a general of less skill and vigour than Turenne, he would probably have regained the day, and driven back the enemy with disgrace and loss.

No infantry, however, but a very small body which he had with him, came up to support him. The archduke was fulfilling his directions to the letter, and preparing for retreat; Fuensaldaña, though a good officer, was incapable of conceiving the genius or seconding the movements of Condé; and, in the mean while, Turenne brought up seven pieces of cannon to the heights which La Ferté had so foolishly abandoned, and, while he gathered round him all the troops that he could to make another great and vigorous effort if necessary, he opened a fire upon the squadrons of Condé, which soon obliged him to retire from the position which he had previously occupied.

Turenne gazed anxiously to see whether any bodies of infantry would come up to the support of the enemy's squadrons; and, seeing that none did so, and that the cavalry did not advance, he turned to those around him, saying, "Condé must be there amongst them! Any inferior general would have pushed his enemy with the cavalry alone." Almost at the same moment Condé was gazing at the heights occupied by the French, and he exclaimed to one of his staff, "There must be Turenne in person! Any one of the others would have come down from the hill to charge me, and would have lost the day." Thus doth genius appreciate genius.

Turenne was too well aware of the generalship of Condé to attempt to attack him in his retreat. The garrison of the place, however, was less wise,—a large body of cavalry issued forth to harass the prince as he passed the river; but Condé wheeled upon them, and nearly cut them to pieces before they could make their escape. The Count de Marsin covered most gallantly the retreat of the whole army; Fuensaldaña and the archduke having by this time fled towards Douay with but a very few squadrons of cavalry. Marsin also effected his retreat in good order and unpursued; and the whole of the Spanish army, with but little loss, considering the severity of the engagement, was reunited shortly afterwards at Cambray. That in which they suffered most was

their baggage and their artillery: Condé and his division alone saved their waggons,—all the rest lost everything.

Such was the famous forcing of the lines of Arras;* an event so important, not only from the magnitude and danger of the undertaking, but from its effect upon the political state of France, that I have dwelt upon it more at length than I am in general inclined to do upon events of the kind.

There can be very little doubt, indeed, that the stability of the government of Mazarin greatly depended upon the result of the sieges of Arras and Stenay. In the latter instance he had brought the person of the king to the scene of action, and had risked the royal dignity with a very inferior force to that usually employed against a place of such importance. The acquisition of that town gave great lustre to the ministry of Mazarin, and his conduct during the siege obtained a degree of respect for his person, he having exposed himself on several occasions to great personal danger. The loss, however, of the still more important town of Arras would have done far more to discredit the arms of France and the government of the cardinal than the capture of Stenay had effected in its favour. The only means of saving it were the bold and hazardous means employed by Turenne; and, had he failed, it is more than probable the discontent of the people would soon have renewed those scenes of opposition which had proved so fatal to the minister before. Turenne, however, succeeded; and the conviction of Mazarin's unshaken and unchangeable good fortune seemed to take such hold upon the French nation, that his power, notwithstanding numerous conspiracies, was never after in real danger even for an hour, except during the severe illness of the king.

The rest of the season was passed by Turenne in the capture of Quesnoy and Binches, and in ravaging the neighbouring country; but he constantly conducted his marches with such extreme care and caution, that Condé, though he watched his adversary with attention and followed him with a large force, could not find any opportunity of attacking him to advantage.

In the following year, 1655, Landrecy was taken by Turenne and La Ferté; but the only incident worthy of particular notice which occurred during the siege, was the escape of Louis XIV. from a great danger. He had advanced as far as La Fère, and retained with him only two companies of

* 25th August, 1654.

his guards, while the siege of Landrecy was proceeding. In order to alarm Turenne and cause him to decamp from before that place, Condé detached a considerable body of troops into Picardy, which approached so near La Fère, that a little activity would have put the Spaniards in possession of the person of the French king, and a long train of courtly prisoners. That activity was not displayed, however: Louis obtained tidings of the enemy's approach, and the court fled in haste from La Fère.

Landrecy surrendered shortly after, and the Spanish army retired behind the Sambre and the Scheld. The young king of France then joined his forces, and marched with them into Hainault. It now became necessary to force a passage across the Haine, which the enemy appeared disposed to maintain; but the bad conduct of the Spanish generals gave the French an opportunity of effecting their purpose unopposed, and had also nearly caused the destruction of the rear-guard led by Condé, after the French had passed the Scheld.

About the same time, Turenne, in sending a report to Mazarin, who had remained with the court several leagues behind, seems to have indulged, probably by accident, in some expressions approaching bravado. This was the only charge of the kind ever made against him; but the despatch was intercepted; and Condé, highly indignant at being represented as flying shamefully before the French, wrote a severe letter to Turenne, remonstrating against such boasting. The towns of Condé and St. Guislain, however, were captured by the French army, and attested fully its success. But Turenne was recalled sooner than usual from his military efforts against the Spaniards, by a dangerous conspiracy, in which Hocquincourt took a principal share, and which it was necessary to find some means of cutting short before the evil was irremediable. For the purpose of aiding the court, he hastened back then in the beginning of November, having taken care to fortify strongly the places he had obtained.

The reverses which the Spanish arms had suffered in the Low Countries caused the court of Madrid to determine upon changing the system pursued in that quarter; and the remonstrances of Condé undoubtedly tended greatly to produce the removal of the Archduke Leopold and Fuensaldaña from the supreme direction of affairs. Before they went, however, the prince had the mortification of seeing the troops of Lorraine abandon his cause and that of Spain, and go over with

their leader, Duke Francis, to swell the armies of the French monarch. Some slight advantages were gained by France also on the side of Catalonia, which, though they tended in no great degree to keep that province from returning to its allegiance, served to depress the spirits of the Spaniards, and to raise those of the French.

A most advantageous change, however, of the affairs of Condé was about to take place in the government of the Low Countries. The archduke, as we have seen, was recalled, as well as his creature Fuensaldaña; and the gallant Don Juan of Austria, the natural son of the King of Spain, who had never yet displayed anything but the very highest qualities, was appointed to command in Flanders. He was far more likely to assimilate in every respect with Condé than those who had preceded him; and an immediate change became apparent in the military proceedings in that country. No sooner had Don Juan, and the Marquis of Caracena, who accompanied him, arrived at the scene of action, than every sign of cordiality and union appeared between them and the prince, and their first effort was to retaliate upon Turenne the exploit which he had performed in forcing the lines of Arras.

Before the Spanish army had repaired the loss it had sustained by the defection of the troops of Lorraine, and was in a state to take the field, Turenne was in activity; and, after threatening Tournay, he turned short to lay siege to Valenciennes. In that large and important city there was a garrison of but two thousand two hundred men, and the united army of Turenne and La Ferté proceeded to invest it as rapidly as possible, but not without encountering some difficulty from the marshy nature of the ground upon the banks of the Scheld, which was rendered more impracticable by an artificial inundation produced by the Spaniards. All these impediments, however, were overcome by the perseverance of the French general, who finished his line of circumvallation by a strong dike and bridge of fascines, and by a bridge of boats across the Scheld.

Condé and Don Juan saw the proceedings against Valenciennes with apprehension: but that apprehension did not in the least diminish their energy, and they made the most extraordinary efforts to bring their forces into the field without loss of time. Assembling their troops at Douay, they marched immediately upon Valenciennes, and boldly took up their quarters within half cannon-shot of the French lines. Their

army, however, was still considerably inferior to that of the King of France, and they remained some time watching the progress of the siege, and giving occasional alarm to the French camp by movements as if preparatory to attack.

It was evident to Turenne, and to the whole army, that if any attempt were made to force his camp, it would be on the side of Marshal de la Ferté: but though for two days before it did occur every cause existed for believing that the attack would take place immediately, La Ferté took few precautions, and was found unprepared.

On the night of the 16th of July, Condé and Don Juan passed the Scheld, and approaching La Ferté's quarters unperceived, attacked his lines upon a wide front, and carried them at every point in a moment; while the Count de Marsin, with a smaller force, fell upon the quarters of Turenne, but was repulsed with loss. Turenne himself, knowing which was the real attack, sent two regiments in all haste to support La Ferté; four others followed almost immediately; and the great general hastened thither in person as soon as he saw that his own quarters were in a state of defence.

Everything, however, by this time was lost upon the side of La Ferté. A great part of his troops were cut to pieces; the two regiments which Turenne had sent were entirely defeated, the four others had come to a halt, and the rest of La Ferté's division was flying in confusion towards the bridge, which, embarrassed with baggage and artillery, afforded very scanty means of escape. La Ferté himself was taken, with more than four hundred officers, and nearly four thousand soldiers: only two thousand men of that division escaped, all the rest being either killed, drowned, or made prisoners.

The infantry of Condé's army had received orders to march direct for the city, while the cavalry cleared the ground of the broken masses of the enemy; and by the time Turenne had regained his own quarters, loud shouts of joy from Valenciennes, and a furious cannonade upon the trenches, announced that the city had been relieved, and that a sortie was about to take place.

Turenne next endeavoured to withdraw the regiments which were at that time in the trenches; but the Spaniards were by this time amongst them, and very few escaped. Nothing then remained for him but to abandon his camp and make the best retreat he could; and this he effected with great skill and in-

finite presence of mind. Nevertheless, a good deal of confusion, of course, took place; though it was soon remedied by the judgment and calmness of the great French commander, and he made good his retreat under the cannon of Quesnoy.

It has been asserted that Condé wished to attack Turenne in his retreat, and afterwards proposed to do so even in his camp, but that Don Juan opposed such a bold proceeding. I find no proof, however, of the fact; and it is clear that the retreat of Turenne was effected with a degree of skill which might well deter his enemies from attacking him, although his loss before Valenciennes had been much more severe than theirs before Arras.

The town of Condé was immediately attacked by the Spanish army, and was captured without any effort on the part of France to save it; and after various movements for the purpose of forcing Turenne to a battle, Condé and Don Juan laid siege to St. Guislain. But the moment they had quitted the neighbourhood of Sens, the French army advanced to La Capelle, and laid siege to that small town, in which the Spaniards had established an important magazine. The Count de Schomberg, who commanded in St. Guislain, held out gallantly against the efforts of the Spaniards; and intelligence arriving in the Spanish camp of the attack upon La Capelle, Condé instantly marched to its relief. He was too late, however; Turenne was already in possession of the town, and the loss before Valenciennes in some degree repaired.

Nevertheless, St. Guislain was not destined to remain long in the possession of the French. Early in the following year, 1657, it fell into the hands of Condé; but Turenne, in retaliation, suddenly turned upon Cambray, after having so well concealed his design that not the slightest preparation had been made to oppose him. The place was almost without a garrison; but tidings of what had occurred reached Condé in time: putting himself at the head of three thousand horse, he marched to Bouchain, and though Cambray was already invested, cut his way through the French army and threw himself into the besieged place.

After such an event, Turenne knew that it would be vain to pursue the siege, and he accordingly quitted Cambray at once, and marched to St. Quentin, in order to cover the frontier, which was menaced by the assembling of the Spanish army at Mons. Having been joined by large reinforcements,

and encouraged by the presence of the court, a part of the French army moved under the command of La Ferté to besiege Montmedi, while Turenne, with the rest of his forces, covered its operations. After a gallant resistance of two months, while the Spanish forces made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Calais, Montmedi surrendered. St. Venant was afterwards taken; and Turenne then hastened to lay siege to Mardyke, a city which he had covenanted to give up to England as soon as it was taken. He had now, however, in his army five thousand British soldiers, who had been sent to reinforce his army by the Protector Cromwell, in accordance with a treaty, the terms of which shall be mentioned after we have noticed the progress of the domestic affairs of France during the period occupied by the military events just related.

CHAPTER XVI.

Rejoicings on Mazarin's Return—His Niece married to the Prince de Conti—Attempt upon his Life—Condé condemned for High Treason—Coronation of the King—Louis reprimands the Parliament—De Retz escapes from Prison—Pursuits of the young King—Olympia Mancini—Treason of Hocquincourt—Treaty between Mazarin and Cromwell—Secret Negotiations at Madrid—Spain nobly asserts the Interests of Condé—Death of Pomponne de Bellièvre—Marie Mancini—Christina of Sweden—Murder of Monaldeschi.

THE return of Mazarin from exile spread, as we have shown, universal joy and satisfaction through the metropolis of France; and the conduct that he pursued tended to increase the sudden affection with which a volatile people had been seized towards him. During the trial of Choissy, which has been already briefly noticed, several of the members of the parliament who had been exiled were allowed to return; and the lowliness with which the minister appeared to bear his high fortunes told well with the populace, after having displayed the vigour and pertinacity of his determination.

On the 29th March, 1653, the city of Paris gave a magnificent festival expressly in honour of his return; and Mazarin feasted in the grand hall of that Hôtel de Ville where so many furious resolutions had been proposed against him. The space around was filled with the fair dames of the city, to whom he sent sweetmeats from the table, and the Place de Grève was crowded to suffocation with a multitude who rent the air with acclamations whenever he appeared, and to whom he cast handfuls of silver from the windows, which were doubtless as much to their taste as the sweetmeats to that of the ladies of Paris.

An honour, however, which was of much greater importance to him in a political point of view, and for which he had laboured with zeal and skill, was now about to fall upon him. The intrigues which he had carried on in Bordeaux for the purpose of attracting the Prince de Conti's attention towards his niece had not been, as we have seen, without effect; and very soon after the prince had arrived at Pezenas, more direct negotiations were commenced on his part, in order to obtain the hand of Anna Maria Martinozzi. Mazarin had ever been aware that any direct proposal in regard to the alliance must come from Conti; and the only difficulty which had existed had been in inducing the prince to take that step; for, possessed as the cardinal was of the whole power of the crown, the dowry of his niece could easily be made such as to render her an object worthy of the pursuit of any one. Though not so beautiful as some of her family, she was, we find, handsome and agreeable in person; and the dawn of the many virtues which she afterwards displayed was already sufficiently apparent to promise happiness seldom found in the marriages of princes. At length, by the efforts of Sarasin and others, the marriage was arranged, and took place on the 22nd of February, 1654, in the chapel of the Louvre. Honours and dignities were showered upon the bridegroom, and, as he was anxious to distinguish himself in arms, he was put at the head of the French army in Catalonia, where he was not exposed to the chance of encountering his more celebrated brother.

At the very same time, however, that Mazarin was marrying his niece to one of the princes of the house of Bourbon, he was proceeding against the other with a degree of virulence and energy which he very seldom showed in his resentments: but Condé had been accustomed to insult as well as to injure him, and they now mutually levelled accusations against each other, in which, perhaps, both were entirely mistaken.

It would seem that the life of the prince was attempted by some assassins in Brussels, and that he loudly accused Mazarin of having been the instigator of the crime. The character of the cardinal, however, is strongly opposed to such a supposition: he was by no means a man of blood, and the calm march of time has cleared away all suspicion of that deed from his character. Not very long after his return from exile, an attempt was made upon his own life. Two persons of the name of Ricous and Berthaut were seen for several days

lingering about the Louvre, and examining all the passages of the building in such a manner as to excite suspicion; and it would seem that they had determined to conceal themselves at the foot of a back staircase, by which Mazarin passed every night, between his own apartments and those of the royal family, and to stab him with their knives as he came down. But the eyes of many persons having been attracted towards them by their previous conduct, their design was discovered, and they were arrested and tried at the Arsenal. The proofs against them were sufficiently strong to call down the most severe sentence of the law; and suspicion attached to a great number of people, principally old adherents of the Prince de Condé, amongst whom Gourville was one, though he afterwards justified himself to Mazarin, and, as we have shown, served him well in the business of Bordeaux.

The actual culprits were condemned to be broken on the wheel; and the sentence says that they shall be broken alive as *hired* assassins. The cardinal made many efforts, whether sincere or affected we cannot tell, to induce the king to spare their lives; but both Louis and the queen held out, and all that the minister could obtain was, that the criminals should be strangled before the horrid process of the wheel commenced.

The cardinal, however, it would seem, attributed the whole design to Condé; and although there existed already upon the registers of the parliament a formal declaration of high treason against the prince, Mazarin was determined to carry the royal charge against him through all the forms of a trial; and, in order to give it every degree of solemnity, the king himself was present upon several occasions while it was proceeding before the parliament. Many of the peers who were related to the prince besought the monarch to suffer them to absent themselves from the court; but that grace was denied to them, and, after waiting a certain length of time to give Condé an opportunity of returning and standing his trial, as he was commanded to do, sentence was pronounced against him and all his principal adherents, declaring them guilty of high treason, forfeiting all their estates, charges, and governments to the crown, and condemning them to death by the axe.

In the course of the same year in which this sentence was pronounced, took place the coronation of the king; and Mazarin, beginning better to understand the people of France, neglected nothing that could give that air of dignity

and authority both to the crown itself and to the office of prime minister, which has often proved much more effectual in preventing resistance than the real power of the crown in repressing it. Into the details of the ceremony it is needless to enter. Louis remained still under the tutelage of Mazarin, and Anne of Austria even yielded to her minister almost all the power she had regained.

In the mean time, with the aid of Fouquet, the cardinal applied himself to remove in some degree the financial difficulties of the state; and in 1653 a new system, affecting the provincial government, was introduced, which remained in force for many years, and which greatly contributed to give the minister, and afterwards the king, a more full and immediate command over the provinces. It may be remembered, that at the commencement of the troubles of the Fronde there had existed in each province an intendant of finance. The parliament, however, insisted on those officers being recalled; but so much benefit had accrued to the minister from their services, that immediately upon Mazarin's return it was determined not only to re-establish them, but to add great additional powers to those they before possessed. They now received the title of intendants of justice, police, and finance; and their functions are very well explained by that name.

Some of the financial measures of the minister, however, gave great dissatisfaction to the people, especially one in regard to a new coinage, which the parliament wisely viewed with a jealous eye. The king, having issued a decree upon the subject, held his bed of justice in the parliament, and caused the edict to be verified. No sooner was he gone, however, and had proceeded to Vincennes to hunt, than the parliament again assembled for the declared purpose of examining the king's decree. This had by far too strong a resemblance to the former proceedings of that body to be suffered to pass unnoticed; and Mazarin represented to the king that some act of vigour was absolutely necessary to put a stop to the evil which was likely to ensue.

The king instantly set out, without changing his dress; and, entering the parliament house in his large hunting-boots, with his horsewhip in his hand, and followed by all the officers of his household in the same costume, he astonished the whole parliament, by exclaiming, in the tone of a master that would be obeyed, "The evils which your assemblies have

produced are well known; I order you to cease those which you have begun upon my edicts. I forbid you, the first president, to suffer such assemblies, and every one here present to demand them." Having thus spoken with an air and look of majesty which well announced what the boy would become at a later period, the king rose, and quitted the hall without waiting for any reply.

Though struck and astonished, the parliament hesitated and wavered, and ultimately showed some disposition to resist; but the opportune arrival of Turenne, and the firm reasoning of that great officer with the chief president, induced him to take such steps as put a stop to proceedings, the natural tendency of which was to plunge the country once more into civil war.

The great mover of all former factions, De Retz, remained in prison; but he still contrived to give both trouble and apprehension to Mazarin. His uncle having died, he became metropolitan, and every effort was made to induce him to resign his archbishopric. He took rapid measures, however, for securing it to himself, and for carrying on the administration thereof by means of his vicars. To remove him from the neighbourhood of the Parisian clergy, whom he contrived to excite to continual applications in his favour, he was conveyed to the citadel of Nantes, then under the government of the Maréchal de Meilleraie. From that prison, however, he contrived to make his escape in August, 1654, and intended, it would appear, to have proceeded with all speed to Paris, to have cantoned himself once more in the archbishopric, and there to have set the court at defiance. He was prevented from effecting all this by an accident. Having been let down from the walls of the fortress, he found a horse prepared for him, but was so much agitated and alarmed that he does not seem to have had full command over himself. Seeing a party of soldiers, whom he supposed to be drawn up in order to prevent his escape, he produced a pistol, which, according to his own account, frightened his horse by the sun flashing on the barrel. Joly, however, declares that the cardinal was too frightened himself to sit the animal, which was powerful and fiery. At all events he was thrown, and dislocated his shoulder; but, getting up again immediately, he remounted and effected his escape. The pain which he suffered from the injury which he had received prevented him from proceeding very far, and, instead of making his way to Paris, he

was obliged to betake himself to a place of security, where he was treated somewhat unskilfully, and detained so long that no hope of executing his scheme with regard to the capital remained. He thence fled to Spain, and made his way across that country to Rome, but did not return to France for a considerable number of years, by which time age had deprived him of that virulent energy which had rendered him a scourge to the country that gave him birth.

Many anxieties undoubtedly attended the course of Mazarin; and one of those anxieties was the approach of Louis XIV. to manhood. It was natural to suppose that a young monarch full of life and ambition should, under any circumstances, be desirous to take possession of the power that was his own, and to exercise it at his own discretion. The precocity, too, of the young monarch, both in bodily and in mental powers, his height, his strength, his majestic demeanour, all at the age of sixteen or seventeen, giving him the appearance of much greater maturity, might well teach Mazarin to imagine that the royal authority would speedily be snatched from his hands by one who already could in a moment assume the monarch, and, though inspired by others, could act and speak as from himself. As the superintendent of the education of the royal children, the cardinal would have had a difficult task to perform, a difficult choice to make between his duty and his ambition, had the rectitude of his heart been equal to the subtlety of his mind. Such was not the case, however, and his most strenuous efforts were directed to keep the mind of the king in such a state as to render his own authority permanent.

To have withheld Louis XIV. from the exercises and pleasures of manhood would have been impossible; and Mazarin soon saw that such was the case. He suffered him, therefore, to seek the trenches before a besieged city, to put himself at the head of his armies, and to venture near the battle-field; he encouraged him to ride, to fence, to run at the ring, and to practise all those manly exercises for which he had a natural taste, and in which he acquitted himself with kingly grace. But these were not such dangerous pleasures, at least for the minister, as might have been found in the reading of history, in the study of policy, or in inquiries into the system of finance.

From those studies Mazarin took care to withhold him, by constant pleasures and pastimes, and by everything that could

distract him from serious thought, and occupy the corporeal rather than the mental man. There is a deeper accusation against that minister still—an accusation so dark, so horrible, that when we read it, we are inclined to thank God it is but an accusation. La Porte, the valet-de-chambre of the young king, in a letter to Anne of Austria, written in the course of the year 1653, repeats, in distinct terms, a charge which he had before made against the cardinal, and which had brought about his own disgrace. He asserts that a great crime had been committed by the minister upon the king's person. He calls upon the king, as the sufferer, to come forward and verify his assertion; and he demands an immediate inquiry into the facts, for his own justification. The inquiry never took place; La Porte remained in disgrace till after the death of the queen and Mazarin, and then was permitted to return. The charge thus remains merely a charge; but it is too distinct, and too strongly supported by the following facts, that it was never investigated, that it was never refuted, and that the king suffered the accuser to return to his court, not to deserve a place in every history of Louis XIV.*

In many amusements, innocent enough, but dangerous in their consequences, Louis XIV. passed all the time which he did not spend in the camp. Balls, dances, parties of pleasure, jousts, feats of arms, gallant spectacles, pomp, pageantry, and ostentation, were all brought round the young monarch by Mazarin, who endeavoured to form in him a taste for every light and frivolous amusement; but while he thus directed the pursuits of the king, he gave a bent to the pursuits of the people also.

It might be, perhaps, with ambitious views, if not directly upon the crown itself, at least upon many high stations which surrounded it, that Mazarin kept his nieces continually at the court, and brought them constantly into the society of the young monarch. This frequent proximity naturally produced a degree of intimacy between Louis and the fair Italians, which soon ripened, it would appear, into more tender feelings between Louis and Olympia Mancini, sister of the Duchess of Mercœur. When she first arrived in France she had been remarkably plain; but as she grew up to woman-

* It seems to me that Voltaire has mistaken entirely the character of the crime with which La Porte wishes to accuse Mazarin. The words which he makes use of to describe it are, "l'attentant manuel qu'on venoit de commettre sur sa personne."

hood, a great change took place in her personal appearance. Her eyes were always fine, and she had now grown plump and much fairer than when she first appeared; her colour was high, but delicate; her cheeks were remarkable for the beautiful dimples that appeared in them; her hands, arms, and feet were small and beautiful; and she added to all these attractions considerable wit, talent, grace, and a strong desire to please. Such is the account given of her by Madame de Motteville; and with this girl constantly in the society of the king, it might well be expected that he should become enamoured of her. Mazarin gave every encouragement, and the queen afforded every opportunity. At all the balls of the court the king led out Mademoiselle de Mancini or the Duchess de Mercœur to dance. They read, they sat, they talked together, and the king applied himself eagerly to learn Italian, for the sole purpose of speaking a tenderer language than his own with her who had first taught him the feelings which he wished to express therein. We shall have occasion to mark the course of this passion hereafter; it is sufficient to have noticed it here, amongst the acts of Louis's youth.

We must now turn to matters which affected France more seriously for the time being. The intrigues in favour of Condé had never ceased in Paris; and they had been principally carried on by the beautiful Countess of Chatillon, whose charms and whose wit were alike employed in favour of a man who had, in one instance, at least, acted towards her with as much disinterested generosity as love. She had been suspected, whether with or without cause does not appear, of having taken a considerable share in that conspiracy, the object of which was to assassinate Mazarin; and her eyes were continually turned towards any one whose discontent rendered it probable that they would listen to proposals in favour of the exiled prince. Nobody at first sight seemed less likely to be gained to his cause than the well-known Maréchal de Hocquincourt, who had been always opposed to him and devotedly attached to Mazarin. He had, indeed, more than once proposed to put Condé to death, and had shown a far greater degree of virulence against him than had been displayed by any other partisan of the court. But his favour had waned by this time; he had not very much distinguished himself at the forcing of the lines of Arras, and for some months he had not been employed at all, when the

agents of Condé and the Duchess of Chatillon endeavoured to engage him, not only to serve the prince, but to give up to him the two important fortresses of Peronne and of Ham, of which he was governor. His negotiation with Condé and the Spaniards had advanced very far ere it was discovered; and Mazarin, as soon as he gained intelligence of the transaction, sent in haste for Turenne, to concert the means of preventing the treacherous general from introducing the Spaniards into the strong places in which he commanded.

Turenne hastened to Compiègne; and Mazarin laid the whole case before him, proposing that the royal army should immediately march to Peronne. Turenne, however, objected. Condé was already in the neighbourhood with a large force: it was ascertained that he had been authorised by the Spanish government to offer Hocquincourt four hundred thousand crowns, and to create him lieutenant-general of all Flanders; and it was to be apprehended that these tempting offers would be accepted at once, if the slightest intimation reached the marshal's ears that the royal army was on its march towards Peronne. To prevent such an intimation from reaching him, if the army did march, was nearly impossible: troubles were at the same time beginning to show themselves in Paris; and the least false step would have brought a foreign army into the heart of the kingdom, and would have thrown the whole of France once more into a state of civil war.

Turenne, therefore, advised the minister to temporise and endeavour to effect by negotiation with the faithless governor of Peronne that which it would have been difficult to effect by force. Messengers were accordingly sent to Hocquincourt, bearing such offers from the court of France as were judged likely, in combination with the dangers of his position, to outweigh the temptations held forth to him by the Spaniards, and to induce him to give up a trust of which he had proved himself unworthy.

The negotiations lasted for fifteen days; and, with effrontery scarcely paralleled, Hocquincourt received and treated with the envoys of Spain and the envoys of France as if he had been an independent monarch. He made no attempt to conceal his proceedings; but he kept a watchful eye upon the movements of the French armies, while the presence of the Prince of Condé within two leagues of Peronne afforded him

always a resource in case the King of France should attempt coercive measures after milder ones had failed. His treaty with Mazarin, however, was at length concluded; and he agreed, upon receiving two hundred thousand crowns and the assurance of perfect safety, to resign his government of Ham and Peronne to his son, and retire to his estates in the interior of the country. Hocquincourt thus escaped unscathed, though criminal in the highest degree: but Mazarin avenged himself upon the fair intriguante who had laboured so hard to seduce him from his duty, and by arresting her, put a stop for the time to the Duchess of Chatillon's strenuous efforts in favour of Condé.

About this time took place one of the most important political transactions of Mazarin's life; a transaction for which he has been censured severely, and perhaps with some degree of justice; though we must remember that the peculiarities of his situation, and the difficulties which long civil wars had brought upon France, rendered sacrifices expedient and even necessary, which at any other period would have been impolitic and disgraceful. The transaction to which I allude is the treaty entered into between France and the English Commonwealth under Cromwell. The monarchical writers of those times bitterly attacked Mazarin for treating at all with the great usurper who had assumed the leading staff of the English people; but the really disgraceful part of the transaction was the stipulation to expel from France, and withdraw all countenance from those unfortunate princes who after their father's death had found an asylum in the dominions of Louis, and one of whom at least had served him gallantly in the field.

No sooner had the authority of Cromwell appeared so far confirmed as to give the surrounding monarchs reason to believe that it was established on a durable basis, than both France and Spain courted the new ruler of the great maritime power, and each sought to engage him to take her part in the quarrel which existed between them. Spain was the first to recognise his power in a formal manner, and many were the advantages and prospects of advantage held out to Cromwell by Don Louis de Haro; but the keen mind of the usurper led him to see far greater benefits to be derived from an alliance with France, if France were inclined to submit to his exorbitant demands. From the first he treated both powers

with haughty indifference—dictated rather than required, and by appearing to hesitate between the two, stimulated both to greater concessions.

Some time before, he had demanded and obtained from the States of Holland a treaty of peace, by which it was agreed that the family of the Prince of Orange should be for ever excluded from the office of stadtholder; and two of the principal points which he now required France to concede were, the expulsion of the Duke of York from the dominions of the King of France, and the denial of all aid from that monarch to Charles II. Mazarin temporised, and did all that he could to avoid yielding; but his feeble though subtle policy was scarcely able to oppose any barrier to the keen and cutting proceedings of the Protector; and, after having, there is every reason to believe, fomented, as far as possible, the ill-will which existed between Holland and England, and which broke out into open war in 1652, he yielded to almost all the demands of Cromwell for the purpose of detaching him from the interests of Spain, and obtaining his powerful support in the military operations taking place in Flanders. With this before his eyes, he even suffered the Protector to interfere in the affairs of France respecting the Huguenots of Nismes; he abandoned to their fate the Catholics of England, in whose favour some faint efforts had been made; and he forgot the rites of hospitality and the dues of kindred, and abandoned Charles II. and his brother to their fate.

Cromwell engaged to support France in her wars against Spain, and not to cease his efforts till the latter country was forced to agree to a reasonable peace. It was stipulated that Dunkirk, Gravelines, and Mardyke should be attacked by the united forces of the allies; and that Dunkirk and Mardyke, two most important places on the coast, should be ceded to England, while Gravelines remained in the hands of France. Such sacrifices, under such circumstances, immediately called forth furious murmurs from the French people, and a thousand libels issued from the press, exaggerating the baseness and evil policy of Mazarin. One especially, attributed justly to the pen of De Retz, displayed in the strongest colours the indignity which France suffered in giving up two strong continental towns to which she could lay such just claim, and in allowing herself to be compelled by an usurper to drive forth from her bosom the two grandchildren of Henry IV.

Mazarin pursued calmly his way, however, undeterred by anything that might be said against his policy. While Bordeaux, the French ambassador in London, was carrying on the negotiations which ended in this treaty, Mazarin, whose ultimate view was to effect a peace with Spain, and to obtain a claim upon that country itself by a union between the young king of France and a daughter of the Spanish monarch, despatched the secretary of the state, Lionne, to Madrid, in order to propose the alliance which he had so much at heart, as the price of a peace between the two countries. The French ambassador took his way to the Spanish capital in the disguise of a merchant; but he was furnished with fuller powers to treat than were perhaps ever before given to a secret envoy. On arriving in Madrid, he immediately opened a communication with Don Louis de Haro; and so privately was everything carried on, that for several weeks no one in the Spanish capital was aware that a French minister had arrived in Spain, except the king, Don Louis himself, and one or two of his most confidential advisers.

The great difficulties of the negotiation lay in the claims of the Prince de Condé. Spain was, it is true, reduced to the utmost point of depression: she was exhausted both of finances and of men; England had declared against her; the Duke of Lorraine had quitted her service with his army; internal dissensions in France no longer caused a diversion in her favour, and everything was to be lost and nothing gained by protracting the war. Don Louis de Haro, however, with generous pertinacity adhered to all his demands in favour of Condé, and required, as an essential point in the proposed treaty between France and Spain, that a stipulation should be inserted, assuring to that great prince pardon and oblivion for the past, with a promise of being re-established in all his estates, honours, charges, and governments. With this Lionne would not comply, repeating twenty times,* "Pass me those three words, charges and governments, and the peace is concluded." Don Louis adhered inflexibly, however, to his demands, and upon it the negotiation was broken off.

It is to be remarked, however, that although Lionne so

* See his own despatch.

positively asserted that peace would be concluded if the words he objected to were omitted, it is by no means certain that his expectations would have been realised. There still remained to be determined, whether the hand of the infanta would or would not be given to Louis XIV., and whether France would or would not agree to abandon all interference in the matter of Portugal.

The affairs of Spain in the Low Countries were, as we have shown, beginning to wear a better appearance, and the exclamation of Anne of Austria, when she heard of the defeat of Turenne before Valenciennes, that it was not to be expected that success would always attend the French arms, showed that the court felt their confidence somewhat diminished. Of course, the spirits of the Spaniards were raised; but the successful negotiations of Mazarin with England, and the appearance of a large reinforcement from Great Britain in the French camp at St. Quentin, which took place in 1657, more than counterbalanced any successes which Spain had obtained.

A still greater advantage, too, was being slowly attained by the French prime minister; namely, the complete control of both parliament and people in the French metropolis. From time to time, indeed, the parliament would take the opportunity of his absence with the armies to make some efforts to regain its former power; but now a thousand voices were ready to declaim against its insolent interference in affairs of state, and members of its own body were the first to point out its folly in attempting to struggle with the will of the king. The death of Pomponne de Bellièvre, in 1657, who had succeeded Molé as the chief president, and who was the only man, we are told, that Mazarin ever feared sufficiently to court constantly, deprived the parliament of its last great support; while the minister was daily increasing his own strength by the alliances he formed with the principal families of France. One niece was already married to the Duke of Mercœur; and thus a bond of union was established between himself and the house of Vendôme, which was strengthened about this period by his reconciliation with the Duke of Beaufort. The Princess de Conti allied him to the royal family; and her sister connected him with the ducal house of Modena. Olympia Mancini, too, after having been long the object of the youthful regard of Louis XIV., seeing

that there was no probability of the crown of France falling on her brow, accepted, in 1657, the hand of the son of Prince Thomas of Savoy, to whom the county of Soissons had descended from his mother the Princess of Carignan; and left her place in the king's affections to be filled up by her sister Mary.

Her marriage, indeed, gave that sister advantages which she herself had not possessed; for there can be little doubt that the queen, though she had not thought fit to put a stop to the intimacy between her son and the niece of Mazarin, had seen with much apprehension the attentions which he paid her. When she found, however, that he suffered Olympia Mancini to marry the Count de Soissons without any appearance of mortification, she became reassured in regard to his conduct, and beheld, without even tacit opposition, the commencement of a far more serious passion for the younger sister. Mary and Hortense had as yet been kept at a distance from the court; and Mary had been placed for some time in a convent, at the earnest desire of her mother, who wished her to embrace a life of devotion.

The father of these young women, we find from Madame de Motteville, had been celebrated as an astrologer, and had predicted that his daughter Mary would prove the cause of great dissensions. Her personal appearance, however, when she was introduced at the court of Anne of Austria, did not seem to imply that the dissensions she was foredoomed to cause would proceed from love. She was at that time remarkably plain and extremely thin, and possessed none of those graces and attractions which might justly have caused alarm to Anne of Austria.

About the time of Mary Mancini's appearance at the court of France, the French capital was visited, for the second time, by the personage who rendered herself so celebrated by abdicating a throne she disgraced, and devoting herself to the pursuit of pleasure, under the pretence of philosophy. If it be part of the duty of monarchs to set an example of virtue to their subjects, Christina of Sweden was unworthy of filling the throne of Gustavus Adolphus; and we might honour the severity of her judgment of herself, had her abdication proceeded from consideration for her subjects, and not from the volatility of a depraved and licentious mind. She had, from the commencement of the civil wars of France, taken much

interest therein, and had endeavoured to mediate, unsolicited, between the contending parties. Her mediation had been rejected with brief thanks by all; but after her abdication, as she passed through Brussels, she sought eagerly to see Condé, who was the great hero of her imagination. At the same time, she refused to grant him the same ceremonial honours which she yielded to the Archduke of Austria. Such a pitiful and unphilosophical instance of her clinging to the shadow of royalty, after she had cast away the substance, had the effect which might be expected on the mind of Condé, and he refused to visit her till she agreed to make no distinction between him and the archduke.

She afterwards appeared at the court of France, in 1656; and at the request of Charles Gustavus, to whom she had resigned the Swedish throne, she was received with high honours. A letter from the Duke of Guise is extant, detailing the appearance of the northern heroine at the time of her entering the French territories. After some other remarks upon her person, he says, "She has one shoulder high; but she conceals that defect so well by the absurdity of her dress, her demeanour, and her actions, that one might lay wagers about it. Her face is large, without being out of proportion; all the features are so also, and strongly marked; the nose aquiline, the mouth large enough without being disagreeable, her teeth passable, her eyes fine and full of fire; her complexion, notwithstanding some marks of the small-pox, brilliant and fine enough; the form of the face tolerable, but accompanied by a head-dress very singular. It is a man's wig, very thick and much turned up on the forehead, very thick at the sides, and below thin and pointed: the top of the head is a tissue of hair, and the back has something of the head-dress of a woman. Sometimes she wears a hat; her bodice, laced behind and slanting, is almost made like our pourpoints; her shift coming out all round above her petticoat, which she wears but badly fastened up, and not too straight. She is always very much powdered, with a world of pomatum, and never wears gloves. She is shod like a man; and she has a man's voice and tone, &c. &c." "I believe," he adds after some more remarks, "that I have omitted no part of her portrait, except that she sometimes wears a sword and a buff jerkin, that her wig is black, and that she has nothing upon her bosom but a scarf of the same colour."

Notwithstanding all her singularities, she contrived to win greatly upon the affections of Anne of Austria during her first visit; but other reports and manifold stories intervened, and having returned to France not long after, without announcing her approach, she received an intimation that she must halt at Fontainebleau, her residence in which place she signalised by ordering her attendant Monaldeschi to be put to death in the gallery of the Stags. The fault which drew down upon him the sanguinary wrath of Christina has never been very clearly ascertained; but it would appear that some treacherous indiscretion on his part, regarding the intrigues of his depraved mistress, either with himself or with Sentinelli, brother of her captain of the guard, ultimately produced his death. His letters were stopped; and, furnished with proofs of his fault, Christina sent for a priest named Father Mathurin, and, having caused Monaldeschi to be brought into her presence, she accused him of treason, and ordered him to prepare for death by confession to the priest. The unhappy man prayed for his life in vain, and refused to confess to the priest whom she had sent for to witness the horrid act. In order to compel him to confess, she ordered the captain of her guard to wound him before he killed him, which he accordingly did, after he and the priest had both carried Monaldeschi's petition for life to the libertine but inexorable woman, who had prepared everything for putting him to death. The unhappy man then confessed; and, while Christina, in a chamber within hearing, remained laughing and talking and ridiculing her attendant's cowardice, the captain of the guard performed his bloody task, running his sword through the throat of Monaldeschi, who wore a concealed coat of mail, and drawing it backwards and forwards till he was dead.

Notwithstanding this dreadful act, for which there was no more palliation than for any murder committed by a common cut-throat, she was suffered, at her earnest entreaty, to visit Paris once more, and was then sent out of France, followed by universal disgust.

Towards the end of 1657, the political world of France was greatly agitated by reports of Mazarin's ill health; and, on his return from the army, whither he had accompanied the young king, the alteration in the minister's appearance was remarkable. The physicians suspected the disease to be the stone, and for some time eager cabals and intrigues proceeded

in the French capital regarding the place of him whom all men prophetically converged to the grave. But repose, skilful treatment, and, more than all, perhaps, continued success, restored Mazarin to health for the time, and, early in the year 1658, he was prepared to accompany the king to the army, and to open that campaign which crushed the last hopes of Spain.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

AN

ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF BOOKS CONTAINED IN

BOHN'S LIBRARIES.

Detailed Catalogue, arranged according to the various Libraries, will be sent on application.

ADDISON'S Works. With the Notes of Bishop Hurd, Portrait, and 8 Plates of Medals and Coins. Edited by H. G. Bohn. 6 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

ÆSCHYLUS, The Dramas of. Translated into English Verse by Anna Swanwick. 4th Edition, revised. 5*s.*

—— **The Tragedies of.** Translated into Prose by T. A. Buckley, B.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

AGASSIZ and GOULD'S Outline of Comparative Physiology. Enlarged by Dr. Wright. With 390 Woodcuts. 5*s.*

ALFIERI'S Tragedies. Translated into English Verse by Edgar A. Bowring, C.B. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

ALLEN'S (Joseph, R. N.) Battles of the British Navy. Revised Edition, with 57 Steel Engravings. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. History of Rome during the Reigns of Constantius, Julian, Jovianus, Valentinian, and Valens. Translated by Prof. C. D. Yonge, M.A. 7*s.* 6*d.*

ANDERSEN'S Danish Legends and Fairy Tales. Translated by Caroline Peachey. With 120 Wood Engravings. 5*s.*

ANTONINUS (M. Aurelius), The Thoughts of. Trans. literally, with Notes and Introduction by George Long, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS 'The Argonautica.' Translated by E. P. Coleridge, B.A.

APPIAN'S Roman History. Translated by Horace White, M.A., LL.D. With Maps and Illustrations. 2 vols. 6*s.* each.

APULEIUS, The Works of. Comprising the Golden Ass, God of Socrates, Florida, and Discourse of Magic. 5*s.*

ARIOSTO'S Orlando Furioso. Translated into English Verse by W. S. Rose. With Portrait, and 24 Steel Engravings. 2 vols. 5*s.* each

ARISTOPHANES' Comedies. Translated by W. J. Hickie. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

ARISTOTLE'S Nicomachean Ethics. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by the Venerable Archdeacon Browne. 5*s*.

—— **Politics and Economics.** Translated by E. Walford, M.A., with Introduction by Dr. Gillies. 5*s*.

—— **Metaphysics.** Translated by the Rev. John H. M'Mahon, M.A. 5*s*.

—— **History of Animals.** Trans. by Richard Cresswell, M.A. 5*s*.

—— **Organon;** or, Logical Treatises, and the Introduction of Porphyry. Translated by the Rev. O. F. Owen, M.A. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

—— **Rhetoric and Poetics.** Trans. by T. Buckley, B.A. 5*s*.

ARRIAN'S Anabasis of Alexander, together with the **Indica.** Translated by E. J. Chinnock, M.A., LL.D. With Maps and Plans. 5*s*.

ATHENÆUS. The Deipnosophists; or, the Banquet of the Learned. Trans. by Prof. C. D. Yonge, M.A 3 vols. 5*s*. each.

BACON'S Moral and Historical Works, including the Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, Henry VII., Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Henry Prince of Wales, History of Great Britain, Julius Cæsar, and Augustus Cæsar. Edited by J. Devey, M.A. 3*s*. 6*d*.

—— **Novum Organum and Advancement of Learning.** Edited by J. Devey, M.A. 5*s*.

BALLADS AND SONGS of the Peasantry of England. Edited by Robert Bell. 3*s*. 6*d*.

BASS'S Lexicon to the Greek Testament. 2*s*.

BAX'S Manual of the History of Philosophy, for the use of Students. By E. Belfort Bax. 5*s*.

BEAUMONT and FLETCHER, their finest Scenes, Lyrics, and other Beauties, selected from the whole of their works, and edited by Leigh Hunt. 3*s*. 6*d*.

BECHSTEIN'S Cage and Chamber Birds, their Natural History, Habits, Food, Diseases, and Modes of Capture. Translated, with considerable additions on Structure, Migration, and Economy, by H. G. Adams. Together with SWEET BRITISH WARBLERS. With 43 coloured Plates and Woodcut Illustrations. 5*s*.

BECKMANN (J.) History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins. 4th edition, revised by W. Francis and J. W. Griffith. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

BEDE'S (Venerable) Ecclesiastical History of England. Together with the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. Edited by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. With Map. 5*s*.

BELL (Sir Charles). The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression, as connected with the Fine Arts. By Sir Charles Bell, K.H. 7th edition, revised. 5*s*.

BERKELEY (George), Bishop of Cloyne, The Works of. Edited by George Sampson. With Biographical Introduction by the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P. 3 vols. 5*s*. each.

BION. *See* THEOCRITUS.

BJÖRNSON'S Arne and the Fisher Lassie. Translated by W. H. Low, M.A. 3*s*. 6*d*.

BLAIR'S Chronological Tables Revised and Enlarged. Comprehending the Chronology and His-

tory of the World, from the Earliest Times to the Russian Treaty of Peace, April 1856. By J. Willoughby Rosse. Double vol. 10*s*.

BLAIR'S Index of Dates. Comprehending the principal Facts in the Chronology and History of the World, alphabetically arranged; being a complete Index to Blair's Chronological Tables. By J. W. Rosse. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

BLEEK, Introduction to the Old Testament. By Friedrich Bleek. Edited by Johann Bleek and Adolf Kamphausen. Translated by G. H. Venables, under the supervision of the Rev. Canon Venables. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

BOETHIUS'S Consolation of Philosophy. King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of. With a literal English Translation on opposite pages, Notes, Introduction, and Glossary, by Rev. S. Fox, M.A. 5*s*.

BOHN'S Dictionary of Poetical Quotations. 4th edition. 6*s*.

—— **Handbooks of Athletic Sports.** In 8 vols., each containing numerous Illustrations. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

I.—Cricket, Lawn Tennis, Tennis, Rackets, Fives, Golf.

II.—Rowing and Sculling, Sailing, Swimming.

III.—Boxing, Broadsword, Single Stick, &c., Wrestling, Fencing.

IV.—Rugby Football, Association Football, Baseball, Rounders, Fieldball, Quoits, Skittles, Bowls, Curling.

V.—Cycling, Athletics, Skating.

VI.—Practical Horsemanship, including Riding for Ladies.

VII.—Camping Out, Canoeing.

VIII.—Gymnastics, Indian Clubs.

BOHN'S Handbooks of Games. New edition. In 2 vols., with numerous Illustrations 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

Vol. I.—TABLE GAMES:—Billiards, Chess, Draughts, Backgammon, Dominoes, Solitaire, Reversi, Go-Bang, Rouge et Noir, Roulette, E.O., Hazard, Faro.

Vol. II. — CARD GAMES: — Whist, Solo Whist, Poker, Piquet, Ecarté, Euchre, Bézique, Cribbage, Loo, Vingt-et-un, Napoleon, Newmarket, Pope Joan, Speculation, &c., &c.

BOND'S A Handy Book of Rules and Tables for verifying Dates with the Christian Era, &c. Giving an account of the Chief Eras and Systems used by various Nations; with the easy Methods for determining the Corresponding Dates. By J. J. Bond. 5*s*.

BONOMI'S Nineveh and its Palaces. 7 Plates and 294 Woodcut Illustrations. 5*s*.

BOSWELL'S Life of Johnson, with the TOUR IN THE HEBRIDES and JOHNSONIANA. Edited by the Rev. A. Napier, M.A. With Frontispiece to each vol. 6 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

BRAND'S Popular Antiquities of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Arranged, revised, and greatly enlarged, by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., &c., &c. 3 vols. 5*s*. each.

BREMER'S (Frederika) Works. Translated by Mary Howitt. 4 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

BRIDGWATER TREATISES.

Bell (Sir Charles) on the Hand. With numerous Woodcuts. 5*s*.

Kirby on the History, Habits, and Instincts of Animals. Edited by T. Rymer Jones. With upwards of 100 Woodcuts. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

BRIDGWATER TREATISES *continued.*

Kidd on the Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Chalmers on the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man. 5*s.*

BRINK (B. ten) Early English Literature. By Bernhard ten Brink. Vol. I. To Wyclif. Translated by Horace M. Kennedy. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Vol. II. Wyclif, Chaucer, Earliest Drama Renaissance. Translated by W. Clarke Robinson, Ph.D. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Vol. III. From the Fourteenth Century to the Death of Surrey. Edited by Dr. Alois Brandl. Trans. by L. Dora Schmitz. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Five Lectures on Shakespeare.** Trans. by Julia Franklin. 3*s.* 6*d.*

BROWNE'S (Sir Thomas) Works Edited by Simon Wilkin. 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

BUCHANAN'S Dictionary of Science and Technical Terms used in Philosophy, Literature, Professions, Commerce, Arts, and Trades. 6*s.*

BURKE'S Works. 8 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

I.—Vindication of Natural Society—Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, and various Political Miscellanies.

II.—Reflections on the French Revolution — Letters relating to the Bristol Election — Speech on Fox's East India Bill, &c.

BURKE'S WORKS *continued.*

III.—Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs—On the Nabob of Arcot's Debts—The Catholic Claims, &c.

IV.—Report on the Affairs of India, and Articles of Charge against Warren Hastings.

V.—Conclusion of the Articles of Charge against Warren Hastings—Political Letters on the American War, on a Regicide Peace, to the Empress of Russia.

VI.—Miscellaneous Speeches—Letters and Fragments—Abridgments of English History, &c. With a General Index.

VII. & VIII.—Speeches on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings; and Letters. With Index. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— Life. By Sir J. Prior. 3*s.* 6*d.*

BURNEY'S Evelina. By Frances Burney (Mme. D'Arblay). With an Introduction and Notes by A. R. Ellis. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Cecilia.** With an Introduction and Notes by A. R. Ellis. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

BURN (R.) Ancient Rome and its Neighbourhood. An Illustrated Handbook to the Ruins in the City and the Campagna, for the use of Travellers. By Robert Burn, M.A. With numerous Illustrations, Maps, and Plans. 7*s.* 6*d.*

BURNS (Robert). Life of. By J. G. Lockhart, D.C.L. A new and enlarged Edition. Revised by William Scott Douglas. 3*s.* 6*d.*

BURTON'S (Robert) Anatomy of Melancholy. Edited by the Rev. A. R. Shilleto, M.A. With Introduction by A. H. Bullen, and full Index. 3 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each

BURTON (Sir R. F.) Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah. By Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, K.C.M.G. With an Introduction by Stanley Lane-Poole, and all the original Illustrations. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

*** This is the copyright edition, containing the author's latest notes.

BUTLER'S (Bishop) Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature; together with two Dissertations on Personal Identity and on the Nature of Virtue, and Fifteen Sermons. 3*s*. 6*d*.

BUTLER'S (Samuel) Hudibras. With Variorum Notes, a Biography, Portrait, and 28 Illustrations. 5*s*.

—— or, further Illustrated with 60 Outline Portraits. 2 vols. 5*s*. each

CÆSAR. Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars, Translated by W. A. McDevitte, B.A. 5*s*.

CAMOENS' Lusiad; or, the Discovery of India. An Epic Poem. Translated by W. J. Mickle. 5th Edition, revised by E. R. Hodges, M.C.P. 3*s*. 6*d*.

CARAFAS (The) of Maddaloni. Naples under Spanish Dominion. Translated from the German of Alfred de Reumont. 3*s*. 6*d*.

CARLYLE'S Sartor Resartus. With 75 Illustrations by Edmund J. Sullivan. 5*s*.

CARPENTER'S (Dr. W. B.) Zoology. Revised Edition, by W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. With very numerous Woodcuts. Vol I. 6*s*.
[*Vol. II. out of print.*

CARPENTER'S Mechanical Philosophy, Astronomy, and Horology. 181 Woodcuts. 5*s*.

—— **Vegetable Physiology and Systematic Botany.** Revised Edition, by E. Lankester, M.D., &c. With very numerous Woodcuts. 6*s*.

—— **Animal Physiology.** Revised Edition. With upwards of 300 Woodcuts. 6*s*.

CASTLE (E.) Schools and Masters of Fence, from the Middle Ages to the End of the Eighteenth Century. By Egerton Castle, M.A., F.S.A. With a Complete Bibliography. Illustrated with 140 Reproductions of Old Engravings and 6 Plates of Swords, showing 114 Examples. 6*s*.

CATTERMOLE'S Evenings at Haddon Hall. With 24 Engravings on Steel from designs by Cattermole, the Letterpress by the Baroness de Carabella. 5*s*.

CATULLUS, Tibullus, and the Vigil of Venus. A Literal Prose Translation. 5*s*.

CELLINI (Benvenuto). Memoirs of, written by Himself. Translated by Thomas Roscoe. 3*s*. 6*d*.

CERVANTES' Don Quixote de la Mancha. Motteaux's Translation revised. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

—— **Galatea.** A Pastoral Romance. Translated by G. W. J. Gyll. 3*s*. 6*d*.

—— **Exemplary Novels.** Translated by Walter K. Kelly. 3*s*. 6*d*.

CHAUCER'S Poetical Works. Edited by Robert Bell. Revised Edition, with a Preliminary Essay by Prof. W. W. Skeat, M.A. 4 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

CHESS CONGRESS of 1862. A Collection of the Games played. Edited by J. Löwenthal. 5*s.*

CHEVREUL on Colour. Translated from the French by Charles Martel. Third Edition, with Plates, 5*s.*; or with an additional series of 16 Plates in Colours, 7*s.* 6*d.*

CHILLINGWORTH'S Religion of Protestants. A Safe Way to Salvation. 3*s.* 6*d.*

CHINA, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical. With Map and nearly 100 Illustrations. 5*s.*

CHRONICLES OF THE CRUSADES. Contemporary Narratives of the Crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion, by Richard of Devizes and Geoffrey de Vinsauf; and of the Crusade at St. Louis, by Lord John de Joinville 5*s.*

CICERO'S Orations. Translated by Prof. C. D. Yonge, M.A. 4 vols. 5*s.* each.

—— **Letters.** Translated by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh. 4 vols. 5*s.* each.

—— **On Oratory and Orators.** With Letters to Quintus and Brutus. Translated by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. 5*s.*

—— **On the Nature of the Gods,** Divination, Fate, Laws, a Republic, Consulship. Translated by Prof. C D. Yonge, M.A., and Francis Barham. 5*s.*

—— **Academics,** De Finibus, and Tusculan Questions. By Prof. C. D. Yonge, M.A. 5*s.*

CICERO'S Offices; or, Moral Duties. Cato Major, an Essay on Old Age; Lælius, an Essay on Friendship; Scipio's Dream; Paradoxes; Letter to Quintus on Magistrates. Translated by C R. Edmonds. 3*s.* 6*d.*

CORNELIUS NEPOS.—*See* JUSTIN.

CLARK'S (Hugh) Introduction to Heraldry. 18th Edition, Revised and Enlarged by J. R. Planché, Rouge Croix. With nearly 1000 Illustrations. 5*s.* Or with the Illustrations Coloured, 15*s.*

CLASSIC TALES, containing Rasselas, Vicar of Wakefield, Gulliver's Travels, and The Sentimental Journey. 3*s.* 6*d.*

COLERIDGE'S (S. T.) Friend. A Series of Essays on Morals, Politics, and Religion. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Aids to Reflection,** and the CONFESSIONS OF AN INQUIRING SPIRIT, to which are added the ESSAYS ON FAITH and the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and other English Poets.** Edited by T. Ashe 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Biographia Literaria;** together with Two Lay Sermons. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Table-Talk and Omniana.** Edited by T. Ashe, B.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Miscellanies, Æsthetic and Literary;** to which is added, THE THEORY OF LIFE Collected and arranged by T. Ashe, B.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

COMTE'S Positive Philosophy. Translated and condensed by Harriet Martineau. With Introduction by Frederic Harrison. 3 vols. 5*s.* each.

COMTE'S Philosophy of the Sciences, being an Exposition of the Principles of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive.* By G. H. Lewes. 5*s.*

CONDÉ'S History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Translated by Mrs. Foster. 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

COOPER'S Biographical Dictionary. Containing Concise Notices (upwards of 15,000) of Eminent Persons of all Ages and Countries. By Thompson Cooper, F.S.A. With a Supplement, bringing the work down to 1883. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

COXE'S Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough. With his original Correspondence. By W. Coxe, M.A., F.R.S. Revised edition by John Wade. 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

*** An Atlas of the plans of Marlborough's campaigns, 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.*

—— **History of the House of Austria** (1218–1792). With a Continuation from the Accession of Francis I. to the Revolution of 1848. 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

CRAIK'S (G. L.) Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties. Illustrated by Anecdotes and Memoirs. Revised edition, with numerous Woodcut Portraits and Plates. 5*s.*

CRUIKSHANK'S Punch and Judy. The Dialogue of the Puppet Show; an Account of its Origin, &c. With 24 Illustrations, and Coloured Plates, designed and engraved by G. Cruikshank. 5*s.*

CUNNINGHAM'S Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters. A New Edition, with Notes and Sixteen fresh Lives. By Mrs Heaton. 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

DANTE. Divine Comedy. Translated by the Rev. H. F. Cary, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— Translated into English Verse by I. C. Wright, M.A. 3rd Edition, revised. With Portrait, and 34 Illustrations on Steel, after Flaxman.

DANTE. The Inferno. A Literal Prose Translation, with the Text of the Original printed on the same page. By John A. Carlyle, M.D. 5*s.*

—— **The Purgatorio.** A Literal Prose Translation, with the Text printed on the same page. By W. S. Dugdale. 5*s.*

DE COMMINES (Philip), Memoirs of. Containing the Histories of Louis XI. and Charles VIII., Kings of France, and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Together with the Scandalous Chronicle, or Secret History of Louis XI., by Jean de Troyes. Translated by Andrew R. Scoble. With Portraits. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

DEFOE'S Novels and Miscellaneous Works. With Prefaces and Notes, including those attributed to Sir W. Scott. 7 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

I.—Captain Singleton, and Colonel Jack.

II.—Memoirs of a Cavalier, Captain Carleton, Dickory Cronke, &c.

III.—Moll Flanders, and the History of the Devil.

IV.—Roxana, and Life of Mrs. Christian Davies.

V.—History of the Great Plague of London, 1665; The Storm (1703); and the True-born Englishman.

VI.—Duncan Campbell, New Voyage round the World, and Political Tracts.

VII.—Robinson Crusoe.

DE LOLME on the Constitution of England. Edited by John Macgregor. 3*s.* 6*d.*

DEMMIN'S History of Arms and Armour from the Earliest Period. By Auguste Demmin. Translated by C. C. Black, M.A. With nearly 2000 Illustrations. 7*s*. 6*d*.

DEMOSTHENES' Orations. Translated by C. Rann Kennedy. 5 vols.

I.–V., 5*s*. each.

DE STAËL'S Corinne or Italy. By Madame de Staël. Translated by Emily Baldwin and Paulina Driver. 3*s*. 6*d*.

DEVEY'S Logic, or the Science of Inference. A Popular Manual. By J. Devey. 5*s*.

DICTIONARY of Latin and Greek Quotations; including Proverbs, Maxims, Mottoes, Law Terms and Phrases. With all the Quantities marked, and English Translations. With Index Verborum (622 pages). 5*s*.

DICTIONARY of Obsolete and Provincial English. Compiled by Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S A., &c. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

DIDRON'S Christian Iconography: a History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. Translated by E. J Millington and completed by Margaret Stokes. With 240 Illustrations. 2 Vols 5*s*. each.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS. Lives and Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers. Translated by Prof. C. D. Yonge, M A. 5*s*.

DOBREE'S Adversaria. Edited by the late Prof. Wagner. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

DODD'S Epigrammatists. A Selection from the Epigrammatic Literature of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Times. By the Rev. Henry Philip Dodd, M.A. Oxford. 2nd Edition, revised and enlarged. 6*s*.

DONALDSON'S The Theatre of the Greeks. A Treatise on the History and Exhibition of the Greek Drama. With numerous Illustrations and 3 Plans. By John William Donaldson, D.D. 5*s*.

DRAPER'S History of the Intellectual Development of Europe. By John William Draper, M.D., LL.D. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

DUNLOP'S History of Fiction. A new Edition. Revised by Henry Wilson. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

DYER (Dr T. H.). Pompeii: its Buildings and Antiquities. By T. H. Dyer, LL.D. With nearly 300 Wood Engravings, a large Map, and a Plan of the Forum. 7*s*. 6*d*.

— **The City of Rome:** its History and Monuments. With Illustrations. 5*s*.

DYER (T. F. T.) British Popular Customs, Present and Past. An Account of the various Games and Customs associated with Different Days of the Year in the British Isles, arranged according to the Calendar. By the Rev. T. F. Thiselton Dyer, M.A. 5*s*.

EARLY TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. Edited by Thomas Wright, M.A. With Map of Jerusalem. 5*s*.

EBERS' Egyptian Princess. An Historical Novel. By George Ebers. Translated by E. S. Buchheim. 3*s*. 6*d*.

EDGEWORTH'S Stories for Children. With 8 Illustrations by L. Speed. 3*s*. 6*d*.

ELZE'S William Shakespeare. —*See* SHAKESPEARE.

EMERSON'S Works. 3 vols 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

I.—Essays, Lectures and Poems

II.—English Traits, Nature, and Conduct of Life.

EMERSON'S WORKS *continued.*

III.—Society and Solitude—Letters and Social aims — Miscellaneous Papers (hitherto uncollected) — May Day, and other Poems.

ELLIS (G.) Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances. With an Historical Introduction on the Rise and Progress of Romantic Composition in France and England. Revised Edition. By J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S. 5*s.*

ENNEMOSER'S History of Magic. Translated by William Howitt. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

EPICTETUS, The Discourses of. With the ENCHEIRIDION and Fragments. Translated by George Long, M.A. 5*s.*

EURIPIDES. A New Literal Translation in Prose. By E. P. Coleridge, M.A. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

EUTROPIUS.—*See* JUSTIN.

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS, Ecclesiastical History of. Translated by Rev. C. F. Cruse, M.A. 5*s.*

EVELYN'S Diary and Correspondendence. Edited from the Original MSS. by W. Bray, F.A.S. With 45 engravings. 4 vols. 5*s.* each.

FAIRHOLT'S Costume in England. A History of Dress to the end of the Eighteenth Century. 3rd Edition, revised, by Viscount Dillon, V.P.S.A. Illustrated with above 700 Engravings. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

FIELDING'S Adventures of Joseph Andrews and his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams. With Cruikshank's Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **History of Tom Jones, a Foundling.** With Cruikshank's Illustrations. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— **Amelia.** With Cruikshank's Illustrations. 5*s.*

FLAXMAN'S Lectures on Sculpture. By John Flaxman, R.A. With Portrait and 53 Plates. 6*s.*

FLORENCE of WORCESTER'S Chronicle, with the Two Continuations: comprising Annals of English History, from the Departure of the Romans to the Reign of Edward I. Translated by Thomas Forester, M.A. 5*s.*

FOSTER'S (John) Life and Correspondence. Edited by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— **Critical Essays.** Edited by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— **Essays:** on Decision of Character; on a Man's writing Memoirs of Himself; on the epithet Romantic; on the aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Essays** on the Evils of Popular Ignorance; to which is added, a Discourse on the Propagation of Christianity in India. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Essays** on the Improvement of Time. With NOTES OF SERMONS and other Pieces. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Fosteriana.** Selected and Edited by Henry G. Bohn. 3*s.* 6*d.*

GASPARY'S History of Italian Literature. Translated by Herman Oelsner, M.A., Ph.D. Vol. I. 3*s.* 6*d.*

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, Chronicle of. — *See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

GESTA ROMANORUM, or Entertaining Moral Stories invented by the Monks. Translated by the Rev. Charles Swan. Revised Edition, by Wynnard Hooper, B.A. 5*s.*

GILDAS, Chronicles of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

GIBBON'S Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire Complete and Unabridged, with Variorum Notes. Edited by an English Churchman. With 2 Maps and Portrait. 7 vols 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

GILBART'S History, Principles, and Practice of Banking. By the late J. W. Gilbart, F.R.S. New Edition, revised by A. S. Michie. 2 vols. 10*s*.

GIL BLAS, The Adventures of. Translated from the French of Lesage by Smollett. With 24 Engravings on Steel, after Smirke, and 10 Etchings by George Cruikshank. 6*s*.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS' Historical Works. Translated by Th. Forester, M.A., and Sir R. Colt Hoare. Revised Edition, Edited by Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A. 5*s*.

GOETHE'S Faust. Part I. German Text with Hayward's Prose Translation and Notes. Revised by C. A. Buchheim, Ph.D. 5*s*.

GOETHE'S Works. Translated into English by various hands. 14 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each

I. and II.—Autobiography and Annals.
III.—Faust. Two Parts, complete. (Swanwick.)
IV.—Novels and Tales.
V.—Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship.
VI.—Conversations with Eckermann and Soret.
VIII.—Dramatic Works.
IX.—Wilhelm Meister's Travels.
X.—Tour in Italy, and Second Residence in Rome.
XI.—Miscellaneous Travels.
XII.—Early and Miscellaneous Letters.
XIII.—Correspondence with Zelter.
XIV.—Reineke Fox, West-Eastern Divan and Achilleid.

GOLDSMITH'S Works. A new Edition, by J. W. M. Gibbs. 5 vols. 3*s* 6*d*. each

GRAMMONT'S Memoirs of the Court of Charles II Edited by Sir Walter Scott. Together with the BOSCOBEL TRACTS, including two not before published, &c. New Edition. 5*s*.

GRAY'S Letters. Including the Correspondence of Gray and Mason. Edited by the Rev. D. C. Tovey, M.A. Vol. I. 3*s*. 6*d*. [*Vol.* ii. *in the press.*

GREEK ANTHOLOGY. Translated by George Burges, M.A. 5*s*.

GREEK ROMANCES of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius—viz., The Adventures of Theagenes & Chariclea; Amours of Daphnis and Chloe; and Loves of Clitopho and Leucippe. Translated by Rev. R. Smith, M.A. 5*s*.

GREGORY'S Letters on the Evidences, Doctrines, & Duties of the Christian Religion. By Dr. Olinthus Gregory. 3*s*. 6*d*.

GREENE, MARLOWE, and BEN JONSON. Poems of. Edited by Robert Bell. 3*s*. 6*d*.

GRIMM'S TALES. With the Notes of the Original. Translated by Mrs. A. Hunt. With Introduction by Andrew Lang, M.A. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

—— **Gammer Grethel**; or, German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories. Containing 42 Fairy Tales. Trans. by Edgar Taylor. With numerous Woodcuts after George Cruikshank and Ludwig Grimm. 3*s*. 6*d*.

GROSSI'S Marco Visconti. Translated by A. F. D. The Ballads rendered into English Verse by C. M. P. 3*s*. 6*d*.

GUIZOT'S History of the English Revolution of 1640. From the Accession of Charles I. to his Death. Translated by William Hazlitt. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **History of Civilisation,** from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. Translated by William Hazlitt. 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

HALL'S (Rev. Robert) Miscellaneous Works and Remains. 3*s.* 6*d.*

HAMPTON COURT: A Short History of the Manor and Palace. By Ernest Law, B.A. With numerous Illustrations. 5*s.*

HARDWICK'S History of the Articles of Religion. By the late C. Hardwick. Revised by the Rev. Francis Procter, M.A. 5*s.*

HAUFF'S Tales. The Caravan—The Sheik of Alexandria--The Inn in the Spessart. Trans. from the German by S. Mendel. 3*s.* 6*d.*

HAWTHORNE'S Tales 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

I.—Twice-told Tales, and the Snow Image.

II.—Scarlet Letter, and the House with the Seven Gables.

III.—Transformation [The Marble Faun], and Blithedale Romance.

IV.—Mosses from an Old Manse.

HAZLITT'S Table-talk. Essays on Men and Manners. By W. Hazlitt. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Lectures on the Literature of the Age of Elizabeth** and on Characters of Shakespeare's Plays 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Lectures on the English Poets,** and on the English Comic Writers. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **The Plain Speaker.** Opinions on Books, Men, and Things. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Round Table.** 3*s.* 6*d.*

HAZLITT'S Sketches and Essays. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **The Spirit of the Age;** or, Contemporary Portraits. Edited by W. Carew Hazlitt. 3*s.* 6*d.*

HEATON'S Concise History of Painting. New Edition, revised by Cosmo Monkhouse. 5*s.*

HEGEL'S Lectures on the Philosophy of History. Translated by J. Sibree, M.A.

HEINE'S Poems, Complete Translated by Edgar A. Bowring, C.B. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Travel-Pictures,** including the Tour in the Harz, Norderney, and Book of Ideas, together with the Romantic School. Translated by Francis Storr. A New Edition, revised throughout. With Appendices and Maps. 3*s.* 6*d.*

HELP'S Life of Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer of America. By Sir Arthur Helps, K.C.B. 3*s.* 6*d.*

HELP'S Life of Hernando Cortes, and the Conquest of Mexico. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— **Life of Pizarro.** 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Life of Las Casas** the Apostle of the Indies. 3*s.* 6*d.*

HENDERSON (E.) Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, including the most famous Charters relating to England, the Empire, the Church, &c., from the 6th to the 14th Centuries. Translated from the Latin and edited by Ernest F. Henderson, A.B., A.M., Ph.D. 5*s.*

HENFREY'S Guide to English Coins, from the Conquest to the present time. New and revised Edition by C. F. Keary, M.A., F.S.A. 6*s.*

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON'S History of the English. Translated by T. Forester, M.A. 5*s.*

HENRY'S (Matthew) Exposition of the Book of the Psalms. 5s.

HELIODORUS. Theagenes and Chariclea. — *See* GREEK ROMANCES.

HERODOTUS. Translated by the Rev. Henry Cary, M.A. 3s. 6d.

— **Notes on,** Original and Selected from the best Commentators. By D. W. Turner, M.A. With Coloured Map. 5s.

— **Analysis and Summary of** By J. T. Wheeler. 5s.

HESIOD, CALLIMACHUS, and THEOGNIS. Translated by the Rev. J. Banks, M.A. 5s.

HOFFMANN'S (E. T. W.) The Serapion Brethren. Translated from the German by Lt.-Col. Alex. Ewing. 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

HOLBEIN'S Dance of Death and Bible Cuts Upwards of 150 Subjects, engraved in facsimile, with Introduction and Descriptions by Francis Douce and Dr. Thomas Frognall Dibden. 5s.

HOMER'S Iliad. Translated into English Prose by T. A. Buckley, B.A. 5s.

— **Odyssey.** Hymns, Epigrams, and Battle of the Frogs and Mice. Translated into English Prose by T. A. Buckley, B.A. 5s.

— *See also* POPE.

HOOPER'S (G.) Waterloo: The Downfall of the First Napoleon: a History of the Campaign of 1815. By George Hooper. With Maps and Plans 3s. 6d.

— **The Campaign of Sedan:** The Downfall of the Second Empire, August – September, 1870. With General Map and Six Plans of Battle. 3s. 6d.

HORACE. A new literal Prose translation, by A. Hamilton Bryce, LL.D. 3s. 6d.

HUGO'S (Victor) Dramatic Works Hernani - Ruy Blas— The King's Diversion. Translated by Mrs. Newton Crosland and F. L. Slous. 3s. 6d.

— **Poems, chiefly Lyrical.** Translated by various Writers, now first collected by J. H. L. Williams. 3s. 6d.

HUMBOLDT'S Cosmos. Translated by E. C. Otté, B. H. Paul, and W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. 5 vols. 3s. 6d. each, excepting Vol. V. 5s.

— **Personal Narrative** of his Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America during the years 1799 1804. Translated by T. Ross. 3 vols. 5s. each.

— **Views of Nature.** Translated by E. C. Otté and H. G. Bohn. 5s.

HUMPHREYS' Coin Collector's Manual. By H. N. Humphreys. with upwards of 140 Illustrations on Wood and Steel. 2 vols. 5s. each.

HUNGARY: its History and Revolution, together with a copious Memoir of Kossuth 3s. 6d.

HUTCHINSON (Colonel). Memoirs of the Life of. By his Widow, Lucy: together with her Autobiography, and an Account of the Siege of Lathom House. 3s. 6d.

HUNT'S Poetry of Science. By Richard Hunt. 3rd Edition, revised and enlarged. 5s.

INDIA BEFORE THE SEPOY MUTINY. A Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical Account, from the Earliest Times to the Annexation of the Punjab. with upwards of 100 Engravings on Wood, and a Map. 5s.

INGULPH'S Chronicles of the Abbey of Croyland. with the CONTINUATION by Peter of Blois and other Writers. Translated by H. T. Riley, M.A. 5s.

IRVING'S (Washington) Complete Works. 15 vols. With Portraits, &c. 3s. 6d. each.

I.—Salmagundi, Knickerbocker's History of New York.

II.—The Sketch-Book, and the Life of Oliver Goldsmith.

III.—Bracebridge Hall, Abbotsford and Newstead Abbey.

IV.—The Alhambra, Tales of a Traveller.

V.—Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada, Legends of the Conquest of Spain.

VI. & VII.—Life and Voyages of Columbus, together with the Voyages of his Companions.

VIII.—Astoria, A Tour on the Prairies.

XI.—Life of Mahomet, Lives of the Successors of Mahomet.

X.—Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A., Wolfert's Roost.

XI.—Biographies and Miscellaneous Papers.

XII.-XV.—Life of George Washington. 4 vols.

—— **Life and Letters.** By his Nephew, Pierre E. Irving. 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

ISOCRATES, The Orations of Translated by J. H. Freese, M.A. Vol. I. 5s.

JAMES'S (G. P R.) Life of Richard Cœur de Lion. 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

—— **The Life and Times of Louis XIV.** 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

JAMESON'S (Mrs.) Shakespeare's Heroines. Characteristics of Women: Moral, Poetical, and Historical. By Mrs Jameson. 3s. 6d.

JESSE'S (E.) Anecdotes of Dogs With 40 Woodcuts and 34 Steel Engravings. 5s.

JESSE'S (J. H.) Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts, including the Protectorate. 3 vols. With 42 Portraits. 5s. each.

—— **Memoirs of the Pretenders and their Adherents.** With 6 Portraits. 5s.

JOHNSON'S Lives of the Poets. Edited by Mrs. Alexander Napier, with Introduction by Professor Hales. 3 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

JOSEPHUS (Flavius), The Works of. Whiston's Translation, revised by Rev. A. R. Shilleto, M.A. With Topographical and Geographical Notes by Colonel Sir C. W. Wilson, K.C.B. 5 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

JOYCE'S Scientific Dialogues. With numerous Woodcuts. 5s.

JUKES-BROWNE (A. J.), The Building of the British Isles: a Study in Geographical Evolution. Illustrated by numerous Maps and Woodcuts. 2nd Edition, revised, 7s. 6d.

—— **Student's Handbook of Physical Geology.** With numerous Diagrams and Illustrations. 2nd Edition, much enlarged, 7s. 6d.

JULIAN, the Emperor. Containing Gregory Nazianzen's Two Invectives and Libanus' Monody, with Julian's extant Theosophical Works. Translated by C. W. King, M.A. 5s.

JUSTIN CORNELIUS NEPOS, and EUTROPIUS. Translated by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M A. 5s.

JUVENAL, PERSIUS, SULPICIA and LUCILIUS. Translated by L. Evans, M.A. 5s.

JUNIUS'S Letters. With all the Notes of Woodfall's Edition, and important Additions. 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

KANT'S Critique of Pure Reason. Translated by J. M. D. Meiklejohn. 5*s.*

—— **Prolegomena and Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science.** Translated by E. Belfort Bax. 5*s.*

KEIGHTLEY'S (Thomas) Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy. 4th Edition, revised by Leonard Schmitz, Ph.D, LL.D. With 12 Plates from the Antique. 5*s.*

—— **Fairy Mythology,** illustrative of the Romance and Superstition of Various Countries. Revised Edition, with Frontispiece by Cruikshank. 5*s.*

LA FONTAINE'S Fables. Translated into English Verse by Elizur Wright. New Edition, with Notes by J. W. M. Gibbs. 3*s.* 6*d.*

LAMARTINE'S History of the Girondists. Translated by H. T. Ryde. 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— **History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France** (a Sequel to the History of the Girondists). 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— **History of the French Revolution of 1848.** 3*s.* 6*d.*

LAMB'S (Charles) Essays of Elia and Eliana. Complete Edition. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Specimens of English Dramatic Poets of the Time of Elizabeth.** 3*s.* 6*a.*

—— **Memorials and Letters of Charles Lamb.** By Serjeant Talfourd. New Edition, revised, by W. Carew Hazlitt. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

LANZI'S History of Painting in Italy, from the Period of the Revival of the Fine Arts to the End of the Eighteenth Century. Translated by Thomas Roscoe. 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

LAPPENBERG'S History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings. Translated by B. Thorpe, F.S.A. New edition, revised by E. C. Otté. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

LECTURES ON PAINTING, by Barry, Opie, Fuseli. Edited by R. Wornum. 5*s.*

LEONARDO DA VINCI'S Treatise on Painting. Translated by J. F. Rigaud, R.A., With a Life of Leonardo by John William Brown. With numerous Plates 5*s.*

LELAND'S Itinerary. Edited by Laurence Gomme, F.S.A. Vol. I. [*In the Press.*

LEPSIUS'S Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai Translated by L. and J. B. Horner. With Maps. 5*s.*

LESSING'S Dramatic Works, Complete. Edited by Ernest Bell, M.A. With Memoir of Lessing by Helen Zimmern. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— **Laokoon, Dramatic Notes, and the Representation of Death by the Ancients.** Translated by E. C. Beasley and Helen Zimmern. Edited by Edward Bell, M.A. With a Frontispiece of the Laokoon group. 3*s.* 6*d.*

LILLY'S Introduction to Astrology. With a GRAMMAR OF ASTROLOGY and Tables for Calculating Nativities, by Zadkiel. 5*s.*

LIVY'S History of Rome. Translated by Dr. Spillan, C. Edmonds, and others. 4 vols. 5*s.* each.

LOCKE'S Philosophical Works. Edited by J. A. St. John. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— **Life and Letters:** By Lord King. 3*s.* 6*d.*

LOCKHART (J. G.)—*See* BURNS

LODGE'S Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, with Biographical and Historical Memoirs. 240 Portraits engraved on Steel, with the respective Bio graphies unabridged. 8 vols. 5*s.* each.

LONGFELLOW'S Prose Works. With 16 full-page Wood Engravings. 5*s.*

LOUDON'S (Mrs.) Natural History. Revised edition, by W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. With numerous Woodcut Illus. 5*s.*

LOWNDES' Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature. Enlarged Edition. By H. G. Bohn. 6 vols. cloth, 5*s.* each. Or 4 vols. half morocco, 2*l.* 2*s.*

LONGUS. Daphnis and Chloe. —*See* GREEK ROMANCES.

LUCAN'S Pharsalia. Translated by H. T. Riley, M.A. 5*s.*

LUCIAN'S Dialogues of the Gods, of the Sea Gods, and of the Dead. Translated by Howard Williams, M.A. 5*s.*

LUCRETIUS. Translated by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. 5*s.*

LUTHER'S Table-Talk. Translated and Edited by William Hazlitt. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Autobiography.** — *See* MICHELET.

MACHIAVELLI'S History of Florence, together with the Prince, Savonarola, various Historical Tracts, and a Memoir of Machiavelli. 3*s.* 6*d.*

MALLET'S Northern Antiquities, or an Historical Account of the Manners, Customs, Religions and Laws, Maritime Expeditions and Discoveries, Language and Literature, of the Ancient Scandinavians. Translated by Bishop Percy. Revised and Enlarged Edition, with a Translation of the PROSE EDDA, by J. A. Blackwell. 5*s.*

MANTELL'S (Dr.) Petrifactions and their Teachings. With numerous illustrative Woodcuts. 6*s.*

—— **Wonders of Geology.** 8th Edition, revised by T. Rupert Jones, F.G.S. With a coloured Geological Map of England, Plates, and upwards of 200 Woodcuts. 2 vols. 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

MANZONI. The Betrothed: being a Translation of 'I Promessi Sposi.' By Alessandro Manzoni. With numerous Woodcuts. 5*s.*

MARCO POLO'S Travels; the Translation of Marsden revised by T. Wright, M.A., F.S.A. 5*s.*

MARRYAT'S (Capt. R.N.) Masterman Ready. With 93 Woodcuts. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Mission;** or, Scenes in Africa. Illustrated by Gilbert and Dalziel. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Pirate and Three Cutters.** With 8 Steel Engravings, from Drawings by Clarkson Stanfield, R.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Privateersman.** 8 Engravings on Steel. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Settlers in Canada.** 10 Engravings by Gilbert and Dalziel. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Poor Jack.** With 16 Illustrations after Clarkson Stansfield, R.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Peter Simple.** With 8 full-page Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Midshipman Easy.** With 8 full page Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

MARTIAL'S Epigrams, complete. Translated into Prose, each accompanied by one or more Verse Translations selected from the Works of English Poets, and other sources. 7*s.* 6*d.*

MARTINEAU'S (Harriet) **History of England**, from 1800-1815. 3s. 6d.

— **History of the Thirty Years' Peace**, A.D. 1815-46. 4 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

— *See Comte's Positive Philosophy.*

MATTHEW PARIS'S English History, from the Year 1235 to 1273. Translated by Rev. J. A. Giles, D.C.L. 3 vols. 5s. each.

MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER'S Flowers of History, from the beginning of the World to A.D. 1307. Translated by C. D. Yonge, M.A. 2 vols. 5s. each.

MAXWELL'S Victories of Wellington and the British Armies. Frontispiece and 5 Portraits. 5s.

MENZEL'S History of Germany, from the Earliest Period to 1842. 3 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

MICHAEL ANGELO AND RAPHAEL, their Lives and Works. By Duppa and Quatremere de Quincy. With Portraits, and Engravings on Steel. 5s.

MICHELET'S Luther's Autobiography. Trans. by William Hazlitt With an Appendix (110 pages) of Notes. 3s. 6d.

— **History of the French Revolution** from its earliest indications to the flight of the King in 1791. 3s. 6d.

MIGNET'S History of the French Revolution, from 1789 to 1814. 3s. 6d.

MILL (J. S.) Early Essays by John Stuart Mill. Collected from various sources by J. W. M. Gibbs. 3s. 6d.

MILLER (Professor). **History Philosophically Illustrated**, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. 4 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

MILTON'S Prose Works. Edited by J. A. St. John. 5 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

— **Poetical Works**, with a Memoir and Critical Remarks by James Montgomery, an Index to Paradise Lost, Todd's Verbal Index to all the Poems, and a Selection of Explanatory Notes by Henry G. Bohn. Illustrated with 120 Wood Engravings from Drawings by W. Harvey. 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

MITFORD'S (Miss) **Our Village** Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery. With 2 Engravings on Steel. 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

MOLIERE'S Dramatic Works. A new Translation in English Prose, by C. H. Wall. 3 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

MONTAGU. The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Edited by her great-grandson, Lord Wharncliffe's Edition, and revised by W. Moy Thomas. New Edition, revised, with 5 Portraits. 2 vols. 5s. each.

MONTAIGNE'S Essays. Cotton's Translation, revised by W. C. Hazlitt. New Edition. 3 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

MONTESQUIEU'S Spirit of Laws. New Edition, revised and corrected. By J. V. Pritchard, A.M. 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

MOTLEY (J. L.). The Rise of the Dutch Republic. A History. By John Lothrop Motley. New Edition, with Biographical Introduction by Moncure D. Conway. 3 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

MORPHY'S Games of Chess. Being the Matches and best Games played by the American Champion, with Explanatory and Analytical Notes by J. Löwenthal. 5s.

MUDIE'S British Birds; or, History of the Feathered Tribes of the British Islands. Revised by W. C. L. Martin. With 52 Figures of Birds and 7 Coloured Plates of Eggs. 2 vols.

NEANDER (Dr. A.). History of the Christian Religion and Church. Trans. from the German by J. Torrey. 10 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— **Life of Jesus Christ.** Translated by J. McClintock and C. Blumenthal. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles.** Translated by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— **Memorials of Christian Life in the Early and Middle Ages**; including Light in Dark Places. Trans. by J. E. Ryland. 3*s.* 6*d.*

NIBELUNGEN LIED. The Lay of the Nibelungs, metrically translated from the old German text by Alice Horton, and edited by Edward Bell, M.A. To which is prefixed the Essay on the Nibelungen Lied by Thomas Carlyle. 5*s.*

NEW TESTAMENT (The) in Greek. Griesbach's Text, with various Readings at the foot of the page, and Parallel References in the margin; also a Critical Introduction and Chronological Tables. By an eminent Scholar, with a Greek and English Lexicon. 3rd Edition, revised and corrected. Two Facsimiles of Greek Manuscripts. 900 pages. 5*s.*

The Lexicon may be had separately, price 2*s.*

NICOLINI'S History of the Jesuits: their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Designs. With 8 Portraits. 5*s.*

NORTH (R.) Lives of the Right Hon. Francis North, Baron Guildford, the Hon. Sir Dudley North, and the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John North. By the Hon. Roger North. Together with the Autobiography of the Author. Edited by Augustus Jessopp, D.D. 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

NUGENT'S (Lord) Memorials of Hampden, his Party and Times. With a Memoir of the Author, an Autograph Letter, and Portrait. 5*s.*

OCKLEY (S.) History of the Saracens and their Conquests in Syria, Persia, and Egypt. By Simon Ockley, B.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. 3*s.* 6*d.*

OMAN (J. C.) The Great Indian Epics: the Stories of the RAMAYANA and the MAHABHARATA. By John Campbell Oman, Principal of Khalsa College, Amritsar. With Notes, Appendices, and Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

ORDERICUS VITALIS' Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy. Translated by T. Forester, M.A. To which is added the CHRONICLE OF ST. EVROULT. 4 vols. 5*s.* each.

OVID'S Works, complete. Literally translated into Prose. 3 vols. 5*s.* each.

PASCAL'S Thoughts. Translated from the Text of M. Auguste Molinier by C. Kegan Paul. 3rd Edition. 3*s.* 6*d.*

PAULI'S (Dr. R.) Life of Alfred the Great. Translated from the German. To which is appended Alfred's ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS. With a literal Translation interpaged, Notes, and an ANGLO-SAXON GRAMMAR and GLOSSARY, by B. Thorpe. 5*s.*

PAUSANIAS' Description of Greece. Newly translated by A. R Shilleto, M.A. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

PEARSON'S Exposition of the Creed. Edited by E. Walford, M.A. 5*s.*

PEPYS' Diary and Correspondence. Deciphered by the Rev. J. Smith, M.A., from the original Shorthand MS. in the Pepysian Library. Edited by Lord Braybrooke. 4 vols. With 31 Engravings. 5*s.* each.

PERCY'S Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. With an Essay on Ancient Minstrels and a Glossary. Edited by J. V. Pritchard, A.M. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

PERSIUS.—*See* JUVENAL.

PETRARCH'S Sonnets, Triumphs and other Poems. Translated into English Verse by various Hands. With a Life of the Poet by Thomas Campbell. With Portrait and 15 Steel Engravings. 5*s.*

PHILO-JUDÆUS, Works of. Translated by Prof. C. D. Yonge, M.A. 4 vols. 5*s.* each.

PICKERING'S History of the Races of Man, and their Geographical Distribution. With AN ANALYTICAL SYNOPSIS OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN by Dr. Hall. With a Map of the World and 12 coloured Plates. 5*s.*

PINDAR. Translated into Prose by Dawson W. Turner. To which is added the Metrical Version by Abraham Moore. 5*s.*

PLANCHE. History of British Costume, from the Earliest Time to the Close of the Eighteenth Century. By J. R. Planché, Somerset Herald. With upwards of 400 Illustrations. 5*s.*

PLATO'S Works. Literally translated, with Introduction and Notes. 6 vols. 5*s.* each.

I.—The Apology of Socrates, Crito, Phædo, Gorgias, Protagoras, Phædrus, Theætetus, Euthyphron, Lysis. Translated by the Rev. H. Carey.

II.—The Republic, Timæus, and Critias. Translated by Henry Davis.

III.—Meno, Euthydemus, The Sophist, Statesman, Cratylus, Parmenides, and the Banquet. Translated by G. Burges.

IV.—Philebus, Charmides, Laches, Menexenus, Hippias, Ion, The Two Alcibiades, Theages, Rivals, Hipparchus, Minos, Clitopho, Epistles. Translated by G. Burges.

V.—The Laws. Translated by G. Burges.

VI.—The Doubtful Works. Translated by G. Burges.

—— **Summary and Analysis of the Dialogues.** With Analytical Index. By A. Day, LL.D. 5*s.*

PLAUTUS'S Comedies. Translated by H. T. Riley, M.A. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

PLINY'S Natural History. Translated by the late John Bostock, M.D., F.R.S., and H. T. Riley, M.A. 6 vols. 5*s.* each.

PLINY. The Letters of Pliny the Younger. Melmoth's translation, revised by the Rev. F. C. T. Bosanquet, M.A. 5*s.*

PLOTINUS, Select Works of. Translated by Thomas Taylor. With an Introduction containing the substance of Porphyry's Plotinus. Edited by G. R. S. Mead, B.A., M.R.A.S. 5*s.*

PLUTARCH'S Lives. Translated by A. Stewart, M.A., and George Long, M.A. 4 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

—— **Morals.** Theosophical Essays. Translated by C. W. King, M.A. 5*s*.

—— **Morals.** Ethical Essays. Translated by the Rev. A. R. Shilleto, M.A. 5*s*.

POETRY OF AMERICA. Selections from One Hundred American Poets, from 1776 to 1876. By W. J. Linton. 3*s* 6*d*.

POLITICAL CYCLOPÆDIA. A Dictionary of Political, Constitutional, Statistical, and Forensic Knowledge; forming a Work of Reference on subjects of Civil Administration, Political Economy, Finance, Commerce, Laws, and Social Relations. 4 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each

POPE'S Poetical Works. Edited, with copious Notes, by Robert Carruthers. With numerous Illustrations. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

—— **Homer's Iliad.** Edited by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. Illustrated by the entire Series of Flaxman's Designs. 5*s*.

—— **Homer's Odyssey,** with the Battle of Frogs and Mice, Hymns, &c., by other translators. Edited by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. With the entire Series of Flaxman's Designs. 5*s*.

—— **Life,** including many of his Letters. By Robert Carruthers. With numerous Illustrations. 5*s*.

POUSHKIN'S Prose Tales: The Captain's Daughter—Doubrovsky — The Queen of Spades — An Amateur Peasant Girl—The Shot —The Snow Storm—The Postmaster —The Coffin Maker — Kirdjali—The Egyptian Nights—Peter the Great's Negro. Translated by T. Keane. 3*s*. 6*d*.

PRESCOTT'S Conquest of Mexico. Copyright edition, with the notes by John Foster Kirk, and an introduction by G. P. Winship. 3 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

PROPERTIUS. Translated by Rev. P. J. F. Gantillon, M.A., and accompanied by Poetical Versions, from various sources. 3*s*. 6*d*.

PROVERBS, Handbook of. Containing an entire Republication of Ray's Collection of English Proverbs, with his additions from Foreign Languages and a complete Alphabetical Index; in which are introduced large additions as well of Proverbs as of Sayings, Sentences, Maxims, and Phrases, collected by H. G. Bohn. 5*s*.

PROVERBS, A Polyglot of Foreign. Comprising French, Italian, German, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and Danish. With English Translations & a General Index by H. G. Bohn. 5*s*.

POTTERY AND PORCELAIN, and other Objects of Vertu. Comprising an Illustrated Catalogue of the Bernal Collection of Works of Art, with the prices at which they were sold by auction, and names of the possessors. To which are added, an Introductory Lecture on Pottery and Porcelain, and an Engraved List of all the known Marks and Monograms. By Henry G. Bohn. With numerous Wood Engravings, 5*s*.; or with Coloured Illustrations, 10*s*. 6*d*.

PROUT'S (Father) Reliques. Collected and arranged by Rev. F. Mahony. New issue, with 21 Etchings by D. Maclise, R.A. Nearly 600 pages. 5*s*.

QUINTILIAN'S Institutes of Oratory, or Education of an Orator. Translated by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. 2 vols. 5*s* each.

RACINE'S (Jean) Dramatic Works. A metrical English version. By R. Bruce Boswell, M.A. Oxon. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

RANKE'S History of the Popes, their Church and State, and especially of their Conflicts with Protestantism in the 16th and 17th centuries. Translated by E. Foster. 3 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

—— **History of Servia and the Servian Revolution.** With an Account of the Insurrection in Bosnia. Translated by Mrs. Kerr. 3*s*. 6*d*.

REUMONT (Alfred de). *See* CARAFAS.

RECREATIONS in SHOOTING. By 'Craven.' With 62 Engravings on Wood after Harvey, and 9 Engravings on Steel, chiefly after A. Cooper, R.A. 5*s*.

RENNIE'S Insect Architecture. Revised and enlarged by Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A. With 186 Woodcut Illustrations. 5*s*.

REYNOLD'S (Sir J.) Literary Works. Edited by H. W. Beechy. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

RICARDO on the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation. Edited by E. C. K. Gonner, M.A. 5*s*.

RICHTER (Jean Paul Friedrich). Levana, a Treatise on Education: together with the Autobiography (a Fragment), and a short Prefatory Memoir. 3*s*. 6*d*.

—— **Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces,** or the Wedded Life, Death, and Marriage of Firmian Stanislaus Siebenkaes, Parish Advocate in the Parish of Kuhschnapptel. Newly translated by Lt. Col. Alex. Ewing. 3*s*. 6*d*.

ROGER DE HOVEDEN'S Annals of English History, comprising the History of England and of other Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201. Translated by H T. Riley, M.A. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

ROGER OF WENDOVER'S Flowers of History, comprising the History of England from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235, formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris. Translated by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

ROME in the NINETEENTH CENTURY. Containing a complete Account of the Ruins of the Ancient City, the Remains of the Middle Ages, and the Monuments of Modern Times. By C. A. Eaton. With 34 Steel Engravings 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

—— *See* BURN and DYER.

ROSCOE'S (W.) Life and Pontificate of Leo X. Final edition, revised by Thomas Roscoe. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

—— **Life of Lorenzo de' Medici,** called 'the Magnificent.' With his poems, letters, &c. 10th Edition, revised, with Memoir of Roscoe by his Son. 3*s*. 6*d*.

RUSSIA History of, from the earliest Period, compiled from the most authentic sources by Walter K. Kelly. With Portraits. 2 vols. 3*s* 6*d*. each.

SALLUST, FLORUS, and VELLEIUS PATERCULUS. Translated by J. S. Watson, M.A 5*s*.

SCHILLER'S Works. Translated by various hands. 7 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each :—

I.—History of the Thirty Years' War.

SCHILLER'S WORKS *continued.*

II.—History of the Revolt in the Netherlands, the Trials of Counts Egmont and Horn, the Siege of Antwerp, and the Disturbances in France preceding the Reign of Henry IV.

III.—Don Carlos, Mary Stuart, Maid of Orleans, Bride of Messina, together with the Use of the Chorus in Tragedy (a short Essay).

These Dramas are all translated in metre.

IV.—Robbers (with Schiller's original Preface), Fiesco, Love and Intrigue, Demetrius, Ghost Seer, Sport of Divinity.

The Dramas in this volume are translated into Prose.

V.—Poems.

VI.—Essays, Æsthetical and Philosophical

VII.—Wallenstein's Camp, Piccolomini and Death of Wallenstein, William Tell.

SCHILLER and GOETHE. Correspondence between, from A.D. 1794–1805. Translated by L. Dora Schmitz. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

SCHLEGEL'S (F.) Lectures on the Philosophy of Life and the Philosophy of Language. Translated by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern.** Translated from the German. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Lectures on the Philosophy of History.** Translated by J. B. Robertson. 3*s.* 6*d.*

SCHLEGEL'S Lectures on Modern History, together with the Lectures entitled Cæsar and Alexander, and The Beginning of our History. Translated by L. Purcell and R. H. Whitetock. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Æsthetic and Miscellaneous Works.** Translated by E. J. Millington. 3*s.* 6*d.*

SCHLEGEL (A. W.) Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature. Translated by J. Black. Revised Edition, by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

SCHOPENHAUER on the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason, and On the Will in Nature. Translated by Madame Hillebrand. 5*s.*

—— **Essays.** Selected and Translated. With a Biographical Introduction and Sketch of his Philosophy, by E. Belfort Bax. 5*s.*

SCHOUW'S Earth, Plants, and Man. Translated by A. Henfrey. With coloured Map of the Geography of Plants. 5*s.*

SCHUMANN (Robert). His Life and Works, by August Reissmann. Translated by A. L. Alger. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Early Letters.** Originally published by his Wife. Translated by May Herbert. With a Preface by Sir George Grove, D.C.L. 3*s.* 6*d.*

SENECA on Benefits. Newly translated by A. Stewart, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Minor Essays and On Clemency.** Translated by A. Stewart, M.A. 5*s.*

SHAKESPEARE'S Dramatic Art. The History and Character of Shakespeare's Plays. By Dr. Hermann Ulrici. Translated by L. Dora Schmitz. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

SHAKESPEARE (William). A Literary Biography by Karl Elze, Ph.D., LL.D. Translated by L. Dora Schmitz. 5*s*.

SHARPE (S.) The History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times till the Conquest by the Arabs, A.D. 640. By Samuel Sharpe. 2 Maps and upwards of 400 Illustrative Woodcuts. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

SHERIDAN'S Dramatic Works, Complete. With Life by G. G. S. 3*s*. 6*d*.

SISMONDI'S History of the Literature of the South of Europe. Translated by Thomas Roscoe. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

SIX OLD ENGLISH CHRONICLES: viz., ASSER'S LIFE OF ALFRED AND THE CHRONICLES OF ETHELWERD, GILDAS, NENNIUS, GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, AND RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER. Edited by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. 5*s*.

SYNONYMS and ANTONYMS, or Kindred Words and their Opposites, Collected and Contrasted by Ven. C. J. Smith, M.A. Revised Edition. 5*s*.

SMITH'S (Adam) The Wealth of Nations. Edited by E. Belfort Bax. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

—— **Theory of Moral Sentiments;** with his Essay on the First Formation of Languages; to which is added a Memoir of the Author by Dugald Stewart. 3*s*. 6*d*.

SMYTH'S (Professor) Lectures on Modern History; from the Irruption of the Northern Nations to the close of the American Revolution. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

—— **Lectures on the French Revolution.** 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

SMITH'S (Pye) Geology and Scripture. 2nd Edition. 5*s*.

SMOLLETT'S Adventures of Roderick Random. With short Memoir and Bibliography, and Cruikshank's Illustrations. 3*s*. 6*d*.

—— **Adventures of Peregrine Pickle,** in which are included the Memoirs of a Lady of Quality. With Bibliography and Cruikshank's Illustrations. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

—— **The Expedition of Humphry Clinker.** With Bibliography and Cruikshank's Illustrations. 3*s*. 6*d*.

SOCRATES (surnamed 'Scholasticus'). The Ecclesiastical History of (A.D. 305–445). Translated from the Greek. 5*s*.

SOPHOCLES, The Tragedies of. A New Prose Translation, with Memoir, Notes, &c., by E. P. Coleridge. 5*s*.

—— The Oxford Translation. 5*s*.

SOUTHEY'S Life of Nelson. With Facsimiles of Nelson's writing, Portraits, Plans, and upwards of 50 Engravings on Steel and Wood. 5*s*.

—— **Life of Wesley,** and the Rise and Progress of Methodism. 5*s*.

—— **Robert Southey.** The Story of his Life written in his Letters. With an Introduction. Edited by John Dennis. 3*s*. 6*d*.

SOZOMEN'S Ecclesiastical History. Comprising a History of the Church from A.D. 324–440. Translated from the Greek. Together with the ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF PHILOSTORGIUS, as epitomised by Photius. Translated from the Greek by Rev. E. Walford, M.A. 5*s*.

SPINOZA'S Chief Works. Translated, with Introduction, by R. H. M. Elwes. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

STANLEY'S Classified Synopsis of the Principal Painters of the Dutch and Flemish Schools. By George Stanley. 5*s*.

STARLING'S (Miss) Noble Deeds of Women; or, Examples of Female Courage, Fortitude, and Virtue. With 14 Steel Engravings. 5*s*.

STAUNTON'S Chess-Player's Handbook. A Popular and Scientific Introduction to the Game. With numerous Diagrams. 5*s*.

—— **Chess Praxis.** A Supplement to the Chess-player's Handbook. Containing the most important modern improvements in the Openings; Code of Chess Laws; and a Selection of Morphy's Games. Annotated. 5*s*.

—— **Chess-player's Companion.** Comprising a Treatise on Odds, Collection of Match Games, and a Selection of Original Problems. 5*s*.

—— **Chess Tournament of 1851.** A Collection of Games played at this celebrated assemblage. With Introduction and Notes. 5*s*.

STOCKHARDT'S Experimental Chemistry. A Handbook for the Study of the Science by simple experiments. Edited by C. W. Heaton, F.C.S. With numerous Woodcuts. New Edition, revised throughout. 5*s*.

STRABO'S Geography. Translated by W. Falconer, M.A., and H. C. Hamilton. 3 vols. 5*s*. each.

STRICKLAND'S (Agnes) Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest. Revised Edition. With 6 Portraits. 6 vols. 5*s*. each.

STRICKLAND'S Life of Mary Queen of Scots. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

—— **Lives of the Tudor and Stuart Princesses.** With Portraits. 5*s*

STUART and REVETT'S Antiquities of Athens, and other Monuments of Greece; to which is added, a Glossary of Terms used in Grecian Architecture. With 71 Plates engraved on Steel, and numerous Woodcut Capitals. 5*s*.

SUETONIUS' Lives of the Twelve Cæsars and Lives of the Grammarians. The translation of Thomson, revised by T. Forester. 5*s*.

SWIFT'S Prose Works. Edited by Temple Scott. With a Biographical Introduction by the Right Hon. W. E. H. Lecky, M.P. With Portraits and Facsimiles. 11 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

[*Vols. I.-V. & VIII. ready.*

I.—Edited by Temple Scott. With a Biographical Introduction by the Right Hon. W. E. H. Lecky, M. P. Containing:—A Tale of a Tub, The Battle of the Books, and other early works.

II.—The Journal to Stella. Edited by Frederick Ryland, M.A. With 2 Portraits of Stella, and a Facsimile of one of the Letters.

III. & IV.—Writings on Religion and the Church. Edited by Temple Scott.

V.—Historical and Political Tracts (English). Edited by Temple Scott.

VIII.—Gulliver's Travels. Edited by G. R Dennis. With Portrait and Maps.

SWIFT'S PROSE WORKS *continued*.

The order and contents of the remaining volumes will probably be as follows:—

VI. & VII.—Historical and Political Tracts (Irish).

IX.—Contributions to the 'Examiner,' 'Tatler,' 'Spectator,' &c.

X.—Historical Writings.

XI.—Literary Essays and Bibliography.

STOWE (Mrs. H. B.) Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life among the Lowly. With Introductory Remarks by Rev. J. Sherman. With 8 full-page Illustrations. 3*s*. 6*d*.

TACITUS. The Works of. Literally translated. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

TALES OF THE GENII; or, the Delightful Lessons of Horam, the Son of Asmar. Translated from the Persian by Sir Charles Morell. Numerous Woodcuts and 12 Steel Engravings. 5*s*.

TASSO'S Jerusalem Delivered. Translated into English Spenserian Verse by J. H. Wiffen. With 8 Engravings on Steel and 24 Woodcuts by Thurston. 5*s*.

TAYLOR'S (Bishop Jeremy) Holy Living and Dying, with Prayers containing the Whole Duty of a Christian and the parts of Devotion fitted to all Occasions and furnished for all Necessities. 3*s*. 6*d*.

TEN BRINK.—*See* BRINK.

TERENCE and PHÆDRUS. Literally translated by H. T. Riley, M.A. To which is added, SMART'S METRICAL VERSION OF PHÆDRUS. 5*s*.

THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS, and TYRTÆUS. Literally translated by the Rev. J. Banks, M.A. To which are appended the Metrical Versions of Chapman. 5*s*.

THEODORET and EVAGRIUS. Histories of the Church from A.D. 332 to A.D. 427; and from A.D. 431 to A.D. 544. Translated from the Greek. 5*s*.

THIERRY'S History of the Conquest of England by the Normans; its Causes, and its Consequences in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Continent. Translated by William Hazlitt. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

THUCYDIDES. The Peloponnesian War. Literally translated by the Rev. H. Dale. 2 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

—— **An Analysis and Summary of.** With Chronological Table of Events, &c. By J. T. Wheeler. 5*s*.

THUDICHUM (J. L. W.) A Treatise on Wines: their Origin, Nature, and Varieties. With Practical Directions for Viticulture and Vinification. By J. L. W. Thudichum, M.D., F.R.C.P. (Lond.). Illustrated. 5*s*.

URE'S (Dr. A.) Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, systematically investigated. Revised Edit. by P. L. Simmonds. With 150 original Illustrations. 2 vols. 5*s*. each.

—— **Philosophy of Manufactures.** Revised Edition, by P. L. Simmonds. With numerous Figures. Double volume. 7*s*. 6*d*.

VASARI'S Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. Translated by Mrs. J. Foster, with a Commentary by J. P. Richter, Ph.D. 6 vols. 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

VIRGIL. A Literal Prose Translation by A. Hamilton Bryce, LL.D., F.R.S.E. With Portrait. 3*s*. 6*d*.

VOLTAIRE'S Tales. Translated by R. B. Boswell. Vol. I., containing Bebouc, Memnon, Candide, L'Ingénu, and other Tales. 3*s*. 6*d*.

WALTON'S Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation, by Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton. Edited by Edward Jesse. To which is added an account of Fishing Stations, Tackle, &c., by Henry G. Bohn. With Portrait and 203 Engravings on Wood and 26 Engravings on Steel. 5*s*.

—— **Lives of Donne, Hooker, &c.** New Edition revised by A. H. Bullen, with a Memoir of Izaak Walton by Wm. Dowling. With numerous Illustrations. 5*s*.

WELLINGTON, Life of. By 'An Old Soldier.' From the materials of Maxwell. With Index and 18 Steel Engravings. 5*s*.

—— **Victories of.** *See* MAXWELL.

WERNER'S Templars in Cyprus. Translated by E. A. M. Lewis. 3*s*. 6*d*.

WESTROPP (H. M.) A Handbook of Archæology, Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, Roman. By H. M. Westropp. 2nd Edition, revised. With very numerous Illustrations. 5*s*.

WHITE'S Natural History of Selborne, with Observations on various Parts of Nature, and the Naturalists' Calendar. With Notes by Sir William Jardine. Edited by Edward Jesse. With 40 Portraits and coloured Plates. 5*s*.

WHEATLEY'S A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer. 3*s*. 6*d*.

WHEELER'S Noted Names of Fiction, Dictionary of. Including also Familiar Pseudonyms, Surnames bestowed on Eminent Men, and Analogous Popular Appellations often referred to in Literature and Conversation. By W. A. Wheeler, M.A. 5*s*.

WIESELER'S Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels. Translated by the Rev. Canon Venables. 3*s*. 6*d*.

WILLIAM of MALMESBURY'S Chronicle of the Kings of England. from the Earliest Period to the Reign of King Stephen. Translated by the Rev. J. Sharpe. Edited by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. 5*s*.

XENOPHON'S Works. Translated by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A., and the Rev. H. Dale. In 3 vols. 5*s* each.

YOUNG (Arthur). Travels in France during the years 1787, 1788. and 1789. Edited by M. Betham Edwards. 3*s*. 6*d*.

—— **Tour in Ireland,** with General Observations on the state of the country during the years 1776-79. Edited by A. W. Hutton. With Complete Bibliography by J. P. Anderson, and Map. 2 vols. 3*s* 6*d*. each

YULE-TIDE STORIES. A Collection of Scandinavian and North-German Popular Tales and Traditions, from the Swedish, Danish, and German. Edited by B. Thorpe. 5*s*.

NEW AND FORTHCOMING VOLUMES OF BOHN'S LIBRARIES.

THE PROSE WORKS OF JONATHAN SWIFT. Edited by Temple Scott. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. W. E. H. Lecky, M.P. In 11 volumes, 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Vol. I.—'A Tale of a Tub,' 'The Battle of the Books,' and other early works. Edited by Temple Scott. With Introduction by the Right Hon. W. E. H. Lecky, M.P. Portrait and Facsimiles.

Vol. II.—'The Journal to Stella.' Edited by F. Ryland, M.A. With a Facsimile Letter and two Portraits of Stella.

Vols. III and IV.—Writings on Religion and the Church. Edited by Temple Scott. With portraits and facsimiles of title pages.

Vol. V.—Historical and Political Tracts (English). Edited by Temple Scott. With Portrait and Facsimiles.

Vol. VIII.—Gulliver's Travels Edited by G. R. Dennis. With the original Maps and Illustrations.

PRESCOTT'S CONQUEST OF MEXICO. Copyright edition, with the author's latest corrections and additions, and the notes of John Foster Kirk. With an introduction by George Parker Winship. 3 vols. [*In the Press.*

GRAY'S LETTERS. Edited by Duncan C. Tovey, M.A., Editor of 'Gray and his Friends,' &c., late Clark Lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. I. 3*s.* 6*d.* [*Vol. II. in the Press.*

CICERO'S LETTERS. The whole extant Correspondence. Translated by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, M.A. In 4 vols. 5*s.* each.

CARLYLE'S SARTOR RESARTUS. With 75 Illustrations. By Edmund J. Sullivan. 5*s.*

HAMPTON COURT: A SHORT HISTORY OF THE MANOR AND PALACE. By Ernest Law, B.A. Illustrated. 5*s.*

GASPARY'S HISTORY OF EARLY ITALIAN LITERATURE TO THE DEATH OF DANTE. Translated, with supplementary bibliographical notes, by Herman Oelsner, M.A., Ph.D. Vol. I. 3*s.* 6*d.*

BELL'S HANDBOOKS
OF
THE GREAT MASTERS
IN PAINTING AND SCULPTURE.

EDITED BY G. C. WILLIAMSON, LITT.D.

Post 8vo. With 40 Illustrations and Photogravure Frontispiece. 5s. net each.

The following Volumes have been issued:

BERNADINO LUINI. By GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON, Litt.D. 2nd Edition.
VELASQUEZ. By R. A. M. STEVENSON. 2nd Edition.
ANDREA DEL SARTO. By H. GUINNESS.
LUCA SIGNORELLI. By MAUD CRUTTWELL.
RAPHAEL. By H. STRACHEY.
CARLO CRIVELLI. By G. MCNEIL RUSHFORTH, M.A.
CORREGGIO. By SELWYN BRINTON, M.A.
DONATELLO. By HOPE REA.
PERUGINO. By G. C. WILLIAMSON, Litt.D.
SODOMA. By the CONTESSA LORENZO PRIULI-BON.
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. By the MARCHESA BURLAMACCHI.
GIORGIONE. By HERBERT COOK, M.A.
MEMLINC. By W. H. JAMES WEALE.
PINTORICCHIO. By EVELYN MARCH PHILLIPPS.
PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA. By W. G. WATERS, M.A.

In preparation.

EL GRECO. By MANUEL B. COSSIO, Litt.D., Ph.D., Director of the Musée Pédagogique, Madrid.
FRANCIA. By GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON, Litt.D., Editor of the Series.
MANTEGNA. By MAUD CRUTTWELL.
BRUNELLESCHI. By LEADER SCOTT.
REMBRANDT. By MALCOLM BELL.
GIOTTO. By F. MASON PERKINS.
WILKIE. By Lord RONALD SUTHERLAND-GOWER, M.A., F.S.A.
MICHAEL ANGELO. By CHARLES HOLROYD, Keeper of the National Gallery of British Art.
GERARD DOU. By Dr. W. MARTIN, Sub-director of the Royal Print Room, The Hague.
DURER. By HANS W. SINGER, M.A., PH.D., Assistant Director of the Royal Print Room, Dresden.
TINTORETTO. By J. B. STOUGHTON HOLBORN, M.A.
THE BROTHERS BELLINI. By S. ARTHUR STRONG, M.A., Librarian to the House of Lords.

Others to follow.

THE

CHISWICK SHAKESPEARE.

Illustrated by BYAM SHAW.

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND GLOSSARIES BY JOHN DENNIS.

This Edition of the Works of Shakespeare is being issued in single plays, each containing six full-page Illustrations by Mr. BYAM SHAW, as well as head and tailpieces The volumes are printed at the Chiswick Press, price 1s. 6*d.* net per volume, handsomely bound in linen, with gilt decoration; or in limp leather, 2*s.* net. A few copies, to be sold only in sets, printed on Japanese vellum, price 5s. net.

Now ready

HAMLET.	OTHELLO.
THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.	MACBETH.
ROMEO AND JULIET.	AS YOU LIKE IT.
THE WINTER'S TALE.	THE TEMPEST.
A MIDSUMMER-NIGHT'S DREAM.	KING LEAR.
MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.	TWELFTH NIGHT.
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.	JULIUS CÆSAR.
TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.	CORIOLANUS.
KING HENRY IV. Part I.	KING JOHN.
KING HENRY IV. Part II.	KING RICHARD II.
CYMBELINE.	KING HENRY V.

THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

Further Volumes at Monthly Intervals.

'A fascinating little edition.'—*Notes and Queries.*

'A cheap, very comely, and altogether desirable edition.'—*Westminster Gazette.*

'But a few years ago such volumes would have been deemed worthy to be considered *éditions de luxe.* To-day, the low price at which they are offered to the public alone prevents them being so regarded.'—*Studio.*

'Handy in shape and size, wonderfully cheap, beautifully printed from the Cambridge text, and illustrated quaintly yet admirably by Mr. Byam Shaw, we have nothing but praise for it. No one who wants a good and convenient Shakespeare—without excursuses, discursuses, or even too many notes—can do better, in our opinion, than subscribe to this issue: which is saying a good deal in these days of cheap reprints.'—*Vanity Fair.*

'Altogether, it is a pretty and desirable little edition, and its moderate price should make it accessible to all classes of readers.'—*Scotsman.*

'What we like about these elegant booklets is the attention that has been paid to the paper, as well as to the print and decoration; such stout laid paper will last for ages. On this account alone, the "Chiswick" *should easily be first* among pocket Shakespeares.'—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

'No more delightful edition of Shakespeare has ever come under our notice. The price (1s 6*d.* net) brings sumptuous Shakespeare within reach of all. . With each new volume our admiration of this dainty edition deepens.'—*Independent.*

New Editions, fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. each net.

THE ALDINE EDITION

OF THE

BRITISH POETS.

'This excellent edition of the English classics, with their complete texts and scholarly introductions, are something very different from the cheap volumes of extracts which are just now so much too common.'—*St. James's Gazette.*

'An excellent series. Small, handy, and complete.'—*Saturday Review.*

Akenside. Edited by Rev. A. Dyce.

Beattie. Edited by Rev. A. Dyce.

***Blake.** Edited by W. M. Rossetti.

***Burns.** Edited by G. A. Aitken. 3 vols.

Butler. Edited by R. B. Johnson. 2 vols.

Campbell. Edited by His Son-in-law, the Rev. A. W. Hill. With Memoir by W. Allingham.

Chatterton. Edited by the Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. 2 vols.

Chaucer. Edited by Dr. R. Morris, with Memoir by Sir H. Nicolas. 6 vols.

Churchill. Edited by Jas. Hannay. 2 vols.

***Coleridge.** Edited by T. Ashe, B.A. 2 vols.

Collins. Edited by W. Moy Thomas.

Cowper. Edited by John Bruce, F.S.A. 3 vols.

Dryden. Edited by the Rev. R. Hooper, M.A. 5 vols.

Falconer. Edited by the Rev. J. Mitford.

Goldsmith. Revised Edition by Austin Dobson. With Portrait.

***Gray.** Edited by J. Bradshaw, LL.D.

Herbert. Edited by the Rev. A. B. Grosart.

***Herrick.** Edited by George Saintsbury. 2 vols.

***Keats.** Edited by the late Lord Houghton.

Kirke White. Edited, with a Memoir, by Sir H. Nicolas.

Milton. Edited by Dr. Bradshaw. 2 vols.

Parnell. Edited by G. A. Aitken.

Pope. Edited by G. R. Dennis. With Memoir by John Dennis. 3 vols.

Prior. Edited by R. B. Johnson. 2 vols.

Raleigh and Wotton. With Selections from the Writings of other COURTLY POETS from 1540 to 1650. Edited by Ven. Archdeacon Hannah, D.C.L.

Rogers. Edited by Edward Bell, M.A.

Scott. Edited by John Dennis. 5 vols.

Shakespeare's Poems. Edited by Rev. A. Dyce.

Shelley. Edited by H. Buxton Forman. 5 vols.

Spenser. Edited by J. Payne Collier. 5 vols.

Surrey. Edited by J. Yeowell.

Swift. Edited by the Rev. J. Mitford. 3 vols.

Thomson. Edited by the Rev. D. C. Tovey. 2 vols.

Vaughan. Sacred Poems and Pious Ejaculations. Edited by the Rev. H. Lyte.

Wordsworth. Edited by Prof. Dowden. 7 vols.

Wyatt. Edited by J. Yeowell.

Young. 2 vols. Edited by the Rev. J. Mitford.

* These volumes may also be had bound in Irish linen, with design in gold on side and back by Gleeson White, and gilt top, 3s. 6d. each net.

THE ALL-ENGLAND SERIES.

HANDBOOKS OF ATHLETIC GAMES.

The only Series issued at a moderate price, by Writers who are in the first rank in their respective departments.

'The best instruction on games and sports by the best authorities, at the lowest prices.'—*Oxford Magazine.*

Small 8vo. cloth, Illustrated. Price 1s. each.

Cricket. By the Hon. and Rev. E. LYTTELTON.

Croquet. By Lieut.-Col. the Hon. H. C. NEEDHAM.

Lawn Tennis. By H. W. W. WILBERFORCE. With a Chapter for Ladies, by MRS. HILLYARD.

Tennis and Rackets and Fives. By JULIAN MARSHALL, Major J. SPENS, and Rev. J. A. ARNAN TAIT.

Golf. By H. S. C. EVERARD. Double vol. 2s.

Rowing and Sculling. By W. B. WOODGATE.

Sailing. By E. F. KNIGHT, dbl. vol. 2s.

Swimming. By MARTIN and J. RACSTER COBBETT.

Camping out. By A. A. MACDONELL. Double vol. 2s.

Canoeing. By Dr. J. D. HAYWARD. Double vol. 2s.

Mountaineering. By Dr. CLAUDE WILSON. Double vol. 2s.

Athletics. By H. H. GRIFFIN.

Riding. By W. A. KERR, V.C. Double vol. 2s.

Ladies' Riding. By W. A. KERR, V.C.

Boxing. By R. G. ALLANSON-WINN. With Prefatory Note by Bat Mullins.

Fencing. By H. A. COLMORE DUNN.

Cycling. By H. H. GRIFFIN, L.A.C., N.C.U., C.T.C. With a Chapter for Ladies, by Miss AGNES WOOD.

Wrestling. By WALTER ARMSTRONG ('Cross-buttocker').

Broadsword and Singlestick By R. G. ALLANSON-WINN and C. PHILLIPPS-WOLLEY.

Gymnastics. By A. F. JENKIN. Double vol. 2s.

Gymnastic Competition and Display Exercises. Compiled by F. GRAF.

Indian Clubs. By G. T. B. COBBETT and A. F. JENKIN.

Dumb-bells. By F. GRAF.

Football — Rugby Game. By HARRY VASSALL.

Football—Association Game. By C. W. ALCOCK. Revised Edition.

Hockey. By F. S. CRESWELL. New Edition.

Skating. By DOUGLAS ADAMS. With a Chapter for Ladies, by Miss L. CHEETHAM, and a Chapter on Speed Skating, by a Fen Skater. Dbl. vol. 2s.

Baseball. By NEWTON CRANE.

Rounders, Fieldball, Bowls, Quoits, Curling, Skittles, &c By J. M. WALKER and C. C. MOTT.

Dancing. By EDWARD SCOTT. Double vol. 2s.

THE CLUB SERIES OF CARD AND TABLE GAMES.

'No well-regulated club or country house should be without this useful series of books.'—*Globe.*

Small 8vo. cloth, Illustrated. Price 1s each.

Whist. By Dr. WM. POLE, F.R.S.

Solo Whist. By ROBERT F. GREEN.

Billiards. By Major-Gen. A. W. DRAYSON, F.R.A.S. With a Preface by W. J. Peall.

Chess. By ROBERT F. GREEN.

The Two-Move Chess Problem. By B. G. LAWS.

Chess Openings. By I. GUNSBERG.

Draughts and Backgammon By 'BERKELEY.'

Reversi and Go Bang. By 'BERKELEY.'

Dominoes and Solitaire. By 'BERKELEY.'

Bézique and Cribbage. By 'BERKELEY.'

Écarté and Euchre By 'BERKELEY.'

Piquet and Rubicon Piquet By 'BERKELEY.'

Skat. By LOUIS DIEHL. *** A Skat Scoring-book. 1s.

Round Games, including Poker, Napoleon, Loo, Vingt-et-un, &c. By BAXTER WRAY

Parlour and Playground Games. By MRS. LAURENCE GOMME.

BELL'S CATHEDRAL SERIES.

Profusely Illustrated, cloth, crown 8vo. 1s. 6d. net each.

ENGLISH CATHEDRALS. An Itinerary and Description. Compiled by JAMES G. GILCHRIST, A.M., M.D. Revised and edited with an Introduction on Cathedral Architecture by the Rev. T. PERKINS, M.A., F.R.A.S.

BRISTOL. By H. J. L. J. MASSÉ, M.A.
CANTERBURY. By HARTLEY WITHERS. 3rd Edition, revised.
CARLISLE. By C. KING ELEY.
CHESTER. By CHARLES HIATT. 2nd Edition, revised.
DURHAM. By J. E. BYGATE, A.R.C.A. 2nd Edition, revised.
ELY. By Rev. W. D. SWEETING, M.A.
EXETER. By PERCY ADDLESHAW, B.A. 2nd Edition, revised.
GLOUCESTER. By H. J. L. J. MASSÉ, M.A. 2nd Edition.
HEREFORD. By A. HUGH FISHER, A.R.E. 2nd Edition, revised.
LICHFIELD. By A. B. CLIFTON. 2nd Edition.
LINCOLN. By A. F. KENDRICK, B.A. 2nd Edition, revised.
NORWICH. By C. H. B. QUENNELL. 2nd Edition.
OXFORD. By Rev. PERCY DEARMER, M.A. 2nd Edition, revised.
PETERBOROUGH. By Rev. W. D. SWEETING. 2nd Edition, revised.
RIPON. By CECIL HALLETT, B.A.
ROCHESTER. By G. H. PALMER, B.A. 2nd Edition, revised.
ST. DAVID'S. By PHILIP ROBSON, A.R.I.B.A.
ST. PAUL'S. By Rev. ARTHUR DIMOCK, M.A. 2nd Edition, revised.
SALISBURY. By GLEESON WHITE. 2nd Edition, revised.
SOUTHWELL. By Rev. ARTHUR DIMOCK, M.A. 2nd Edition, revised.
WELLS. By Rev. PERCY DEARMER, M.A. 2nd Edition.
WINCHESTER. By P. W. SERGEANT. 2nd Edition, revised.
WORCESTER. By E. F. STRANGE.
YORK. By A. CLUTTON-BROCK, M.A. 2nd Edition.

Preparing.

ST. ALBANS By Rev. W. D. SWEETING.
CHICHESTER. By H. C. CORLETTE, A.R.I.B.A.
ST. ASAPH and BANGOR. By P. B. IRONSIDE BAX.
GLASGOW. By P. MACGREGOR CHALMERS, I.A., F.S.A (Scot.).
LLANDAFF. By HERBERT PRIOR.
MANCHESTER. By REV. T. PERKINS, M.A.

Uniform with above Series. Now ready. 1s. 6d. net each.

ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY. By the Rev. CANON ROUTLEDGE, M.A., F.S.A.
BEVERLEY MINSTER. By CHARLES HIATT.
WIMBORNE MINSTER and CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY. By the Rev. T. PERKINS, M.A.
TEWKESBURY ABBEY AND DEERHURST PRIORY. By H. J. L. J. MASSÉ, M.A.
BATH ABBEY, MALMESBURY ABBEY, and BRADFORD-ON-AVON CHURCH. By Rev. T. PERKINS, M.A.
WESTMINSTER ABBEY. By CHARLES HIATT. [*Preparing.*

BELL'S HANDBOOKS TO CONTINENTAL CHURCHES.

Profusely Illustrated. Crown 8vo, cloth, 2s. 6d. net each.

CHARTRES: The Cathedral and Other Churches. By H. J. L. J. MASSÉ, M.A. [*Ready.*
ROUEN: The Cathedral and Other Churches. By the Rev. T. PERKINS, M.A. [*Ready.*
AMIENS. By the Rev. T. PERKINS, M.A. [*Preparing*
PARIS (NOTRE-DAME). By CHARLES HIATT. [*Preparing*

WEBSTER'S INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY

OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

2118 Pages. 3500 Illustrations.

PRICES:

Cloth, 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*; half calf, 2*l.* 2*s.*; half russia, 2*l.* 5*s.*; full calf, 2*l.* 8*s.*; full russia, 2*l.* 12*s.*; half morocco, with Patent Marginal Index, 2*l.* 8*s.*; full calf, with Marginal Index, 2*l.* 12*s.* Also bound in 2 vols., cloth, 1*l.* 14*s.*; half calf, 2*l.* 12*s.*; half russia, 2*l.* 18*s.*; full calf, 3*l.* 3*s.*; full russia, 3*l.* 15*s.*

The Appendices comprise a Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World, Vocabularies of Scripture, Greek, Latin, and English Proper Names, a Dictionary of the Noted Names of Fiction, a Brief History of the English Language, a Dictionary of Foreign Quotations, Words, Phrases, Proverbs, &c., a Biographical Dictionary with 10,000 names, &c., &c.

'We believe that, all things considered, this will be found to be the best existing English dictionary in one volume. We do not know of any work similar in size and price which can approach it in completeness of a vocabulary, variety of information, and general usefulness.'—*Guardian.*

'We recommend the New Webster to every man of business, every father of a family, every teacher, and almost every student—to everybody, in fact, who is likely to be posed at an unfamiliar or half-understood word or phrase.' - *St. James's Gazette.*

Prospectuses, with Specimen Pages, on Application.

THE ONLY AUTHORISED AND COMPLETE EDITION.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL & SONS, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

50,000 —S, & S. 6.01.